Non-Morphematic Word-Formation Processes: A Multi-Level Approach to Acronyms, Blends, Clippings and Onomatopoeia

Ingrid Mina Fandrych

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A thesis submitted to meet the requirements for the degree of Philosophiae Doctor in the Faculty of the Humanities (Department of English and Classical Languages) at the University of the Free State, Bloemfontein.

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DECLARATION

I, Ingrid Mina Fandrych, hereby declare that this thesis is my own work and that it has not been submitted to another university for purposes of obtaining a postgraduate qualification.

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Ingrid Mina Fandrych

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List of Abbreviations[1]

∅	zero (morpheme)
A, a	adjective
abbr	abbreviation
acro	acronym
admin	administration
adv	adverb
advert	advertising
aff	affix
Afr	African; Africa
allit	alliteration
AmE	American English
ARD	Arbeitsgemeinschaft der öffentlich-rechtlichen Rundfunkanstalten der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (radio and television broadcaster)
Austr	Australia
AustrE	Australian English
AZ	*Abendzeitung* (newspaper)
B5	Bayern 5 (radio news channel)
baby	baby talk
back	backformation
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BMW	Bayerische Motorenwerke (car company)
BrE	British English
BT	British Telecom
CALD	*Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary on CD-Rom*
Can	Canadian; Canada
cf	confer
COD8	*The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English*, 8th edition
coll	colloquial; colloquialism
comb form	combining form
const	constituent
cont	contain
conv	conversion
cpd	compound
Dan	Danish; Denmark
DDS	*Die Demokratische Schule* (teachers' union magazine)
derog	derogatory
DGfS	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Sprachwissenschaft
dm	determinatum
dt	determinant

[1] The reader will notice that I propose a new terminology for abbreviations and acronyms in this study. However, as the convention is to call sections such as this one lists of 'abbreviations', I have decided to follow this practice.

e	electronic
E	English
eCOD	*The Concise Oxford Dictionary (electronic edition)*
edu	education
end	end-clipping
euph	euphemism
F	French; France
fin	final
fml	formal
fore	fore-clipping
G	German; Germany
GDR	German Democratic Republic
I	Italian; Italy
imit	imitation
infml	informal
ini	initial
inst	institutionalised; institution
internat	international
IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet
IT	information technology
Jap	Japanese; Japan
joc	jocular
L1	first language
LASU	Linguistics Association of SADC Universities
LDCE3	*Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*, 3rd edition
Lesnet	Lesotho Net (mailing list)
lex	lexicalised
lg	language
lit	literature
Ls	Lesotho
lx	linguistics
mid	middle
mot	motivated; motivation
MS	manuscript
N, n	noun
n/d	no date
neutr	neutral
NYC	New York City
NZ	New Zealand
NZE	New Zealand English
OALD4/5/6	*Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English*, 4th, 5th, 6th editions respectively
obfusc	obfuscatory
obs	obsolete
org	organisation
particl	particle
phonet	phonetic
phr	phrase

play	playful
prfx	prefix
prod	productive
pron	pronoun; pronunciation
redupl	reduplication
REINLES	Renewable Energy Information Network in Lesotho
RSA	Republic of South Africa
Russ	Russian
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SADC	Southern African Development Corporation
SAE	South(ern) African English
SAPOD	*The South African Pocket Oxford Dictionary*
SASD	*Chambers-Macmillan South African Student's Dictionary*
sfx	suffix
sl	slang
SMS	short message sending
Sp	Spanish; Spain
spl	splinter
SZ	*Süddeutsche Zeitung* (newspaper)
tech	technical; technology
UK	United Kingdom
unprod	unproductive
US	United States of America
V, v	verb
vs	versus
wf	word-formation
writ	written
Zim	Zimbabwean; Zimbabwe

List of Illustrations

Typographical Conventions

Due to the heterogeneity of terms used in the literature for the various processes described in this study and the elements used to analyse them, I will use the following conventions for the notation of technical terms:

- Terms that are introduced for the first time will be set in single ‘inverted commas’.
- Terms used in the literature which differ from my terminology will be set in “double inverted commas”.
- For emphasis, I will use **bold** print.
- Examples under discussion will be set in *italics* in order to differentiate them from the metalanguage.
- Glosses of acronyms (and, more rarely, of other examples) will be set in single ‘inverted commas’.
- Word origin (for example, in the case of blends) is indicated by a wedge which indicates the direction of the formation process (< or >).
- Semantic components will be set in CAPITAL LETTERS.
- Phonetic transcriptions will follow the IPA convention (with some minor modifications due to software restrictions).

In general, English (South African) was chosen as spelling guide; however, other varieties are used, for example English (US) or English (UK), where they appear in quotations or as technical terms used by authors whose material is quoted or referred to.

Abstract

Mainstream word-formation looks at how morphemes, which, according to de Saussure, are signs consisting of a *signifiant* (form) and a *signifié* (content), form new transparent complex lexemes, which can be analysed in terms of their determinant/determinatum structure. Thus, existing signs form new signs. These new signs are transparent or motivated: speakers can deduce the meanings of these new formations, provided they know the meanings of the constituents. Used frequently, and if there is a need for these new signs (naming function), they can enter the mental lexicon, that is, speakers no longer think of them as composites but store and use them as independent units (lexicalisation).

However, not all word-formation processes are that regular, which led to their neglect for a long time, especially when Generative Grammar was the dominant approach in linguistics. These non-morphematic word-formation processes are not characterised by a determinant/determinatum structure; they cannot be analysed in terms of morphemes. They are shortenings (acronyms like *Aids* consist of the initial letters of word groups; blends like *smog* 'blend' submorphemic elements, thus forming new unanalysable monemes and clippings like *exam* shorten existing words arbitrarily) and onomatopoeia (imitations of extralinguistic sounds such as *rattle*, sound symbolism which approximates movement and/or sounds such as *rush*, and reduplications such as *tick-tock, helter-skelter, girly-girly*). A numerical analysis of the *OALD4* demonstrates the importance of lexicalised non-morphematic words in the dictionary.

The **research questions** addressed in the study are as follows:

a) Are non-morphematic word-formation processes as irregular as previous researchers have claimed?
b) How can non-morphematic word-formation processes be integrated into a comprehensive typology of word-formation processes?
c) Are there other criteria (in addition to structural ones), which can usefully be applied to the description of non-morphematic word-formation processes, thus ‘rehabilitating’ them and reintegrating them into mainstream word-formation?
d) On the basis of these additional, multidisciplinary criteria, is it possible to analyse a corpus of non-morphematic word-formation processes and to establish certain trends and tendencies displayed by these processes?
e) What can we learn from non-morphematic word-formation processes for the study of morphematic word-formation processes?

The main **aim** of the study is to ‘rehabilitate’ non-morphematic word-formation processes by re-integrating them into mainstream word-formation. In order to achieve this overarching aim, the ‘niche’ literature on non-morphematic word-formation processes – mostly with a structural and taxonomic slant – is reviewed and critiqued, which results in the first outcome of the study: the

proposal of a **new integrated taxonomy**, accompanied by a **scale of motivation**, both relating non-morphematic word-formation processes to morphematic word-formation processes.

Based on the hypothesis that non-morphematic word-formation processes can only be described adequately by taking non-structural aspects into account, such as functional and semantic-motivational levels of language description, the study then programmatically proposes an **interdisciplinary, multi-level approach** (in the sense of an analytical model) for the description of these word-formation processes and develops a number of criteria for their analysis – the second outcome of the present study. As a third outcome, a **corpus of non-morphematic word-formation processes** is compiled, in order to test the taxonomies and the interdisciplinary approach. The mutual application of the corpus to the taxonomies and to the multi-level approach in the **corpus analysis** constitutes the fourth outcome. On the basis of the application in the corpus study, the multi-level approach is critiqued, and this reflective process results in a modified and **revised model**.

1. Introduction

Language is a social phenomenon, and as such it mirrors the society which uses it; at the same time, however, it influences the minds – consciously or unconsciously – of the members of the society in which it is used. One area in which the social nature of language becomes particularly evident is the lexicon. New words appear every day; some words are coined to name new phenomena, inventions or processes; others re-categorise and re-label familiar referents, particularly in the area of slang. But not only does the lexicon reflect the times in which we are living; beyond this, the particular **patterns** according to which new lexical items are formed have a story to tell in their own right: different times display different preferences for certain word-formation processes.

Even the layperson will notice a marked – and increasing – tendency to form, for example, new acronyms and abbreviations. This trend[1] has been the subject of newspaper and magazine articles[2] (mainly with a critical and negative slant), and it is reflected in the mushrooming number of websites devoted to acronyms and abbreviations[3], especially in the field of Internet- and computer-related jargon.

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[1] To some extent, shortening has always played a role in language change. Aitchison (1991: 172) notes that "[w]ords get reduced in length … in the course of time." Leith (1983: 62) observes that "[s]peaking 'in words of one syllable' appeals to the Anglo-Saxon element".

[2] Some early examples are: "The Acronymous Society", *Time,* 28 July 1961, p. 39, and "The Agonies of Acronymania", *Time*, 20 July 1970, pp. 58/61.
See also Section 5.3.4 for a discussion of metacomments on non-morphematic word-formation processes in sample texts.

[3] The following is a very small selection of websites dedicated to shortenings from various domains:
Samizdata Glossary: http://www.samizdata.net/blog/glossary.html
Acronym Finder: http://www.acronymfinder.com/
Acronym Search: http://www.acronymsearch.com/
Acronym Dictionary: http://www.wpc-edi.com/AcronymDictionary/Dictionary.html
The Acronym Dictionary: http://www.acronymdictionary.co.uk/
Abbreviation Station: http://www.abvsta.com/
Hanford Acronym and Abbreviation Directory: http://www.hanford.gov/acronym/

Recently, the *New York Times* even ran a front-page article[4] on how features of Internet English, especially "shortened words, abbreviations, improper spelling, capitalization and use of typewriter characters" creep into pupils' writings. Of course, American English has long been using innovative and shortened spellings, like *thru* and *lite*, thus facilitating the development of a new and unconventional 'code' for short message sending (SMS) and e-mail communications (see Sections 2.7 and 4.2.6 below). A recent example of an American English innovation is the now ubiquitous and world-wide use of *9/11* (sometimes *S11*) to refer to the attack on the World Trade Centre in New York on 11 September 2001, including the American practice of placing the month before the day. This formation has even given rise to secondary coinings[5] such as *9/11-related [words].*

Paxton (1989: i) summarises the wide-spread impression many 'ordinary language users' experience:

> Abbreviations dominate our lives. The front page of any daily newspaper will contain at least twenty. The manufacture of abbreviations remains one of the largest and fastest growing industries in the world today. The military and the civil service are generally responsible for much of the growth, but the tremendous extension in the development of medical science and technology has caused the last three decades to be boom years.

It is, however, not only acronyms which colour the English language of the late 20th and early 21st centuries, but also innovative blends and clippings, as well as onomatopoeic formations which have 'escaped' the nursery and comic strip jargons.

The present study recategorises and re-evaluates these unconventional formations, both in terms of their structure and also, more importantly, in terms

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[4] "I Think, Therefore IM", by Jennifer Lee, in *The New York Times,* 19 September 2002, p. 1.
See also Section 2.7 for a more detailed account of the influence of Internet language on general usage.

[5] See, for example, Beard & Payack (2002), "The Impact of 9/11 on the English Language", www.yourDictionary.com, as well as McArthur (2002 and 2003) for a discussion of these terms.

of their socio-pragmatic functions. It will do so by proposing a new approach to non-morphematic word-formation processes on a variety of levels of linguistic analysis, going beyond the purely structural aspects of their formation.

1.1 Background to the Study

The following section serves as a first introduction to the study by explaining the terms ‘morphematic’ and ‘non-morphematic’ word-formation processes and stating the aims of the study. Mainstream word-formation considers how morphemes, which, according to Saussure (1965: 180ff), are signs consisting of a *signifiant* (form) and a *signifié* (content), form new transparent complex lexemes:

steam	+	*boat*	>	*steamboat*
re-	+	*write*	>	*rewrite*
write	+	*-er*	>	*writer*

These formations are “grammatical” (Marchand 1969: 2) or ‘morphematic’. They can be analysed in terms of their determinant/determinatum[6] structure:

A + B > AB, with AB = (a kind of) B.

Thus, combinations of existing signs result in new signs. These new signs are transparent or motivated: speakers can deduce the meanings of these new formations, provided they know the meanings of the constituents. Used frequently, and if there is a need for these new signs (‘naming function’), they can enter the mental lexicon; that is, speakers no longer think of them as composites but store and use them as independent units (‘lexicalisation’; see also Section 4.2.11).

Unlike *9/11*, the superficially similar recent formation *24/7* (‘twenty-four hours, seven days a week’) is not based on a date but on a time span.

[6] These terms correspond to the terms ‘modifier’ (determinant) and ‘head’ (determinatum), which are used in some of the literature (see also Schmid 2004MS: Section 4.4).

However, not all word-formation processes are that regular, which led to their being neglected for a long time, especially when Generative Grammar was the dominant approach in linguistics. Some examples are *smog, Aids, exam;* and *rattle, tick-tock, helter-skelter, girly-girly*. These non-morphematic word-formation processes are not characterised by a determinant/determinatum structure (Marchand 1969: 2), they cannot be analysed in terms of morphemes, but they nevertheless produce new lexemes, either by shortening or through the use of onomatopoeia.

Acronyms like *Aids* consist of the initial letters of word groups; blends like *smog* 'blend' submorphemic elements, thus forming new unanalysable monemes (one-morpheme words); clippings like *exam* shorten existing words, often rather arbitrarily. Furthermore, there are imitations of extralinguistic sounds (*rattle*), sound symbolism, which uses sounds to symbolise movement and so on (*rush*), and words that are motivated by form, for example, reduplications (*tick-tock, helter-skelter, girly-girly*).

Although the concept of 'morpheme' is useful in the description of morphematic word-formation processes, it does not help us with non-morphematic word-formation processes. So the question arises, are there concepts below the morpheme level that are more useful than the morpheme for the analysis of non-morphematic word-formation processes? Based on other structural typologies and taxonomies, I will then propose a new way of classifying the non-morphematic word-formation processes according to their structure, grouping them into two main classes: shortenings (acronyms, blends, clippings) and onomatopoeia (imitation, sound symbolism and reduplications). According to the degree of motivation they show, non-morphematic word-formation processes can be arranged on a scale.

Furthermore, non-morphematic word-formation processes are not as irregular as they may look at first glance, provided their analysis is not restricted to structural aspects only: A broader and more interdisciplinary approach,

involving semantic, sociolinguistic and pragmatic criteria, is needed – a multi-level approach[7]. The present study will discuss the theoretical aspects of this proposed new approach in detail, concentrating on the criteria for describing non-morphematic word-formation processes, including motivation (which has featured quite prominently in recent approaches in Cognitive Linguistics) and socio-pragmatic aspects.

A major problem is the step from theory to practice, the operationalisation of the theoretically established criteria. Of course, every one of the criteria is the result of a plethora of theoretical assumptions constituting a source of discussions and academic dispute. In order to be able to apply these concepts to a corpus, they must be handled in a pragmatic manner and 'working definitions' are needed in order to enable their application.

After the theoretical discussion, a corpus of non-morphematic word-formation items will be analysed to apply and test the proposed new taxonomies and the interdisciplinary approach. It is expected that certain tendencies will emerge, for example, that certain patterns are more productive than others, and that some of the criteria are interrelated. This enables us to determine the factors which contribute to the productivity of certain patterns and it allows us to predict certain characteristics of non-morphematic word-formation processes.

1.2 Word-Formation

In his recent introductory work, Haspelmath (2002: 2f) defines morphology as "the study of systematic covariation in the form and meaning of words", or as "the study of the combination of morphemes to yield words". The central

[7] The term 'multi-level approach' is borrowed from Lipka (1983), who was, to my knowledge, the first to advocate a move away from purely structural word-formation analyses by including semantic aspects.
Schmid (2004MS) proposes to analyse word-formation from three perspectives: structurally, socio-pragmatically and cognitively. His focus is on 'regular' word-

elements in this context are the 'morphemes', which he defines as "[t]he smallest meaningful constituents of words that can be identified" (2002: 3)[8].

Most publications on word-formation, whatever their particular aims, mention acronyms, blends, clippings and phonetically motivated formations only in passing. Bauer (1983: 232) discusses non-morphematic word-formation processes under the headline "Unpredictable Formations", while Aronoff (1981: 20) calls them "oddities"[9]. In his seminal work on English word-formation, Marchand (1969: 2) more or less restricts the subject matter of his classic handbook/compendium on word-formation to 'regular', that is, morphematic, word-formation processes, thereby effectively excluding all structurally more 'irregular' or complex processes:

> Word-formation is that branch of the science of language which studies the patterns on which a language forms new lexical units, i.e. words. Word-formation can only be concerned with composites which are analysable both formally and semantically …

And, ibid:

> This book … will deal with two major groups: 1) words formed as grammatical syntagmas, i.e. combinations of full linguistic signs, and 2) words which are not grammatical syntagmas, i.e. which are not made up of full linguistic signs.

Under 1), Marchand discusses compounding, prefixation, suffixation, zero-derivation[10] and back-formation. He calls these word-formation processes "grammatical", as they are morpheme-based and can be analysed in terms of a determinant/determinatum relationship (see Section 1.3 below); they are condensed syntagmas and can, therefore, be explained with the help of

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formation patterns, and his corpus-based approach accounts for non-morphematic formations only marginally (see also Section 5.1.6 below).

[8] For a more detailed discussion of the morpheme and other elements of word-formation, see Section 2.5 below.

[9] Štekauer(1998: 1) begins with the following observation:

> Linguists differ in their opinions as to whether word-formation is to be restricted to affixation, with compounding being shifted to syntax, whether such processes as back-formation, conversion (zero-derivation), blending, clipping etc., are to be included within the theory of word-formation, and if so – what their status is with regard to the 'main' word-formation processes, etc.

Later (1998: 164), he concludes: "I exclude collocations and non-morpheme-based formations from the Word-Formation Component".

underlying sentences which make the relationship of their constituents explicit (see Section 1.3 below). On the other hand, there are what Marchand calls "non-grammatical" word-formation processes (his category 2); these are processes which are not morpheme-based: "expressive symbolism", blending, clipping, rhyme and ablaut gemination, and "word-manufacturing" (Marchand, 1969: 2f). According to him, both groups can be explained in terms of a synchronic relationship between morphemes, with the exception of monemes (one-morpheme words) where such a relationship (no longer) exists, for example, in the case of *chap* < *chapman.*

Marchand (1969: 9) further emphasises the importance of types:

> Whatever mankind creates in the way of civilization is based on forms. There are forms of art, literature, forms of social life, etc., and it is these which are characteristic of a certain structural system. The existence of individual creations outside established patterns is of course not denied. But the isolated does not count as representative of the structural system. This is why we have treated word-formation under the aspect of types.

Similarly, Matthews (1991: 37) defines word-formation (or 'lexeme-formation' or 'derivational morphology') "as the branch of morphology which deals with the relations between a **complex lexeme** and a simple(r) lexeme" (emphasis in original). Like Marchand, Matthews (1991: 63) emphasises the importance of patterns:

> In 'derivational morphology' we are … concerned not only with grammatical processes of derivation (for example, that by which a Verbal Noun in *-(at)ion* is formed from a simpler element), but also with the creative derivation of new words that follow existing patterns.

During the heyday of structuralism and Generative Grammar, non-morphematic word-formation processes were disregarded as they did not fit the paradigm of structural regularity that morphematic (or "grammatical" in Marchand's terminology) word-formation processes display. While compounding and derivation can be analysed according to their components, underlying sentences and so on, acronyms, blends and clippings are more random, at

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[10] For a more detailed discussion of the terms 'zero-derivation' and 'conversion', see Section 4.2.4 below.

least at first sight, due to the fact that they are less predictable and less amenable to transformational rules.

Past studies of non-morphematic word-formation processes concentrate almost exclusively on the structural analysis of individual processes without taking into account the characteristics they have in common, and without relating them to a larger framework of word-formation (for example, Algeo 1975; Baum 1962; Berman 1961; Cannon 1986); there are only a few broader studies (for example, Algeo 1978 and 1980; Cannon 1987; McArthur 1988). The present study aims at filling this gap by introducing a new taxonomy of non-morphematic word-formation processes, which will also relate them to the morphematic processes. Similarly, a scale of motivation is proposed, ranging from full motivation (imitation of sounds: *miaow*) and relative motivation (morphematic word-formation: *ballpen, wellness*) to loss of motivation (acronyms: *BBC, NATO*) and secondary motivation (intentional acronyms: *FIST* – 'Federation of Interstate Truckers').

However, it remains to be seen whether non-morphematic word-formation processes are really as structurally irregular and unpredictable as has previously been assumed. Furthermore, it is claimed that criteria other than purely structural ones are necessary to analyse, classify and categorise non-morphematic word-formation processes, and to make some careful predictions as to trends and tendencies which govern their functional, socio-pragmatic and textual roles.

To this purpose, this study begins with a critical discussion of the elements of word-formation in terms of their explanatory and analytical validity, followed by a discussion of previous attempts at defining and classifying non-morphematic word-formation processes, which culminates in the proposal of a consistent terminology. Another aim of this study will be to propose a consistent classification, or taxonomy, of all word-formation processes, both in terms of their structure and in semantic-motivational terms (Chapters 2 and 3). The

proposal and discussion of criteria for the description and classification of non-morphematic word-formation (Chapter 4) will lead to the above-mentioned multi-level approach which will subsequently be applied to a corpus of non-morphematic word-formation items (Chapter 5).

1.3 Definition of the Field under Discussion

Marchand (1969: 31) centres his word-formation analyses around the grammatical syntagma:

> Word-formation deals with the making of words insofar as they are new formal and lexical units and built as syntagmas … A description of word-formation patterns can therefore be in morphological, semantic, and grammatical terms.

Accordingly, a complete word-formation analysis takes place on three levels, which Marchand (1969: 31-59) performs in five steps. His basic assumption is that every surface-level compound can be explained from an underlying deep-structure 'kernel sentence'; in other words, every compound is a 'reduced sentence'. That part of the underlying sentence which is known becomes the determinatum, while the part which contains the new information becomes the determinant of the 'morphologic composite'[11]. His five-step analysis goes as follows:

a) Description of the morphologic form, that is, the isolation of morphemes:

steamboat	<	*steam*	n	+	*boat*	n
rewrite	<	*re-*	prf	+	*write*	v

b) Description of the morphologic structure, that is, isolating the immediate constituents, as "[a]ll morphologic composites are based on the same syntagmatic pattern 'determinatum determined by determinant'". (Marchand 1969: 54). In English, the determinant precedes the determinatum:

steam / boat :	dt / dm
re- / write:	dt / dm

[11] Marchand (1969: 31) defines "morphologic composites" as "compounds, suffixal derivatives, prefixal combinations."

c) Description of the grammatical deep structure, that is of the syntactic relations prevailing in the underlying sentence:

‘*steam operates the boat’.*

d) Determining the ‘type of reference’: that part of the underlying sentence which contains the new information becomes the determinant, while the known part becomes the determinatum:

‘*steam* *operates the* ***boat’*** : object type

e) The specific meaning of the word, that is, the new total meaning which goes beyond the sum of the meanings of the constituents, must be explained at surface level. Depending on the character of the determinant, Marchand categorises the composites into certain ‘sense groups’, for example: ‘agent’, ‘place’, ‘instrument’, ‘period or point in time’, etc. Accordingly, *steamboat* is classified as ‘instrument type’; in some cases, additional semantic components can be isolated, for example [+HABITUALLY] in *shoemaker*.

This five-step analysis works well for word-formation processes such as compounding and affixation, and it can be extended and adapted to the analysis of zero-derivation and back-formation, for example along the lines of Kastovsky’s (1982: 79f) suggestion for a determinant/determinatum relationship of the former:

cheat / ~~θ~~ : dt / dm

However, with word-formation processes which are not morpheme-based, the analyst runs into problems from the very beginning, that is, from the first step (isolating the morphemes). How, for example, can forms such as *WHAT!, stalkerazzi, Lo-CALL* and *ChubbChubbs* be analysed using Marchand’s five-step analysis?

1.4 Morphematic versus Non-Morphematic Word-Formation Processes

On the basis of their structure and the special type of motivation they display (see above), Marchand (1969: 2) distinguishes between “grammatical” and “non-grammatical” word-formation processes (see his groups 1 and 2

respectively in the quotation above); the latter are not combinations of full linguistic signs (morphemes) and they are not motivated on the basis of their constituents (or 'transparent'); they are not grammatical syntagmas, and the five-step analysis summarised above does not yield satisfactory results, because, as noted above, even the first step in the analysis is impossible. Consequently, Marchand (1969: 451) claims that blends, for instance, are monemes, as they are not analysable in terms of constituent morphemes, thus excluding them from the analytical processes he proposes for 'normal' word-formation processes.

While maintaining the basic distinction between morpheme-based and non-morpheme-based word-formation processes, the current study uses the terms 'morphematic' and 'non-morphematic' word-formation, rather than the terms 'grammatical' and 'non-grammatical' proposed by Marchand, as the latter are somewhat ambiguous and vague. Furthermore, it remains to be seen whether the analysis of non-morphematic word-formation processes cannot be taken further, by applying concepts of components of word-formation – constituents – below the morpheme level (for example, 'splinters', as discussed in Section 2.5.3 below).

Finally, apart from structural aspects, other questions worth discussing in the context of non-morphematic word-formation processes concern their special kind of motivation, the interesting fact that some of these formations have led to doublets (for example, *exam* vs *examination*), textual, pragmatic, stylistic and functional aspects, and their place in the greater framework of English word-formation, especially in relation to morphematic word-formation processes.

1.5 Delimitation Problems and Overlaps

Neither morphematic nor non-morphematic word-formation processes are always clear-cut, and, as with all attempts at classification and systematisation,

there will always be borderline cases, hybrids and grey areas, and fuzziness – a generally recognised characteristic of natural languages – is an important factor in word-formation[12]. Almost all categories and sub-categories of word-formation show both common features and overlaps on the one hand, and distinguishing and incompatible characteristics on the other; this is true of both morphematic word-formation and non-morphematic word-formation processes. McArthur (1992: 1124) puts this well when he states that we have to do with "both a continuum in which categories shade into each other and self-contained classical containers, each more or less insulated from the others", and that "even the most well-defined categories and patterns identify tendencies rather than absolutes" (McArthur 1992: 1125).

Accordingly, any attempt at classification is at the same time a simplification and a compromise between the desire for clarity and systematicity on the one hand, and the demand for detail and meticulous description on the other. Their only justification is the explanatory value they might have.

1.6 Necessity and Purpose of the Research

"Grammatical" (Marchand 1969: 2) or morphematic word-formation processes involve combinations of morphemes or signs. Their formation follows certain patterns and they are transparent or motivated; Kastovsky (1982: 151) calls them "self-explanatory" as speakers can deduce their meanings provided they know the meanings of their constituent parts. With time and frequent use, and if there is a need for these new signs (naming function), new words may enter the mental lexicon; that is, speakers no longer think of them as composites but store and use them as independent, ready-made units; this process is known as 'lexicalisation' (Lipka 2002: 111).

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[12] See Daneš (1966: 11), as quoted in Fleischer (1982: 70):

> The classes (and subclasses) of elements should not be regarded as 'boxes' with clear-cut boundaries but as formations with a compact core (centre) and

However, not all word-formation processes are as regular as morphematic word-formation processes, which is why some have been largely neglected. These are acronyms, blends and clippings on the one hand, and onomatopoeia on the other. However, although they are structurally less regular than the morphematic word-formation processes (but by no means completely irregular), certain patterns do emerge once one looks beyond purely structural characteristics: motivation, productivity, medium, semantics, style/register, pragmatics, and textuality. What is needed for an adequate description and analysis of non-morphematic word-formation processes is an interdisciplinary, multi-level approach.

The proposed study fills the gaps left by ‘mainstream’ word-formation research by providing a detailed analysis of the non-morphematic word-formation processes of English. It introduces a new approach to the study of word-formation by incorporating not only pragmatic and textual aspects (Lipka 1983 and 1987) but also sociolinguistic and cognitive aspects. This interdisciplinary approach is tested on a corpus of non-morphematic word-formations, and it is expected that it will also be useful for the description of morphematic word-formation processes.

Although the concept of 'morpheme' is useful in the description of morphematic word-formation processes, it is not helpful in the description of non-morphematic word-formation processes, as they cannot be analysed in terms of their morpheme structure. Other concepts might be more useful in the description of these processes, for example, 'splinters' (Berman 1961: 279), or 'expressive symbols' (Marchand 1969: 397-403). This discussion, and a review of the relevant literature, culminate in the proposal of new typologies.

A number of other criteria for the description of non-morphematic word-formation processes are discussed, and a catalogue of criteria is established

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with a gradual transition into a diffuse periphery which, again, gradually passes (infiltrates) into the peripheral domain of the next category.

(for example, Word-Formation Type, Subtype, Structure; Motivation; Word Class; Medium; Style/Register; Semantics; Semiotics; Lexicalisation; Pragmatics; Textuality). These are used for the description and analysis of a corpus of non-morphematic items taken from a variety of sources of written and spoken (mainly British and American) English.

This multi-level analysis displays certain tendencies and patterns, for example, that some patterns are more productive than others, that they are preferred in certain text types and that some of the criteria are interrelated. On the basis of these tendencies and patterns, it is possible to determine the factors which contribute to the productivity of certain patterns and to predict certain characteristics of non-morphematic word-formation processes.

Although the study is conducted within the framework of morphology and word-formation, an interdisciplinary approach is adopted, which incorporates findings from related fields and sub-disciplines such as cognitive linguistics, semantics, pragmatics, corpus linguistics and sociolinguistics and text linguistics, in order to account for the dynamic nature of word-formation. The corpus was compiled using the computer programme MicroSoft ACCESS, which allows a considerable amount of flexibility in the analysis of the data.

The **Research Questions** to be addressed in this study are as follows:

a) Are non-morphematic word-formation processes as irregular as previous researchers have claimed?

b) How can non-morphematic word-formation processes be integrated in a comprehensive typology of word-formation processes?

c) Are there other criteria (in addition to structural ones), which can usefully be applied to the description of non-morphematic word-formation processes, thus ‘rehabilitating’ them and reintegrating them into mainstream word-formation?

d) On the basis of these additional, multidisciplinary criteria, is it possible to analyse a corpus of non-morphematic word-formation processes and to establish certain trends and tendencies displayed by these processes?

e) What can we learn from non-morphematic word-formation processes for the study of morphematic word-formation processes?

1.7 Structure of the Study

After the preceding brief introduction and the delimitation of the field, **Chapter 2** discusses the terminology relevant to the field of discussion; it reviews the terminology that has a bearing on non-morphematic word-formation processes, it introduces the terms needed to analyse their structure, and it proposes a consistent terminology and definitions for terms which have, so far, been used with a certain degree of slackness. To conclude, the chapter contextualises the present study by looking at the role of English in Africa, with a special focus on Southern Africa, and modern developments of English as an international language, especially in the age of electronic communication.

On the basis of the preliminaries outlined in Chapters 1 and 2, **Chapter 3** reviews the most important and influential literature on non-morphematic word-formation processes, most of which focuses on taxonomic and classificatory aspects, although other studies of non-morphematic word-formation processes are also taken into account. This discussion will lead to a review of comprehensive typologies of word-formation as a whole, which prepares the ground for the proposition of new typologies of non-morphematic word-formation processes in relation to other (that is, morphematic) word-formation processes to conclude this chapter.

Chapter 4 commences with a case study, which is intended to exemplify some aspects of the socio-pragmatic and textual functions played by non-morphematic word-formation processes in advertising and politics. This discussion is followed by a presentation of the criteria which form part of the proposed multi-level approach – in the sense of an analytical model: the theoretical and ‘programmatic’ part of the study.

Chapter 5 is devoted to the discussion of the corpus: its genesis, purpose and analysis. The analysis of the database complements and tests the new taxonomies proposed as the outcome of Chapter 3 and provides insights into the modes of production, the productivity and the conditions of use of non-morphematic word-formation processes, thus applying and testing the analytical model introduced in Chapter 4: the empirical part of the thesis, which will, in turn, lead to a revised and modified analytical model.

The concluding **Chapter 6** explores the possibilities of extending the proposed interdisciplinary approach to word-formation in general by presenting a summary of the findings, relating them to word-formation in general, and outlining possibilities for future research.

To support the arguments presented in this study, four **Appendices** are added: Appendices 1 and 2 consist of the complete inventories of the full corpus ('mother corpus' – the penultimate stage) and its permissible values respectively; Appendix 3 lists the items of the final corpus, and Appendix 4 consists of the complete final corpus, that is, the full records of the final database (see Sections 5.1 and 5.2 for details on the genesis of the corpus and the appendices).

Due to the nature of both the subject matter and the argument, it is inevitable that certain key concepts are brought up in several parts of the thesis; for example, motivation is discussed in Chapter 2 (as part of the basic concepts), Chapter 3 (Scale of Motivation), Chapter 4 (as one of the criteria), and in Chapter 5 (compilation of the corpus and analysis) – obviously, with a different focus in each instance. Therefore, I have made frequent use of cross-references in order to avoid unnecessary circularity and repetition.

2. Non-Morphematic Word-Formation

2.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the terminology necessary for the investigation of non-morphematic word-formation processes, that is

- the terminology surrounding non-morphematic word-formation processes themselves; and
- the terminology needed to discuss these processes in terms of their structures, as well as relevant concepts, which are used in word-formation.

Subsequently, we will consider the context of the present study:

- regionally, that is, with regard to the role of English in Africa, paying particular attention to the role of English in Southern Africa; and
- globally, in the context of English as an international language, especially in the age of electronic communication.

2.1 Terminology

In general usage, there is considerable variation concerning the use of terms like ‘acronym’, ‘abbreviation’ etc. Paxton (1989: ii), for example, observes that “[t]he proliferation of the acronym, a pronounceable name of convenience formed of initial letters of organisations, etc. (e.g. *Oxfam, Ensa*) or of parts of words (e.g. *radar, ra*dio *d*etection *a*nd *r*anging), has been a marked feature of twentieth-century abbreviation …” and he states that “[t]he term abbreviations includes contracted and shortened forms of words and phrases, and acronyms and initials” (Paxton 1989: iii). This rather vague and loose definition certainly reflects everyday usage, and, as his dictionary is intended for the everyday user, this definition is probably sufficient at this level. For the purposes of this research, however, more precise definitions are required for the concepts under discussion. In this chapter I propose a consistent terminology and definitions for the relevant key terms; these will later be used in new

classifications of non-morphematic word-formation processes (see Section 3.22 below).

Non-morphematic word-formation will be defined as any word-formation process that is **not morpheme-based**[1], that is, which uses at least one element which is not a morpheme; this element can be a splinter, a phonaestheme, part of a syllable, an initial letter, a number or a letter used as a symbol (for a more detailed discussion of the terms 'splinter' and 'phonaestheme' see Section 2.5 below). In what follows, I will review the non-morphematic word-formation processes themselves (Sections 2.2 and 2.3), followed by a review of the concepts used in the context of the products of word-formation (Section 2.4) and the elements of word-formation (Section 2.5)

2.2 Shortenings

Many authors group 'initialisms', 'acronyms', 'clippings' and 'blends' (with some variation in the terminology) together under the hyperonym 'shortening' (or, sometimes 'abbreviation'), for example, Crystal (1995: 120) and McArthur (1988 and 1992: 2ff) (see also Section 3.11). Although the terminology used in this study will deviate in some cases from that of other authors, and the proposed sub-categories will be somewhat different as well, I will follow this broad practice consistently and apply it to the overall taxonomies proposed in

[1] This excludes back-formation (also: back-derivation), for the following reasons:

- usually, a suffix (that is a **morpheme**) is deleted, for example, *to babysit* < *babysitter*, and in this case, the difference between back-derivation and suffixation is one of **direction**, to be determined diachronically; depending on the reliability of the source material, determining the derivational chronology is not always possible (see also Schmid 2004MS: 12.1 who also expresses doubts concerning diachronic explanations of back-formations);
- in some cases, "erroneously perceived suffixes" are deleted, for example, *to peddle* < *pedlar, to burgle* < *burglar* (see, for example, Kastovsky 1982: 174f). However, as word-formation usually takes place in the oral medium, and as the English orthography was not absolutely fixed for a long time, I do not find this explanation entirely convincing. In addition, paradigm pressure might have contributed to these formations (see also Bauer 2001: 84).

Therefore, back-derivation is treated as morphematic in this study.

Chapter 3 (Section 3.22) as well. This decision seems justified in terms of the functions that shortenings share in discourse (economy, precision, naming etc.) and in speech communities (as in-group markers, attention-getting devices and others).

2.2.1 Acronyms

In a wider sense, acronyms (sometimes called "letter words" – see McArthur 1992: 11 and 599) are words which (partly) consist of initial letters of longer words or phrases. The term will be used as cover term for all the types of formations using initials which were taken from two or more lexemes. Within this group, we can distinguish the following major sub-groups[2]:

- **abbreviations** or **initialisms**, which are not pronounced as words, that is, the initials are pronounced individually, for example, *USA, COD, L.A., GOP, ANC, PAC, SABC etc*.

- **syllabic acronyms**, in which at least one syllable is used, usually to make the resulting lexeme pronounceable, for example, *Unisa, radar, Nabisco, Soweto*; and

- **acronyms proper**, that is, **acronyms in the narrow sense**, which are pronounced as words, for example, *NATO, laser, Cosatu;* sometimes pronounceability is achieved by inserting prop sounds in order to make the acronym pronounceable as a word, for example, *WLSA* [wɪlsa] ('Women and Law in Southern Africa'), or by (partly) transcribing the letter pronunciation, as in *DJ – deejay, VP – veep, MC – emcee.*

There are also cases of overlaps; for instance, *VAT* and *COD* are sometimes pronounced like words (which would make them acronyms proper), and sometimes letter-by-letter (abbreviations). Some abbreviations can be pronounced and written as such, and they have phoneticised alternative

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[2] Wölcken (1957) suggests a progression (or 'genetic' development) from abbreviations to acronyms which I consider to be too simplistic and therefore inadequate: not all acronyms undergo a process which takes them from abbreviation and the use of capital letters via smaller case letters to the stage of acronym. In contrast with his typology, the types presented here are not to be understood as resulting from any (standard) chronological development.

spellings, for example, *deejay, emcee, veep* and *BBC* [,bi:bi:'si:] – *Beeb* (in the latter two cases accompanied by alternative pronunciations). Furthermore, there are some intentionally formed abbreviations, which, when pronounced letter by letter, result in (quasi-) homophonous words or phrases: *INXS* [,ɪn,eks'ɛs] and *U2* [,ju:'tu:]. In addition, as the last example has shown, acronyms and abbreviations sometimes incorporate numbers. Furthermore, not always are all initials used in the acronym; especially function words are frequently omitted in the interest of forming a manageable new lexeme, for example, in *ACU* – 'Association of Commonwealth Universities' and in *WLSA*. Finally, acronyms need to be kept apart from written clippings like *abbr., etc., esp.,* which popular usage often labels 'abbreviations' (see Section 2.2.3 below).

The spelling of abbreviations and acronyms fluctuates and is, therefore, largely irrelevant; in many cases, several variants exist side-by-side: with or without dots, all capitals or lower case[3]. We have to conclude, therefore, that the orthography is not a reliable indicator of the structure, formation, or indeed, of the stage of institutionalisation or lexicalisation of the concerned form. However, 'acronyms proper' seem to display a tendency to lose their dots and upper case spelling (if they ever made use of them) fairly quickly. This feature soon gives many acronyms a word-like quality, and many acronyms do, indeed, 'behave' like normal words, for example in terms of inflection, a fact which has been criticised by purists. Pinker (1999: 28) counters:

> But the purists fail to recognize that acronyms, like phrases, can turn into bona fide words as a language evolves, as in *TV, VCR, UFO, SOB,* and *PC.* Once an acronym has become a word there is no reason not to treat it as a word, including adding a plural suffix to it. Would anyone really talk about *three JP* (justices of the peace), *five POW* (prisoners of war), or *nine SOB* (sons of bitches)?

[3] Paxton (1989: i) observes a modern trend of "omitting from abbreviations the full stop/period/point" and he observes a particular popularity of this style in advertising and headlines, whereas "the pointed style is kept for more formal use".

Due to the fact that the underlying forms of acronyms and abbreviations are often obscure, they frequently undergo instantaneous loss of motivation[4], which gives their coiners the opportunity to find doubly motivated forms: forms which establish a certain semantic link with the denotatum[5] (see Ungerer 1991a and 1991b, and Section 4.2.2 below). Taking this characteristic into account, and if we allow ourselves to use a cross-classification, we can subdivide 'acronyms proper' according to their motivation:

- **unmotivated acronyms**[6], for example, *NATO, NASA, UNESCO, Cosatu, Unisa, radar, laser, Nabisco*;

- **doubly motivated acronyms**[7] which were intentionally formed in such a way that the resulting lexeme will be homonymous (or at least homophonous) with an already existing lexeme, preferably one that can in some way be related to the meaning of the full form, for example, *NOW, ERA, FIST, Aids;* to achieve this effect, the constituents may even be swapped, as in *MISHAP* (see below);
  it has to be noted, however, that there are even some **doubly motivated abbreviations**, that is, forms which were obviously coined with the intention to produce a pronounceable lexeme which is homophonous with an already existing word but which are, nevertheless, pronounced letter-by-letter: *P.A.Y.E.* – 'pay-as-you-earn'; and

- **triply motivated acronyms**, which are rather rare, and which use initials that will, when taken together, give an acronym which is homonymous with one (usually the first) constituent, for example, *GAS* – 'Gas Appliance Society'.

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[4] It is interesting to note that speakers of German seem to have a comparatively high tolerance threshold for unmotivated acronyms and abbreviations, as it is quite common in German to take over English forms without subjecting them to any changes or translations, for example, *NATO, UNO*. An exception to the rule is the German foreign minister Joschka Fischer, who refers to the United Nations as *VN* [vau 'ɛn] ('Vereinte Nationen') (Wolfgang Falkner, personal communication).
The situation is different with Romance languages, which seem to prefer coining analogous or parallel acronyms, for example, *OTAN, ONU* and *SIDA*.
[5] Wales (1991: 5) observes that "[i]t is fashionable to suggest a word already in the language, and one which is humorous or punningly appropriate (e.g. *CISSY:* 'Campaign to Impede Sexual Stereotyping in the Young')."
[6] Combinations such as *PIN* ('personal identification') *number* and *PESP* ("Pre-Entry Science Programme') *programme* indicate that these acronyms suffer from loss of motivation, despite their homonymy with (unrelated) existing words.
[7] See also Sections 3.22.2 and 4.2.2 on motivation.

In some cases, the constituents of acronyms are rearranged in order to make the acronym pronounceable and homonymous with an existing lexeme, which can then function as prop word, sometimes with an ironic slant, for example:

MISHAP – 'Missiles High-Speed Assembly Program'
↑____↑ (*Time,* 28 July 1961, p. 39)

In others, innovative pronunciations contribute to their originality, for example the recently coined *TTIC* ('Terrorist Threat Integration Center'), which is pronounced ['ti:tɪk][8].

Many acronyms categorise and name new institutions[9], phenomena, inventions, and, most recently, computer and Internet[10] concepts and processes, due to their completeness and descriptive accuracy and, at the same time, their precision and efficiency. However, they can also be (ab-) used for euphemistic and obfuscatory purposes, for example *SAM* – 'surface-to-air missile' and *BAMBI* – 'Ballistic Missile Boost Intercept' (see also Section 4.1). Ironic formations and re-interpretations are popular in journalism and show that acronyms and abbreviations can be used for playful purposes, too: *Fiat*[11] – 'Fix It Again, Tony'; *snafu* – 'situation normal, all fouled up'; *TGIF* – 'Thank God It's Friday'; *OTT* – 'over-the-top'. This feature shows that acronyms lend themselves to creativity and it explains their popularity in slang where they contribute to the important in-group effect:

> Acronyms are among the most creative, freewheeling creations in vocabulary today. They differ from most other items in that they are never lapses and are seldom formed by analogy, but are consciously made. Organizations sometimes choose a proper-sounding name by assembling a sequence of words to effect the desired collocation … (Cannon 1994: 81)

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[8] The item occurred in the following context:

> These are the men and women of the year-old Terrorist Threat Integration Center (TTIC). … Each day, officials at TTIC (pronounced *tee*-tic) examine 5,000 to 6,000 pieces of intelligence … (*Time*, 29 March 2004, p. 33)

[9] It has been claimed that acronyms first became popular in the United States of America during the 1920s and 1930s, and that their popularity is related to the need for naming new institutions (see Wilton 2003).

[10] See Saila (1999) for a rather extensive e-mail debate about the 'correct' terminology of acronym and abbreviation terms.

[11] The original underlying phrase for this acronym is: *F.I.A.T.* – 'Fabbrica Italiana di Automobili Torino'

Homonymy is a pervasive feature with acronyms and abbreviations, a fact that becomes more than obvious as soon as one opens one of the numerous dictionaries of abbreviations which are published on a regular basis – a fact that also shows the productivity of this word-formation process. However, as acronyms and abbreviations are usually confined to certain contexts – Adams (2001: 142) calls them "situational" – and/or jargons where they are disambiguated by the context, homonymy usually does not constitute a problem.

As can already be seen from the above sub-classification, it is difficult to draw a hard-and-fast dividing line between acronyms on the one hand, and blends and clippings on the other (see also Sections 2.2.2 and 2.2.3 below). Furthermore, it is quite clear, especially with doubly and triply motivated acronyms, that they were intentionally coined, probably by a group of people with pens and paper in their hands. This makes them special: acronyms are the only word-formation process originating in the written mode (see also Algeo 1975 and Section 3.6).

Acronyms and abbreviations behave like any other lexemes of the English language: that is, they can be inflected (*GI,* possessive: *GI's; yuppie,* plural: *yuppies*), and they can become parts of new combinations, for example:

- acronym: *YOU* – 'Youth Out for UNICEF'
- blend: *Guppie* < *Green* + *yuppie*
- compound from two abbreviations: *IBM PC*
- compound containing an abbreviation: *Y2K compliant*
- conversion: *to emcee, to SMS*
- clipping: *Y* < *YMCA/YWCA*
- suffixation: *yuppification, yuppyish, Sowetan*
- prefixation: *un-PC* ('politically incorrect')
- acronym + combining form: *Yuppiegate*

Dent (2003: 31) also mentions *dub-dub-dub*, based on the transcription of the clipped pronunciation of *WWW* – 'World-Wide Web', and Lipka (2000: 200) draws our attention to the fact that names

> often combine various productive word-formation processes, such as compounding, derivation, clipping, blending, and acronyming. Especially various kinds of abbreviations and acronyms, as well as *initials* (like LL), as means of referring, are enormously productive in our modern world and have been neglected to a great extent in both word-formation and onomastics. In spite of possible lexicalisation and institutionalisation … they are part of dynamic lexicology … (emphasis in original)

Furthermore, acronyms, whether proper names or not, can take familiarity markers like *-y* and *-ie,* for example:

yuppie = 'young, urban professional people' + *-ie*

With the 'electronic revolution' and globalisation of recent years, acronyms have been experiencing a new boom and new subtypes and preferences have developed (see also Chapter 1 and Section 2.7), and many hybrid forms like "netcronyms" or "e-abbrevs" (McArthur 2000: 40) have enriched the everyday usage of many people. Some formations are simple abbreviations (*btw* for 'by the way' and *lol* 'laughing out loud'), others need to be (mentally) pronounced in order for them to make sense (for example, *cu* 'see you'); some incorporate numbers (*l8r* 'later'*)*, some are sound symbolic and iconic (*zzz* 'asleep'), others are highly innovative in their use of the phonetic quality of letters, like *ICQ* ('I seek you'), which uses the phoneticised version of the letter 'q' to transcribe the end of the second word and the beginning of the third word. From the same domain, we get emoticons which use punctuation marks and letters to produce 'emotive icons' which are read vertically, such as :D ('laughing') and ;-) ('winking'). McArthur (2000: 40) points out that East Asian emoticons are read horizontally and that some are very elaborate, for example, (*^o^*) for 'very happy' – an interesting observation, which provides evidence for cultural differences even in the domain of modern 'computerspeak'.

In what follows, I will use the terms 'abbreviation' and/or 'initialism' for forms that are pronounced letter by letter. The term 'acronym' will be used as a cover

term for both ‘acronyms proper’ and abbreviations/initialisms, and, where there is no danger of confusion, for ‘acronyms proper’. This may seem to be confusing initially, but the reason behind this decision is that it would not make sense to go against the majority of the existing literature and against general usage (see, for example, the usage in Dent 2003).

2.2.2 Blends

Blends are usually composed of two elements, and in this respect they are similar to compounds. In the case of blends, however, these elements are not morphemes but sub-morphemic elements, and their formation is less regular and predictable than that of compounds[12]. Following Berman (1961), Soudek (1978) uses the term ‘splinters’ for random parts of morphemes or words, a useful term because it implies their irregular form. He distinguishes between ‘initial splinters’, for example, *sm* in *smog, haz* and *chem* in *hazchem*, and ‘final splinters’, for example *og* in *smog*. Initial splinters usually form the first parts of blends but, in rare cases, they can also become the second (such as *chem* in *hazchem)*. Final splinters, however, can only form the second/end part of a blend. In most cases blends consist of an initial splinter and a final splinter[13], and this can lead to overlap, for example, in *mo<u>t</u>el* (see Algeo 1977 and Soudek 1978, and Sections 3.6 and 3.7 below). Some blends, on the other hand, use one or more unshortened word(s), often with overlap, for example, *breathalyser, sexpert, trafficator.* Phonologically, blends evoke both words from which they draw. Marchand (1969: 451) calls blending “compounding by means of curtailed words”, and he considers only consciously formed formations to be part of word-formation, that is, he excludes ‘contaminations’ or slips of the mind. Kreidler (1994: 5029f) proposes a similar definition:

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[12] Sometimes blends are called ‘portmanteau-words’ (F *portmanteau* – ‘suitcase’, literally: ‘coat-carrier’), a metaphor which implies that they consist of (parts of) two words which were joined together and are now as inseparable as the two halves of an old-fashioned suitcase.

> Sometimes two words are clipped simultaneously and united to form a 'blend'. The two source words may be syntagmatically related … or paradigmatically related. … Many blends … are consciously composed. Formations like these are now much favored in advertising and in the popular press.

Thus blending involves reanalysis (Adams 2001: 138f), and this may spark off a whole series of similar formations, despite the fact that blends usually resemble at least one of their source words more closely than they do the other(s). Nevertheless, blends are not as transparent as, for example, compounds, and sometimes there are variant spellings, which might also explain the ephemeral quality of many blends (Adams 2001: 141) and the lack of detailed research into these.

According to their elements, blends can be classified into the following sub-types:

o initial and final splinter:	*drunge*	< *dandy* + *grunge*
o two initial splinters:	*hazchem*	< *hazardous chemical*
o overlap:	*escalift*	< *escalator* + *lift*
o overlap of full words ('telescope'):	*slanguage*	< *slang* + *language*
o name + splinter:	*Reaganomics*	< *Reagan* + *economics*
	Mockney	< *mock* + *Cockney*
o insertion of one word into the other, with overlap:	*satisficing*	< *satisfying* + *suffice*
o 'total blend', due to total mixture:	*mimstud*	< *<u>mi</u>ddle-aged <u>st</u>ick-in-the-<u>mud</u>*
o graphic blend:	*pollutician*	< *pollution* + *politician*

Blends are mixtures – products of the 'blending' – of words, both formally and in terms of their content. Semantically, blends derive their meanings from the two underlying words from the parts of which they were formed, but, unlike compounds, they show an additional semantic component, BLENDING/ MIXTURE. This often gives them an iconic character: they are motivated by their referents; that is, their forms mirror their denotata, which is some sort of

[13] Aitchison (2003: 138) points out that sounds at the beginning and at the end of words are stored more prominently in the mental lexicon, which might explain the general preference for blends consisting of initial splinters and final splinters.

‘mixture’ as well. Most blends are stylistically marked as UNCONVENTIONAL/ INNOVATIVE/PROGRESSIVE. They are popular in advertising (see Section 4.1), where they sometimes function as puns, inviting the reader to figure out the puzzle. In their particular contexts, however, they are usually more or less transparent, with the exception of some idiomatised formations like *smog,* as Allan (1986, vol.1: 241) explains:

> … blends should be treated in the same way as conventional compounds and entered in the dictionary. New blends, like novel compounds, are interpreted from the meanings of their supposed parts, the context, and background information.

Many blends are *ad hoc* formations, coined for special effect. Some, however, do pass into the general vocabulary, are institutionalised and even lexicalised and even become parts of new formations, while others incorporate other non-morphematic word-formations:

- suffixation based on a blend:
  smoggy < *smog* + *-y*
- blend containing abbreviation and ellipsis
  Y2.1K < *Y2K* + *2.1 [engine size]*
- blend from two abbreviations:
  ABB < *ASEA* + *BBC*
- blend based on an existing blend:
  chatiquette < *chat* + *Netiquette*
- blends based on one acronym and a noun:
  WAPathy < *WAP* + *apathy*
  F *Sidaction* < *SIDA* + *action*
- blend containing ellipsis and acronym:
  sluppy < *Sloane [Rangers]* + *yuppie*
  < *(Sloane Square* + *Lone Rangers)* + (‘young urban professional people’ + *-ie)*

Unlike acronyms, most blends are formed in oral usage, with the exception of graphic blends like *sinema, buycentennial* and *pollutician*, which are only interpretable in their written forms – sometimes supported by graphic means, especially in advertising (see Section 4.1). Not surprisingly, blends are popular in advertising, the media, politics and domains which mix these, like political

journalism, commentary and humorous and/or ironical texts (see also Quinion 1996), due to their unconventionality and attention-catching quality.

Crystal (1995: 130) indirectly hints at similarities between blending and compounding when he states that the second element usually "controls the meaning of the whole", and he also points to the attention-getting function of blends and their ephemeral nature: "Blending seems to have increased in popularity in the 1980s, being increasingly used in commercial and advertising contexts … but how many of them will still be around in a decade remains an open question".

As is the case with other word-formation processes, it is sometimes difficult to draw sharp dividing lines between blending, affixation and compounding on the one hand, and acronyming and clipping on the other – see *sitcom* and *stu-vac*[14] (AustrE: 'student vacation'): are these compounds consisting of two clippings, clipped compounds, or blends consisting of two initial splinters? Another aspect concerns parallel formations of different types, usually originating in different varieties, for example:

caffree < *caffeine* + *free [coffee]:* BrE: blend with overlap, initial splinter + word (and ellipsis)

versus

decaf[15] < *decaffeinated [coffee]:* AmE: end-clipping (and ellipsis)

[14] See also McArthur (1992: 137) who lists hyphenated formations like *hi-tech* or *high-tec* as blends, which, for me, do not fulfill the essential condition for blending, namely that of blending/mixing elements from two (or more) words to form a new one. The hyphen clearly separates the two splinters in these cases (and in others, like *stu-vac*), and therefore excludes them from this category. Instead, I would categorise them as 'clipped compounds'.
Gries (2003) also mentions borderline cases between blends on the one hand, and clippings/clipped compounds on the other.
[15] Similarly French: *le déca* < *le [café] décaféiné* (clipping + ellipsis).

2.2.3 Clippings and Clipped Compounds

Clipping is the only word-formation process which shortens lexemes without parallel or concomitant expansion (cf. acronyming and blending). Marchand (1969: 441) defines it as "the reduction of a word to one of its parts. … [T]he clipped part is not a morpheme in the linguistic system (nor is the clipped result, for that matter), but an arbitrary part of the word form". Although I do not agree with the second part of Marchand's statement – I do think that clipping is a word-formation process as there are cases of semantic disassociation, for example, *bus, champ* and *exam* (see below), and clippings can become parts of new formations (see below) – nonetheless, Marchand's comment does emphasise the arbitrariness of the clipping process: it takes place independent of stress, syllable or morpheme structure (and it is this arbitrariness which clippings share with splinters and blending).

Bauer (1988: 33) has the following to say about clipping. According to him, it is

> …the process of shortening a word without changing its meaning or part of speech … clipping frequently does change the stylistic value of the word. As far as is known, there is no way to predict how much of a word will be clipped off in clipping, nor even which end of the word will be clipped off. Neither is it possible to say that any given syllable will definitely be retained in clipping.

Due to these characteristics, Bauer (1988: 33) doubts whether the process of clipping falls within the domain of morphology:

> Since the parts that are deleted in clipping are not clearly morphs in any sense, it is not necessarily the case that clipping is a part of morphology, although it is a way of forming new lexemes.

In most cases, words which consist of two or more syllables are clipped, and in the majority of all clippings, it is the end which is truncated – a tendency that may be attributed to the predominant stress pattern of English, which favours

primary stress on the first syllable[16]. We can distinguish the following sub-types:

- **fore-clipping:** the end is clipped, for example, *chair, champ, lab*
- **back-clipping:** the first part of the word is clipped, for example, *phone, ism*
- **back- and fore-clipping**, for example *flu, fridge*
- **mid-clipping:** *Jo'burg* (sometimes written *Jo'bg*)
- **written clippings** are spoken as full forms, in popular usage they are often called 'abbreviations', for example, *abbr, abbrev, approx, Inc, inf, ref, Sen, etc, esp;* and
- **clipped compounds**, which are shortenings of long combinations, where one part remains intact, for example, *cablegram, microfilm.*

Sometimes clippings are formed from rather complex and long lexemes, and in some cases, clipping is combined with ellipsis[17], for example:

coco	<	*coconut [palm]*
perm	<	*permanent [wave]; permutation*
prefab	<	*prefabricated [house]*
bicarb	<	*[sodium] bicarbonate*
supp	<	*supplementary [exam]*

Even written clippings can become parts of new combinations, as, for instance, the following written clipped compounds:

Atty-Gen	<	*Attorney-General*
BEd	<	*Bachelor of Education*

Plural forms usually remain intact: *vibes, maths* (BrE). Informal spellings, and the fact that clippings usually maintain the stressed front part of the full form,

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[16] See also Aitchison (1991: 172) on adult English speakers' tendency to "leave off" the last syllables of words rather than syllables appearing at word beginnings, which differs from children's tendency to retain the stressed syllable, and Leith (1983: 62) as quoted in Chapter 1, footnote 1.

[17] For definitions of the term 'ellipsis' see Wales (1991: 138f) and McArthur (1992: 344f). I transfer this (syntactic) term to cases where one or more parts of a longer phrase are omitted but are still implied and can easily be filled in by the language users, for example, *shocks* (see also Section 3.7 below), *polytechnic [college], pine [tree],* etc. Clippings, on the other hand, create new lexemes which are no longer fully interchangeable in all contexts (see the case of *exam* as discussed below).

indicate that they are coined in the oral medium (for example, *shun* < *attention, sarge* < *sergeant, mike* < *microphone, fridge* < *refrigerator, loony* < *lunatic*). Some cases also show a change in pronunciation, for example, the change from unvoiced consonant cluster /st/ to voiced fricative in *Aussie* [-z-] < *Australian* [-st-], or from voiced to voiceless in *Lisa* [-s-] < *Elizabeth* [-z-], and the change from monophthong to diphthong in *Eliza, Liza* [-aɪ-] < *Elizabeth* [-ɪ-]. In addition, the primary stress can move, especially if the stressed part of the word is cut off, for example in *Aussie, exam, maths* and *vibes*.

Clipping does not change the word class or function of the word. In many cases, clippings represent alternative, and more colloquial, variants of the full forms (for example, *prof, phone, lab*)[18], but there are some examples of semantic disassociation, for example, *exam*[19] and *fan*, and in a number of cases, the full form has been lost so that the clipping has replaced the older and longer form (for example, *pants, pub, bus*). In the majority of cases, however, clippings are primarily of stylistic relevance: they are informal, colloquial, often even slangy, and due to the parallel existence of the full form, they are motivated through it. As with blends, their informal character makes clippings popular in advertising, journalism, slang and jargons, not least because they convey in-group familiarity. It is not surprising, therefore, that we find numerous homonyms, which are, however, fully functional within their contexts, for example, *sub* < *subaltern/submarine/subscription/subsidy/sub-*

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[18] See also Kreidler (1994: 5030):

> Clipping begins as a new way of designating phenomena which already have names, names that are in fairly frequent use among a group of people. The fact that clipping occurs suggests an attitude of familiarity to the referent, and it also suggests that the names are longer than most of the lexical items which are familiar to the speakers.

Although I would doubt whether the second part of Kreidler's statement is true, there can be little doubt that clipping certainly produces items of more 'manageable' length than the original, unclipped forms.

[19] An informal test, which involved asking informants whether the phrases 'a doctor's exam' and 'a doctor's examination' mean the same to them, confirms that there is now a clear difference in meaning. One informant wrote, for example, "I would think of a doctor's exam as being a test of knowledge/skill taken by a doctor (i.e. in medical school), and a doctor's examination as something carried out by a doctor on me."

stitute … Sometimes, one full form can lead to various clippings in different varieties, for example, *university* > *uni* (AustrE, NZE), *versity* (obs), *varsity* (coll). Similarly, *advertisement* yields *ad* and *advert*, *par* and *graph* are both based on *paragraph*, and *Jo'burg* and *Jozi* were also shortened from the same long form (with the latter being more colloquial).

Clippings can be inflected, they can become parts of new formations, and they can take familiarity markers, especially in American English and with names, for example:

- compounding of two clippings:
  Lib Dems < *Liberal Democrats*

- suffixations based on clippings:
  libber < *lib + -er; lib < [women's] liberation*
  adman < *ad [vertisement] + -man*

- prefixation and compounding based on clipping:
  intervarsity games

- clippings plus familiarity markers:
  Lizzy, Lizzie, Libby, Betty, Betsy, Betty … < *Elizabeth*
  Roller < *Rolls Royce*
  rugger < *rugby*

There are delimitation problems between clipping and blending. In some cases, clippings may turn into elements of blends, thus making them splinters; for instance, is *minicam* a clipping (from *minicamera*), or a blend of two initial splinters (*mini* from *miniature*, and *cam* from *camera*)? Other overlaps and delimitation problems concern clipped compounds, telescopes and blends from initial splinters (see above). In other cases, the dividing lines between acronyms, blends and clipped compounds become fuzzy, for example:

hi-fi < *high fidelity*
sci-fi < *science fiction*
sitcom < *situation comedy*
op art < *optical art*

Similarly, the sentence "She wrote her doctor's examination" was considered to be awkward, whereas "She wrote her doctor's exam" was described as "more natural".

However, I do not include **incomplete compounds** (*air [plane] port*) or **ellipses**[20] (*shocks* < *shock absorbers*) among clippings as they concern phrases and/or morphemes (thus excluding them, by definition, from the subject matter of this study); furthermore, in the majority of cases, there is no semantic or functional change, and it is questionable whether we have to do with cases of word-formation anyway. Similarly, **back-formation** is excluded here, as it deals with the deletion of (perceived) morphemes, for example, *to babysit* < *babysitter* (see also Sections 2.1 and 3.22.1).

2.3 Onomatopoeia

On the same level as the term 'shortening', which we defined as a hyperonym for acronyms, blends and clippings (see Section 2.2 above), we use the term 'onomatopoeia' as a superordinate term for imitation, sound symbolism and reduplications of various types.

2.3.1 Imitation and Sound Symbolism

Under this heading I subsume all those formations which try to imitate or approximate (**imitation,** for example, *miaow*) or symbolise (**sound symbolism,** for example, *crash, rush, jitter*) sounds and/or movements with the help of the human speech organs and the phonemes available in their respective languages[21]. As early as 1930, Firth (1930; 1964[22]), clearly influenced by the behaviorist paradigm of his time, discussed the "phonetic habits" and "linguistic kinship" of certain phonemes and phoneme clusters:

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[20] Unlike Schmid (2004MS: Section 12.2), who classifies forms like *comprehensive [school], capital [city]* and *[United] States* as clippings.

[21] However, onomatopoeia seems to enjoy a little more phonological and phonetic freedom than 'ordinary' words, as Masuda (2003: 77) observes:

> Onomatopoeia lies partially outside the phonological inventory of the language. To some extent, language-specific constraints are relaxed, such as the number and combination of consonants allowed in a cluster, and the distribution of a given phoneme.

> We are appreciatively *affected* by initial and final phone groups not ordinarily recognized as having any function. … An isolated word which does not function in a context of experience has little that can be called meaning. But a group of words such as [those beginning in *sl*-] has a cumulative suggestive value that cannot be overlooked in any consideration of our habits of speech. … The more consistently similar sounds function in situations having a similar affective aspect, the clearer their function. (Firth 1964: 184f; emphasis in original)

Firth (1964: 187) emphasises the habitual aspect very clearly: "… with the doubtful exception of certain sibilant consonants, there would appear to be no inherent phonaesthetic value in any speech sound. It is all a matter of habit." Bolinger (1950: 136) recognises "units which show two-way (or three-way or multifarious) resemblances", which we need "to describe … fully, but to accept the units as organic entities" (see also Section 2.5.4, Fn. 36).

Marchand (1969: 397) calls the elements that are used in the creation of these word-formations 'expressive symbols', and he distinguishes between 'initial' (404ff) and 'final symbols' (419ff), which can be suggestive of, or symbolise, sounds and/or emotions:

> An onomatopoeic word is a compound of several symbolic elements … The initial symbols place a word in a certain semantic group … The principle method … is that of symbol blending. … [I]t is only two morphemic elements that play a relevant part: the initial symbol, i.e. the consonant(s) preceding the vowel, and the final symbol, i.e. the vowel and the final consonant(s).
> (Marchand 1969: 402)

Lyons (1977: 101) recognises onomatopoeia as exceptions to the generally prevailing and accepted "arbitrariness of the linguistic sign", despite the fact that they are relatively small in number. He points out that even these formations display a small amount of arbitrariness due to the fact that their form is restricted to the articulatory options of the language in which they appear. Similarly, Cruse (1986: 34f) points out that, although onomatopoeic lexemes "are held to 'resemble' their referents auditorily, … the degree of objective similarity may be very low", and in sound symbolism, there is even no resemblance at all.

Reay (1994: 4064) expresses his definition cautiously:

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[22] I will quote from the reprinted versions of these articles, which appeared in 1964.

> Sound symbolism is said to be present when a speech sound seems to correlate with an object in the real world. The correlation may take the form of 'onomatopoeia' or 'mimesis', where a sound originating from an animate or inanimate source is reproduced more or less accurately by the human articulatory organs as a lexical item.

He juxtaposes sound symbolism (or "nonarbitrary iconism") with "arbitrary symbolism" and characterises sound symbolism as "linguistic iconism". According to him (1994: 4067), "phonesthetic blends account for many words" and can be arranged in "phonestheme networks".

Unlike other scholars[23], Crystal (1988 and 1995) and Bauer (esp. 1994b: 4063, and 2001: 84) are more cautious and maintain that the role of phonaesthesia in English word-formation should not be overestimated[24]:

> The vast majority of words in English are made up of sounds that bear no obvious relationship to the objects, events, sensations and ideas which give content to our physical and mental worlds. (Crystal 1988: 123)

And:

> PHONAESTHEMES are recurrent sounds or sound sequences which appear to indicate a semantic field of reference. For example, the /gl/ in *gleam, glimmer, glare, glint, glitter, gloss* seems to refer to light. Morphologists have traditionally been extremely chary of classing such things as morphemes for at least two reasons. First, words containing phonaesthemes cannot be exhaustively segmented and, second, phonaesthemes do not work everywhere … (Bauer 2001: 84)

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[23] See, for example, Clark (2000), Magnus (1997-2001), Reay (1994), and Shisler (1997). Shisler, for instance, claims that

> [k]nowledge of phonesthemes can help one understand how the mind grapples with new and old words, how (and *why*) similar words fit together, how there is an underlying order to our seemingly arbitrary lexicon, and how new words are born and how meanings evolve (emphasis in the original).

[24] See also Bauer (2001: 84), as quoted in Section 4.2.12 below, and Grew (1998):

> Clusters of similar-sounding words with semantic affinities are the basis of phonaesthesia. In this phenomenon, associations arise among groups of words, which may have close, distant or no etymological relations. These associations may then transfer to a sequence of phonemes shared by the words with some perceived common element of meaning, creating phonaesthemes. The presence of that same string of phonemes may then in turn lend a shade of the meaning felt to characterize the phonaestheme to another expression, simply because the latter contains that string.

And:

> Identifying the role of an associative process in word formation leads to the slippery slope of speculation about cognitive processes that we do not fully understand.

Gaskell (1998) situates this phenomenon somewhere between the levels of morpheme and phoneme: it "refers to more rudimentary primes".

Similarly, Crystal (1995: 251) is also more sceptical and careful than Marchand:

> [I]f a sound is credited with a certain intrinsic meaning, the meaning should exist wherever the sound appears. There are no totally convincing cases of this sort in English ...

Adams (2001: 131f) points out that the semantics of phonaesthemes is frequently "uncertain":

> Phonaestheme formations are characterized generally by elusiveness of meaning, and subjectivity in judgments about it, by proliferation and volatility of form, and even sometimes by variation in spelling. But they are used and on occasion 'created' by all speakers, and they are certainly frequent enough, and analysable enough, to claim attention in an account of word formation.
> (Adams 2001: 132)

Nevertheless, sound symbolism and imitation play an undeniably important role in at least two domains: cartoons, comic strips and comic books – both for children[25] and for adults – and in advertising, particularly in the choice of certain product names (see, for example, Crystal 1995: 252 for names of cereals).

Imitations are not arbitrary linguistic signs – unlike most morphemes (see also Section 2.5.1 below). They are, therefore, the strongest directly motivated linguistic elements that exist in natural languages. Pinker (1999: 154f) defines onomatopoeia as "a sequence of vowels and consonants … construed not as a sound arbitrarily paired with a meaning but as a direct rendering of a sound in the world", which is perceived by speakers as similar to the denotatum, despite the fact that it is language-specific in that it makes use of the particular phonological repertoire of the respective language[26]. Similarly, but to a lesser extent, sound symbolisms evoke their denotata/referents (or accompanying or

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[25] See also Tonge (2000) for suggestions of how onomatopoeia can be used in the teaching of reading skills at primary school level.

[26] Similarly Tsur (2001):

> A sound imitation is perceived as an equivalent of the imitated reality if the target semiotic system is sufficiently fine-grained in the relevant respects; and the most relevant options of the semiotic system are chosen.

And: … behind the rigid categories of speech sounds one can discern some rich pre-categorial sound information that may resemble natural sounds in one way or other; … and … certain natural noises have more common features with one speech sound than with some others.

associated sounds with certain movements or actions), but this relationship is still largely non-arbitrary. Both imitation and sound symbolism are motivated by form **and** content.

2.3.2 Reduplication

Pure Reduplications, sometimes also called 'reduplicatives' (for example, *tick-tick, girly-girly*), and **ablaut formations** (for example, *singsong, wishy-washy*) are usually based on existing words (for example, *chitchat, tick-tock)*, sometimes even on several (for example, *singsong*), while **rhyme formations** are often formed *ad hoc* from two pseudo-morphemes (for example, *hocus-pocus, boogie-woogie*), and only in rare cases from words (for example, *walkie-talkie*)[27]. Adams (2001: 128) points out that reduplications differ from compounds in that they do not display a modifier-head structure. According to her, one of their major characteristics is that they either represent sound, or movement or an affective attitude.

Pure reduplications often express monotony (*tick-tick*) or a negative attitude (*girly-girly*), while ablaut formations symbolise polarity, to-and-fro movements and/or sounds (*zig-zag, ping-pong*), and rhyme formations symbolise noise and chaos (*helter-skelter, higgledy-piggledy*). Some reduplications change the word class (for example, *girly-girly*, a from *girl*, n); they usually have front stress. Their most salient characteristic is, without any doubt, their playful twin form, which allows the listener/reader to deduce their meanings, at least to some extent: that is, a reduplication is motivated by its form, which is symbolic or suggestive **as a whole** of the referent it denotes – unlike morphematic word-formation which is relatively motivated through (arbitrary) constituents. This

[27] Many idiomatic phrases and morphematic word-formation processes also show playful elements of rhyme, alliteration or ablaut, for example, *life and limb, low-level language, every Jack and Jill; pep pill, top ten; claptrap; bigwig.*
Similarly, some compounds enhance their impact with the help of rhyme, ablaut or alliteration, for example, *yummy mummy* ('a young and attractive mother'), *covert*

characteristic makes reduplications popular in children's language, comic strips and colloquial contexts.

Apart from a small number of borrowings (*ylang-ylang*) and emphatic usage (for example, *now-now* and *no-no*), most reduplicatives are motivated by their linguistic form and belong to a playful, slightly sub-standard register. This is different in a number of other languages, especially pidgins and creoles, and, possibly due to its creole history, Afrikaans[28].

Bauer (1988: 25) explains:

> If the entire base is reduplicated, reduplication resembles compounding … Reduplication can also form types of affix. That is, the part of the word which is repeated may be added to the end or the beginning of the base.

It has been noted by a number of scholars that ablaut reduplications tend to maximise the contrast in the vowel quality of the two elements[29]; conversely, alliterative rhyme is determined by "the ratio of resemblance to contrast between words … [m]aximal resemblance in a minimally contrasting pair" (Ravid & Hanauer 1998: 83).

2.4 Word, Lexeme, Lexical Unit

Various definitions have been put forward to define the word (and, in fact, the morpheme – see Section 2.5 below), each of them designed to meet certain (different) requirements and theories, but these concepts remain problematic. A good summary of the various approaches can be found in Lowie (1999: 7ff)

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couture ('designer clothes modelled on off-the-rack clothes') (both examples from Dent 2003: 27), and *snail mail*.

[28] See also McArthur (1992: 854f), Botha (1988: 5), and Conradie (2003).
Conradie mentions the following functions of Afrikaans reduplication: repetition of sounds, actions, efforts, repetition in games, and urgency (Conradie 2003: 206-214); interruption or discontinuity, duration or continuation (2003: 214-219); and emphasis and intensification (219ff), thus going further than Botha (1988).

[29] See, for example, Adams (2001: 131), Bauer (1994b: 4063), Dienhart (1999: 30), Hansen (1964: 21f), Hansen et al. (1985: 142), Pinker (1995: 167f), Marchand (1969: 431), Minkova (2002: 141-143).

who also discusses several models of the lexicon, with particular focus on psycholinguistic aspects.

Marchand (1969: 1) defines the word as

> the smallest independent, indivisible, and meaningful unit of speech, susceptible of transposition in sentences

and differentiates between 'free forms' and 'free morphemes' in the following way:

> Only the latter will be called 'words'. A word, like any other morpheme, is a two facet sign which must be based on the significant/significate … relationship posited by Saussure.

Kastovsky, whose morpheme definition (1982: 70) is based on that of the American Structuralist School (smallest, undivisible meaningful linguistic unit), situates the word on an intermediate level between morphemes on the one hand, and sentences on the other (1982: 73). 'Lexemes' are elements on the level of the language system (*langue*), and words are their concrete realisations on the level of speech (*parole*) (Kastovsky 1982: 74f). A similar definition is put forward by Katamba (1993: 17f), who defines the lexeme as a 'word' in the sense of "abstract vocabulary item", the inflected realisation[30] of which is used in sentences.

Cruse (1986: 80) introduces another term, the 'lexical unit'[31]:

> [A] lexeme is a family of lexical units; a lexical unit is the union of a single sense with a lexical form; a lexical form is an abstraction from a set of word forms (or alternatively – it is a family of word forms) which differ only in respect of inflections.

In his model (1986: 49), lexemes are "the items listed in the lexicon, or 'ideal dictionary', of a language." Carter (1987: 7), on the other hand, uses these terms more or less synonymously:

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[30] Similar definitions are put forward by numerous other linguists, for example, Crystal (1995: 118), who defines the lexeme as "a unit of lexical meaning, which exists regardless of any inflectional endings it may have or the number of words it may contain" and Haspelmath (2002: 13), for whom the lexeme is an abstract "dictionary word" consisting of a "set of word forms", while a word-form is a concrete "text word" which "belongs to one lexeme".

> The terms *lexeme* and the *word-forms* of a lexeme are valuable theoretical concepts and will be used when theoretical distinctions are necessary. *Lexical item(s)* (or sometimes *vocabulary items* or simply *items*) is a useful and fairly neutral hold-all term which captures and, to some extent, helps to overcome instabilities in the term *word*, especially when it becomes limited by orthography. (emphasis in original)

Similarly, Lipka (2002: 89) defines the lexeme/lexical unit as follows:

> 1. A complete sign on a particular linguistic level, namely the lexicon;
> 2. A class of variants, namely word-forms;
> 3. An abstract unit of the language system.
>
> Unlike the morpheme, the lexeme is not the smallest unit and may be a simple, a complex, or a *phrasal lexeme.* (emphasis in original)

And (2002: 90) he adds

> … a further twofold definition of the *lexeme*, namely from a syntagmatic and a paradigmatic point of view. A lexeme can therefore consist of:
> 1. One morpheme or two or more formatives or morphemes (syntagmatically);
> 2. A set of mutually substitutable word-forms (paradigmatically).
>
> (emphasis in original)

It is noteworthy that even the above definitions of the term 'lexeme' centre around morphematic word-formations. Only one definition of the lexeme actually explicitly includes (some) non-morphematic word-formation processes: McArthur (1992: 599) defines the lexeme as "a unit in the lexicon or vocabulary of a language. Its form is governed by sound and writing or print, its content by meaning and use"; according to him (1992: 600), lexemes can be single words, parts of words (*auto-, -logy*), "groups of words" (*blackbird, kick the bucket*), and "shortened forms" (*flu, UK*). For our purposes, the terms *lexeme, lexical unit* and *word* can be used interchangeably, as we are not focusing on inflectional or derivational issues.

2.5 The Elements of Word-Formation

As we have seen, non-morphematic word-formation is not concerned with grammatical syntagmas: that is, non-morphematic word-formation processes

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[31] Lipka (1990: 173) even considers this terminological distinction to be "one of the most important theoretical contributions Cruse makes to lexical semantics".

are not combinations of full linguistic signs or morphemes. Therefore, a discussion of morphemes and sub-morphemic elements is called for. We start with a short review of the term 'morpheme', as even this rather common term is not entirely uncontroversial, and then we will move on to other terms which might be useful in an attempt to describe and classify non-morphematic word-formation.

A number of models have been proposed for the linguistic sign since Saussure's (1965: 180ff) binary model. One of the more interesting (and probably controversial) proposals is that by Ungerer (1991a), whose model is based on the assumption that the linguistic sign is not stable but will be "established or at least re-endorsed for each communicative event by the participants" (Ungerer 1991a: 159). This implies the risk of misunderstanding, as the success of the linguistic sign "depends on the referential, socio-linguistic and cognitive support which the match between signifier and signified enjoys". Consequently, Ungerer's (1991a: 173f) model introduces a third component to the linguistic sign, the "morpho-syntactic potential" of the linguistic sign, or MSP, which refers to its word-class and paradigmatic lexical fields as well as its word-formation potential.

2.5.1 The Morpheme

In mainstream linguistics, the morpheme is usually defined as the smallest meaningful linguistic unit[32], that is, morphemes carry meaning (unlike phonemes which differentiate meanings) and are full linguistic signs in the sense that they are hybrids which are combinations of meaning and form. Lipka (1975: 181) defines morphemes as "essentially semantic units"; they are

> the smallest linguistic signs, i.e., meaningful observable segments in which elements of content (e.g., semantic features) are related in an arbitrary way to elements of expression.

[32] See also Bolinger (1950: 120, 124), who states that "… meaning is the criterion of the morpheme", and that "… meanings vary in their degree of attachment to a given form."

Similarly, Katamba (1993: 20) defines morphemes as “the smallest, indivisible units of semantic content or grammatical function which words are made up of”; according to him (1993: 24), “[t]he **morpheme** is the smallest difference in the shape of a word that correlates with the smallest difference in word or sentence meaning or in grammatical structure” (emphasis in original).

A more comprehensive definition is presented in Lipka (2002: 85):

> In my opinion, the structuralist notion of ‘morpheme’ can only be captured adequately by conjoining three different definitions:
> 1. The morpheme is the smallest meaningful linguistic unit and therefore the smallest linguistic sign.
> 2. The morpheme consists of a class of variants, the allomorphs, which are either phonologically or morphologically conditioned.
> 3. The morpheme is an abstract unit of the system of a language, for example the plural morpheme or the past tense morpheme in English, symbolized by $\{Z_1\}$ and $\{D_1\}$.

Most linguists would probably agree that one of the defining characteristics of the morpheme is its sign character[33], that is, it is a combination of meaning and form, and it is this quality that allows it to form word forms in phrases and new words – with very few exceptions, for example blocked/unique morphemes as in *receive, resist, concur, conceive*[34].

However, unlike Marchand (1969: 5f) and Lipka, Adams (1973: 140ff) defines the morpheme through its capacity to enter new formations: that is, it is not necessarily a full linguistic sign, thus suggesting a much more flexible morpheme concept. Accordingly, she segments formations like *deceive, recur,*

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[33] See, for example, Mugdan (1994: 2546):

> A set of minimal signs with identical content constitutes a more abstract morphological unit called ‘morpheme’; the elements of the set are its ‘allomorphs’.

[34] Marchand (1969: 5f), however, considers examples like these to be monemes, i.e. one-morpheme words or unanalysable lexemes in terms of their morpheme structures. One could, however, argue against Marchand’s analysis that elements like *-ceive* and *-cur* do serve the purpose of differentiating between the members of their respective paradigms and this characteristic justifies the decision to accord them morpheme status.

consist etc. into the following morphemes: *de-, re-, con-,* and *-ceive, -cur, -sist,* as all of them also occur in other combinations.

In his generative approach, Aronoff (1981: 7ff) assumes that every word is characterised by certain idiosyncratic features; accordingly, morphemes can be meaningful, but they are not necessarily so, and he does not define morphemes, but words as "minimally meaningful":

> Note that we have not abandoned the concept of the morpheme. It still remains, but not always as a sign. (Aronoff 1981: 14)

He defines the morpheme as a

> phonetic string which can be connected to a linguistic entity outside that string. What is important is not its meaning, but its arbitrariness. (Aronoff 1981: 15)

In my opinion, it is useful to have several graded terms at one's disposal, especially when dealing with non-morphematic word-formation. Therefore, I will use the term 'morpheme' in its mainstream meaning, that is, I will use it in the same sense as Lipka and Marchand, denoting minimally meaningful linguistic units. However, there are units below the morpheme level, and it is to these that we now turn.

2.5.2 The Formative

Kastovsky (1982: 70) defines formatives as "minimal formal units, which can only be isolated on the basis of their syntactic and/or phonological qualities, but which do not carry any identifiable meaning"[35]; furthermore, he contrasts this term with the wider definition as "minimally syntactically functioning elements" as used in Generative Grammar, a definition which uses the term 'formative' as a sort of cover term for minimal non-separable units, including morphemes. Lipka's (2002: 87) definition is similar:

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[35]My translation. The original definition of formatives reads as follows:

> minimale formale Einheiten, die nur aufgrund ihrer syntaktischen und/oder phonologischen Eigenschaften isolierbar sind, die aber keine identifizierbare Bedeutung haben.

> [The formative] is not a comprehensive term (as in Bauer 1983: 16, 124) … Thus for me the term denotes the formal segments of words like *understand* (with past tense *understood*) and idiomatic verb-particle constructions like *make up* (one's face), *set off* (the alarm). It includes blocked morphemes, but not full linguistic signs. Formatives could also be called *pseudo-morphemes* … (emphasis in original)

Hansen et al. (1985: 14) define the formative as the material, or formal, side of a lexeme, that is, as a sequence of phonemes or graphemes, as opposed to its content side, the sememe. A somewhat more general definition of the formative is proposed by Katamba (1993: 38), who uses it as a "neutral term … for referring to any word-building element".

The formative is a useful term in the description of phonetically motivated formations, that is, where formal aspects of a lexeme are dominant. In view of the fact that the above definitions are somewhat contradictory, I propose to modify Kastovsky's definition slightly and define the formative as an element of word-formation below the morpheme-level (as opposed to Hansen et al.), which is primarily characterised by virtue of its phonological qualities, which can, however, under certain circumstances (that is, in certain combinations like *sw-* in *swift, swash, swell*), carry meaning in a symbolic sense, for example, in reduplicative formations like *helter-skelter*, or in sound symbolic formations like *rush*.

2.5.3 The Splinter

Berman (1961) was the first to introduce the term 'splinter', which he defines as the "'tail' of the last initial word" (1961: 279) and as a building block for blends, which he defines as formations containing splinters.

Adams (1973: 142, 149ff, 188ff) takes the term over from Berman, with some slight modifications; according to her, splinters are neither morphemes nor 'compound-elements'; their form is irregular; syllable or morpheme boundaries do not play a role – unlike phonetic structure. The main characteristic of

splinters is that they represent entire words, thus importing the full meaning of the full form into the new formation of which the splinter forms a part:

> Usually splinters are irregular in form, that is, they are parts of morphs, though in some cases there is no formal irregularity, but a special relationship of meaning between the splinter and some 'regular' word in which it occurs. (Adams 1973: 142)

Like Berman (1961), Adams (1973: 142) uses the term splinter to define blending: "Words containing splinters I shall call blends".

The term 'splinter', in the sense of a random part of a word or a morpheme, which is, in most cases, irregular in form, is indeed useful in the description of blends. I will, however, go one step further and follow Soudek (1978) in his distinction between 'initial splinters' and 'final splinters'. The former can be the first or the second element of a blend, the latter can only be the second element of a blend. Combinations of initial and final splinters often result in overlaps, for example, *motel.*

Finally, the process of secretion or re-analysis can produce new morphological patterns, and this is of particular interest in the case of splinters (see also Adams 2001: 139f, Haspelmath 2002: 56, and Lehrer 1998, and Section 3.14 below). Examples are *-gate* from *Watergate* in *Irangate* and *Clinterngate* (see also Section 5.3.2 below) and *-(o)holic* from *alcoholic* in *workaholic, shopaholic, foodaholic* etc.

2.5.4 The Phonaestheme and the Expressive Symbol

Adams (1973: 143) defines phonaesthemes[36] as elements "which in word-groups varying in size of membership have a more or less discernible identity",

[36] This term goes back to Firth (1930; 1964), and is also used by Bolinger (1950: 130), who alternates it with the term "affective morpheme": " … once a phonation and a meaning are attached, the two thenceforth are felt to be appropriate to each other and become potential centers of phonesthetic radiation." Bolinger speaks of "phonestheme patterning" and observes that "English contains a pool of forms interrelated through rime and assonance." These "bundles" can be arranged in chains or continua or networks.

for example *cr-* 'crooked' in *crick, crinkle, crabbed, criss-cross*; and *-ump* 'dull impact' in *stump, thump, clump*. Due to their emotional qualities, phonaesthemes are common in informal usage, and "they are members of series" and "symbols become more arbitrary with time" (Adams 2001: 123f).

Marchand (1969: 397-403) calls elements which express certain sounds and/or movements like /r/ or /z/ for vibration, 'expressive symbols', and he even goes so far as to claim that they possess a "morphemic character" (Marchand 1969: 403), although combinations of these symbols are not syntagmas but monemes. He further differentiates between 'initial symbols' (1969: 404ff), which have word-forming potential due to their symbolic value, and 'final symbols' (1969: 419ff), which form rhyming series. According to him, symbols developed out of semantically similar series of words. Initial and final symbols can be combined with each other or with other elements (morphemes), which he calls 'symbol blending' (Marchand 1969: 405).

Cruse (1986), on the other hand, is categorical:

> The phonetic sequences involved in either onomatopoeia or sound symbolism are clearly not to be considered semantic constituents. It is generally difficult to find recurrent contrasts of form in which they participate … We shall call them **phonetic elicitors** of semantic traits. (emphasis in original; Cruse: 1986: 35)

In our context, the term 'splinter' will be used for the analysis of blends, and the term 'phonaestheme' will be used for analysing onomatopoeia, as, clearly, there is a need for appropriate concepts below the morpheme level when discussing non-morphematic word-formation processes.

After the above discussion of non-morphematic word-formation processes and related concepts, the remainder of this chapter will serve to establish the context of this study, both geographically (within the Southern African region) and temporally, with reference to the globalisation of English and electronic communication.

2.6 The Context: South African English[37]

Language has always had a social, political, economic, cultural dimension, and this has always been evident in South Africa, where successive governments have used (and abused) language issues as instruments of oppression, of policies of divide and rule, in order to exclude certain sectors of the population from the national discourse, while, at the same time, bestowing preferential treatment on others. Today, English is developing into a symbol of the 'Rainbow Nation', an integrating force in this multi-ethnic and multi-lingual society. Due to its flexibility and its endless capacity to incorporate lexical material from structurally very diverse languages, South African English mirrors the new society, especially as far as its vocabulary is concerned. In the following sections, we provide a brief overview of the sociolinguistic situation of South(ern) African English, in order to allow us to place the current study in its geographical context, followed by a closer look at the lexicon of this variety.

2.6.1 English in Africa

Since its arrival in Africa and the establishment of early trade links with African coastal communities in the 16th century (Schmied 1991: 6-20), English has spread through large parts of the continent and today serves as an inter-ethnic and international *lingua franca*. With the formation of the British Empire in the 18th/19th century, English became the language of the conquerors and colonial administrators. Unlike other colonial powers, however, Britain was rather reluctant to spread her language[38] and preferred a 'divide-and-rule' policy as far as language issues were concerned.

Today, English is one of the three major colonial languages which have survived in Africa, and it is continuing to expand, even in former French and

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[37] This section is based on Fandrych (1999).

[38] France, for instance, always displayed a more 'missionary' attitude towards the spread of the French language and French culture.

Portuguese colonies (for example, in Algeria and Mozambique), not to mention Namibia, which has recently adopted English as her official language. On the one hand, this development is obviously due to utilitarian reasons (English as a world language of science, technology, development, trade and international relations). On the other hand, in multilingual societies (such as Nigeria[39] with more than 400 indigenous languages), English (and English-based pidgins) is often the only means of supra-regional communication.

2.6.2 English in South Africa

Some 150 years after the arrival of the first European languages in Southern Africa (Portuguese in the late 15th century and Dutch in the 17th century), English was imposed in the Cape and rapidly became the only official language in the Cape Province, which ultimately drove the Dutch colonists away and made them embark on the Great Trek in 1836. This caused considerable hostility towards the English from the Dutch/Afrikaner communities and culminated in the Boer Wars (1880 – 1881 and 1899 – 1902). In the 1840s and 1850s, a second wave of British immigrants arrived in what is now KwaZulu/Natal; and, eventually, a third wave of settlers arrived between 1875 and 1904, when diamonds were discovered in what is now the Free State, the Northern Cape and Gauteng (Lass 1995: 92f; McArthur 1992: 951).

Due to this history of conflict and rivalry, and due to a system of missionary schools, English was taught more widely in Southern Africa than in other British colonies in Africa (see Section 2.6.1 above), and this resulted in exceptionally high levels of English among the black population in South Africa. This situation changed with the introduction of the Bantu Education Act (1954): Afrikaans became the medium of instruction in all schools; however, due to a lack of adequately trained teachers, the South African government never managed to put this dispensation into practice. Nonetheless, Afrikaans was

[39] See Akinnaso (1991) on the sociolinguistic situation in Nigeria and the role of English

strengthened in the 1960s and 1970s, which, in turn, triggered political resistance which culminated in the Soweto Student Uprising in June 1976.

In Apartheid South Africa, language issues were highly politicised: Afrikaans was seen by many as the language of the oppressors, while English was a symbol of liberation and of unification; indigenous languages were abused by the regime as tools of its 'divide and rule' policy, while, at the same time, serving as symbols of personal and cultural identity.

2.6.3 English in the New South Africa

English is spoken as a first language by about 10 % of the South African population (Crystal 1995: 356), but increasingly it is the second language of South Africans and it is the major language of the print media and television, of government, administration and education. Lass (1995: 89) categorises all South African L1 varieties as "dialects of Southern British English (SBE), with a distinctly eastern rather than western cast".

Since the first democratic national elections in 1994, the “New South Africa” has embarked on a policy of democratisation, reconciliation, empowerment, economic stabilisation, reconstruction and equal opportunities for all. This includes building projects, a new constitution, restructured mass media, new guidelines for the education system and a language policy which embraces multilingualism. English is developing into the major supra-regional language, thus becoming one of the integrating forces of the young democracy. Due to its flexibility and its liberal incorporation of new lexical material from various languages, South African English mirrors the new society.

With majority rule and the Government of National Unity (1994), led by the African National Congress (ANC), the new constitution (1996) declared eleven

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as a *de facto* official language.

languages[40] official (in alphabetical order: Afrikaans, English, Ndebele, Pedi, Sotho, Swati, Tsonga, Tswana, Venda, Xhosa, Zulu). With the exception of major urban centres such as Johannesburg, most of these languages are still more or less regionally bound (for example, Sotho in the Free State and Zulu in KwaZulu-Natal). At the same time, new language patterns and varieties have begun to emerge due to language contact, thus reflecting the new political freedom. South Africans code-mix and code-switch a lot[41], and metropolitan centres like Soweto are melting-pots of ethnicities, cultures and languages. For many young South Africans casually mixing three or four languages has become a status symbol. This has given rise to new varieties like Tsotsitaal, Flaaitaal, Iscamtho, and Fanakolo, which originated in the mines as a means of communication between the mine workers and their bosses.

Despite majority rule and democratisation, language issues[42] remain on the agenda, although the debates have undergone a clear paradigm change. Of major concern, these days, are questions of language development and how to implement linguistic equality[43]. "English belongs to all who use it" – this statement by N.S. Ndebele (quoted in Branford 1987: xi) captures the changing role of English[44] in multilingual South Africa, and Branford emphasises the fact

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[40] See du Plessis (2000) for a critical account of the historical background to this process.
See also Reagan (1995), Hartshorne (1995) and Heugh (1995) on language policy in South Africa, and Apter (1982) and Bamgbose (1989) on language planning in multilingual African societies.

[41] See McCormick (1995: 193f) for a discussion of these terms and their use in SAE.

[42] See Reagan (1995: 320f):

> As a general rule, it is safe to say that the more developed a nation is (primarily, though certainly not exclusively, in economic terms), the greater the degree of linguistic uniformity that will characterise it. If one keeps this correlation in mind (and the relationship is correlative rather than causal), South Africa falls just where one might expect – somewhere between the developed nations and the countries of the so-called third world.

[43] See, for example, Edmunds (1996).

[44] In practice, English seems to become ‘more official’ than the ten other official languages these days, for example, as far as media space is concerned, in parliamentary debates and in political discussion programmes on the national television channels. This was very obvious, once again, during the run-up to the 2004 national elections.

that this is resulting in a whole range of varieties[45]: "There are ... in South Africa, like it or not, a number of competing models of English, among them the varieties in use among African, Afrikaner, Coloured, and Indian elites".

2.6.4 The Vocabulary of the New South Africa as Reflected in South African English

Branford's *SAPOD* (1987: xiii) covers 1,500 South African main entries, 570 compounds and diminutives; 52 % are of Afrikaans/Dutch origin, 11 % of Bantu origin, and 1 % of Khoisan origin. Branford predicts that South African English will incorporate increasing numbers of African borrowings. For historical reasons, earlier loans are mainly Dutch and denote "topographical features, living creatures and artefacts, e.g. *drift* (1795), ... *knobkerrie* (1832)[46], and *veld* (1835)" (Branford & Claughton 1995: 217), as well as administrative terms such as *Volksraad* (1836).

Borrowings certainly occupy a prominent role in all the languages in the linguistically rich environment of South Africa. For historical reasons, all Southern African languages have borrowed extensively from each other, and not only in terms of their lexes, but even in terms of their phonologies and in terms of word-formation preferences, for example, SAE reduplications[47] like *now-now, sakkie-sakkie, toi-toi* and *small-small*; increasingly, we also find formations using elements from several languages, for example, *smallanyana* ('very small'), which uses an English determinant and a Sotho determinatum/suffix.

According to Branford & Claughton (1995: 218), SAE seems to have borrowed

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[45] See also Buthelezi (1995) and Mesthrie (1995b) on (ethnic) sub-viarieties of South African English.

[46] *drift*: 'shallow part of a river where you can cross it on foot or drive across it'; *knobkerrie*: 'wooden club with a knob at one end' (both *SASD*).
Further examples are *babbalas* 'hangover' and *braai* 'barbecue (party)'.

[47] Botha (1988: 5) notes that Afrikaans "makes extensive use of lexically diverse types of reduplication". See also Section 2.3.2 above.

more material from African languages than Afrikaans. In addition, some word-formations combine foreign elements with English elements (for example the compounds *muti killing, muti murder*: African dt/English dm; *lowveld, highveld*: English dt/Afrikaans dm; and *berg wind, veld fire:* Afrikaans dt/English dm).

Lass (1995: 104) mentions "lexical archaisms like *robot* for traffic light, *bioscope*, and ... Afrikaans and other local loans". Despite its overall similarity to British English, there are some American English terms which are used in South African English. Nonetheless, South African English shares more lexical items with British English than with American English (see also Lass 1995: 91). It is interesting to note that older technical terms were borrowed from British English, for example, *boot* (AmE *trunk*), *torch* (AmE *flashlight*), *petrol* (AmE *gas*), *dustbin* (AmE *garbage can*), *dinner jacket* (AmE *tuxedo* or the clipped *tux*), while more recent innovations entered the Southern African English variety from America, for instance *truck* (BrE *lorry*), *ATM machine* (BrE *cashpoint*), *to SMS* (BrE *to text*), *cell phone* or the elliptical *cell* (BrE *mobile [phone]*), *traffic circle* (BrE *roundabout*), *satellite TV*[48]. This situation is a sociolinguistic reflection of the historically stronger British influence, which gave way to the American economic, political, technological and cultural hegemony of the present[49].

Owing to the all-pervasive American cultural influence, and also some British television series, South African English has borrowed some slangy[50] expressions, such as *jerk, sucker, dude, bucks, nerd*, and with democratisation

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[48] Even in some of these examples the American preference for non-morphematic formations (*tux, gas, SMS, ATM*) is noticeable – and the British ellipsis in the case of *mobile [phone]*).

[49] This seems to be a global trend, as Mort (1986: iiif) observes:

> In the earlier part of the [20th] century the eminence of Britain in world affairs and in literature meant that more words traveled westward. Since the Second World War, US films and TV programmes, coupled with American propensity for Old World travel, have ensured that more words followed *teenager* and *commuter* in the opposite direction. This has been particularly true in fields of technology and of management techniques in which the United States have been pre-eminent.

[50] See also de Klerk (1995) on slang in South African English.

and the opening up of the South African society, we are likely to experience an increasingly strong influence on South African English from other regional and world varieties of English, as well as from a number of African languages.

In all English varieties, the increasing popularity of shortenings is a relatively recent phenomenon. Due to the recent influence of American English in South Africa, it is not surprising that South African English is also experiencing an ever-increasing number of acronyms and shortenings. This is facilitated by the quasi-syllabic character of the letters *SA* for 'South Africa(n)', which offers countless possibilities for the production of acronyms[51] with word character, for example, *SAFA* ('South African Football Association'), *EISA/Eisa* ('Electoral Institute of Southern Africa'), *OSISA/Osisa* ('Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa') and *Cosatu* ('Congress of South African Trade Unions'), in fields such as politics, economics, the naming of organisations and so on. Similar to other varieties of English, clippings are popular in colloquial (mainly oral) usage, especially clippings of longer phrases and words, for example, *Alex* < *Alexandra, Gugs* < *Guguletu* (both names of townships), *Jozi* and *Jo'burg* < *Johannesburg*. Similarly, blends are popular in colloquial speech (*chillax* < *chill* + *relax*) and in the context of advertising and the media (for example, *South AfriCAN* and *absa-lute*, with *ABSA* – 'Amalgamated Banks of South Africa').

The corpus which is at the core of the empirical component of this study (see Chapter 5 below), includes a number of South African (and Southern African) items. However, it would be wrong to assume that the English spoken in South Africa at present is not strongly influenced by the two major world standards, British English and American English, especially in the fields of culture, computers, as well as science and technology[52]. Therefore, many examples

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[51] However, there are also a number of abbreviations containing the letters 'S' and 'A', for example, *SABC* ('South African Broadcasting Corporation') and *SANDF* ('South African National Defence Force'). And there are also a number of acronyms and abbreviations which do not make use of *SA*, for example, *Pagad* ('People Against Gangsterism and Drugs') and *RDP* ('Reconstruction and Development Programme').

[52] See Hughes (1988: 23):

that are valid for other varieties, will also apply to Southern African English, and vice versa, as, with globalisation and electronic communication becoming more and more dominant in science, technology, commerce, entertainment and education, we can observe, to some extent, a convergence of jargons spoken and written around the world, while at the same time observing the opposite trend, namely a divergence of colloquial and informal usages "on the ground". It is to account for these influences that the final section of this chapter provides an outline of English as a global language, focusing, in particular, on its use in electronic communication.

2.7 International English: Communication in the Internet Age

In this study, I will argue that electronic communication is somewhere 'in between' the oral and the written media (see also Section 2.2.1 above on emoticons and Section 4.2.6 below on the medium of communication). This is reflected in Spears' (1986: 275) comments about one of the first dictionaries of computer terms:

> Since by and large the terms were created and used as spoken language, and since lexicography has yet to develop satisfactory means of documenting this type of spoken language, no standards exist by which to measure such a compilation. HackerSpeak seems to be the quintessence of wordplay produced for limited social interaction by highly intelligent people. *The Hacker's Dictionary* is important not only for capturing these particular lexical responses to the computer revolution, but for its skillful exposition of the social setting in which these words make sense.

A few years later, van Dyke (1992: 383) observes that " … science and technology … produce large numbers of new terms and … contribute many of them to the general vocabulary", and she substantiates this claim with an analysis of scientific[53] and non-scientific neologisms and their "morphological

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> The infiltration of American vogue-words, idiom [sic] and syntax has been perhaps the most important modern influence on English.

See also Crystal (1997: 86): "… the English of American products … rules."

[53] Interestingly, neologisms produced by science-fiction fans seem to have anticipated these modern trends, thus showing the way into the future of technological vocabulary, as Southard (1982) shows convincingly in his analysis of terms collected from science-

and semantic relationships to preexisting words" (1992: 384). Many of these new terms are initialisms, acronyms and hybrids of multiple processes, and there is a new trend towards using existing elements rather than borrowing elements from other languages – thus confirming an observation made earlier by Raad (1989: 128):

> New meanings are now more freely created by composing them from known words through the use of conjoining, abbreviating, and metaphoric strategies … [and] terminology has come to rely on recycling the existing resources of the language by using available words to produce new ones in the form of acronyms, blends, analogies, metaphors and, most typically, compounds.

Due to their unusual and attention-getting forms and their compactness, blends and acronyms are all-pervasive in modern scientific vocabulary. This, Raad (1989: 129ff) hypothesises, is a move away from the traditional 'surface objectivity' towards a certain 'liberalisation' and a willingness of scientists 'to go public', which we could interpret as, on the one hand, a contribution to a certain democratisation of science; on the other hand, this trend allows the new terms to be adopted more easily by everyday usage: 'recycled' elements are fed back into common usage, thus completing the circle.

Liwei (2001: 18) discusses the effects that e-mail English might have on general ("off-line") English (see also Section 4.2.6). If people want to 'talk' via e-mail, using the computer keyboard, they use abbreviations, they omit non-content words and they do away with capitalisations. On the other hand, as there is a lack of contextual cues, unlike the situation of face-to-face communication, interlocutors supply these with the help of further abbreviations and emoticons, which are, of course, consciously employed and sometimes

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fiction fan magazines, such as the following examples which were all recorded in the late 1960s and early 1970s:

annish	<	*anniversary* + *issue*
thish; thissue	<	*this* + *issue*
FAPAzine	<	*FAPA* ('Fantasy Amateur Press Association') + *fanzine*
gafia	–	'getting away from it all'
gafiate	<	*gafia* + *-ate*
how-2	–	'how to'

For more terms from Science Fiction Fanzines, see also "Fan terms", http://www.smithway.org/fstuff/termsA-B.html and the AnnArbor Science Fiction Association FanSpeak Dictionary, 04 November 2003: http://stilyagi.org/fanspeak.html.

intended to entertain, a feature which Internet English shares with other jargons and in-group registers.

Schwalbach (1997, Section[54] 5.6) also notes the prevalence of acronyms, blends and onomatopoeia in Internet English, and she notes that online conversation constitutes an interface between oral and written usage with its own conventions, among them abbreviations of frequently used phrases and emoticons. She observes that abbreviations create a certain distance from the referent: this distancing effect creates the impression of a rational and non-emotional language, thus implying objectivity. Furthermore, abbreviations are frequently used to soften or hide derogatory comments (8.2). According to Schwalbach's study, acronyms and abbreviations 'behave' like normal words, taking plural morphemes and forming the basis of new combinations, for example, *MUDdie* and *MUDhead* (with *MUD* – 'multi-user dungeon/domain') (8.3). As intentional formations, acronyms display creativity and playfulness, as do blends, exemplified by formations such as *ASCIIbetical* (from *ASCII* + *alphabetical*) and *Berserkeley* (from *berserk* + *Berkeley*). She notes that most Internet-related blends are nouns which were formed from two nouns (for example, *netiquette,* and *coopetition* < *cooperation* + *competition*), followed by nouns formed from adjectives and nouns (for example, *weenix* < *wee* + *UNIX,* and *erotics* < *erotic* + *electronics*); similarly, *notwork* (< *not* + *network*) is a blend formed from an adverb and a noun (8.4). Clippings, on the other hand, are frequently verbs (*to inc* < *to increase*) (8.5.1), or conversions from clipped nouns, for example, *to demo* (from *demonstration version*). She concludes her overview with the observation that it is acronyms, blends and clippings more than any other word-formation processes that lend Internet English its characteristic flavour, and that common general usage is more and more

[54] As this text was downloaded from the Internet and thus does not contain page numbers, the bracketed numbers in this paragraph refer to sections and not page numbers.

influenced by Internet usage (9)[55].

According to Crystal (2001: 67), Netspeak is innovative and creative, and he (2001: 82) even characterises it as "one of the most creative lexical domains in contemporary English, involving all major lexical processes", most noticeably abbreviations (some incorporating numbers and symbols), blends and even the creative use of punctuation marks. This justifies the conclusion that we have to do with a new "genuine language variety" (2001: 92). Crystal (2001: 19-21 and 83-86) further notes that some features of "Netspeak" have already made their way into general usage, especially in terms of the lexicon, such as numerous neologisms and names which make use of combinations with @ and *e-*, for example, *@tractions, e-cruiting,* and *etailing*, which replace morphemes with (near-) homophonous elements (in the above cases, *at-* and *re-*), as well as abbreviations, acronyms and blends.

It is to be expected that Netspeak will influence the English language (and many other languages) even more strongly in the future. Crystal summarises this development as follows:

> Language being such a sensitive index of social change, it would be surprising indeed if such a radically innovative phenomenon did not have a corresponding impact on the way we communicate. … Language is at the heart of the Internet, for Net activity is interactivity. (Crystal 2001: 237)

And he (2001: 238) continues[56]:

> The phenomenon of Netspeak is going to 'change the way we think' about language in a fundamental way, because it is a linguistic singularity – a genuine new medium.

We will witness a new and increased creativity, sparked off by Netspeak, and the outcome is uncertain. Crystal (2001: 241) even speaks of "the biggest language revolution ever", a development which might lead to Netspeak becoming a new norm, and which will certainly provide linguists with enormous research potential, as it is

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[55] Dent (2003: 20) is of a similar opinion when she states that the formation of acronyms and abbreviations received a major boost from electronic communication and mobile phone text messaging.

> enriching the range of communicative options available to us. And the Internet is going to record this linguistic diversity more fully and accurately than was ever possible before. (Crystal 2001: 242)

This recent and very rapid development is a strong influence on the subject of this study, and it is certainly too early to provide a definitive analysis or even to make predictions for the future. However, we need to keep in mind that we are living in a time of linguistic change, and this has exciting potential for morphological research, but it is also a time of flux, linguistic variability and uncertainty[57].

2.8 Conclusion

This chapter has introduced in some detail the various non-morphematic word-formation processes under discussion, and it has equipped us with the basic terminology needed to describe these processes and their products. Furthermore, we have contextualised the present study, both geographically and sociolinguistically (in Southern Africa) and temporally (the age of electronic communication). This has prepared the ground for a more detailed discussion of the literature pertaining to non-morphematic word-formation processes, with particular emphasis on typological aspects, in Chapter 3.

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[56] See also Section 4.2.6 below.

[57] In a way, this situation is nothing new for the English language, which, in the course of time, survived similar periods of change and flux, for example, after the Norman Conquest in 1066 or with the Great Vowel Shift. Possibly, it is precisely this flexibility and resilience of the English language which contributed to its global success – in addition to other historical and political factors.

3. The Literature[1]: Taxonomies of Non-Morphematic Word Formation Processes

3.0 Introduction

There have been several suggestions to classify and categorise non-morphematic word-formation processes. These focus almost exclusively on structural aspects, and many restrict themselves to isolated processes only (see, for example, Baum 1955 and 1962, Jung 1987 and McCully & Holmes 1988: acronyms; Berman 1961, Schwarz 1970 and Soudek 1978: blends; Heller & Macris 1968, McArthur 1988 and Kobler-Trill 1994: shortenings), rather than trying to establish how the various non-morphematic word-formation processes relate to each other and how they fit into the bigger picture of English word-formation as a whole.

Some, mostly recent, literature on non-morphematic word-formation processes is very technical and phonetics-oriented generative work, especially about rhyme and ablaut reduplications and phonetic symbolism (see, for example, Marantz 1982, Alderete et al. 1999, Dienhart 1999, and Minkova 2002). Other recent publications try to explain the structural 'peculiarities' of non-morphematic formations using the currently 'fashionable' cognitive paradigm (for example, Kelly 1998, Lehrer 1996, and Ravid & Hanauer 1998). These approaches will be discussed insofar as they are relevant to our primary concern[2], that is, the hypothesis that we need a multi-levelled approach to do justice to non-morphematic word-formation processes: in this study, I will argue in favour of going **beyond structure**[3], and we will try to look at **all** the marginalised non-morphematic word-formation processes, rather than selecting

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[1] Some of the literature reviewed in this section was reviewed earlier (but in less detail) in Fandrych (1990), namely Sections 3.1. to 3.7., parts of 3.9. to 3.12., and parts of 3.19. and 3.22., including some of the tables and figures.

[2] Some older publications, and/or publications that are less central to our argument, are Baum 1956 and 1957, Bryant 1974 and 1977, Feinsilver 1979, Fenzl 1966, French 1977, Friederich 1966 and 1968, Hockett 1980 and 1983, Poethe 1997, Quinion 1996, Shapiro 1986, Starke 1997, Tsur 2001, and Wölcken 1957.

[3] This multi-level approach will be outlined and discussed in detail in Chapter 4 below.

one process[4] in order to prove a certain point or to develop a very detailed and refined internal taxonomy.

Furthermore, there is considerable terminological confusion, both in the more general linguistic literature (for example, in Dictionaries of Linguistics) and in more specific publications dealing with non-morphematic word-formation. This makes the comparison of the various typologies awkward. For this reason, I have decided, where necessary, to 'translate' the terminology used in the literature into the terminology used in this piece of research. The following review of relevant literature is ordered chronologically, in order to allow us to discern developments and recent trends.

This chapter, therefore, concentrates on the most influential and/or insightful literature, which is of a mostly taxonomic nature, concluding with a brief discussion of other studies of non-morphematic word-formation processes and a review of comprehensive typologies of word-formation as a whole. On the basis of these discussions, and as one major outcome of this chapter, I propose two new typologies of non-morphematic word-formation processes in relation to other (that is, morphematic) word-formation processes, based on structure and based on motivation. These form the basis for those criteria which look at structural aspects of non-morphematic word-formation processes and the corpus analysis in Chapters 4 and 5 respectively.

3.1 Baum (1955 and 1962): Acronyms

Baum (1955: 104) considers the, at the time, still comparatively young tendency of acronyming as another linguistic condensation strategy, especially in American English. He mentions initialisms, pronounced letter-by-letter (for example, *C.O.D., D.A.R., G.O.P.*), which could be pronounced like words but

[4] Despite this inclusive approach, it will prove impossible, however, to do equal justice to all non-morphematic word-formation processes. Of necessity, some processes will feature more prominently than others (see also Section 5.4 below).

are not, as they are already established in the linguistic system, and acronyms proper which are formed "by arranging the phrase into a series of initials which can assume word value" (Baum 1955: 105).

In his second paper, Baum laments the fact that the 'technical term' acronym has lost its accuracy due to its sudden and enormous popularity, although it used to denote acronyms which were pronounced as words. He (1962: 49) further differentiates between the

- "pure acronym or acronym of the first order", which is formed only from the first letter of each major unit of a phrase",
  for example, *Asdic* – 'Anti-submarine Detection Investigation Committee'; and the

- "acronym of the second order", which does not only use initials,
  for example, *loran* – 'long range navigation'.

Finally, he excludes words like *motel,* which he classifies as "portmanteau words", and blends formed from initial syllables like *minicam*.

3.2 Berman (1961): Blends

Berman begins by stating that, "when being telescoped, the initial words (at any rate the last one) lose a part of their stems and only their resulting specific parts come into play" (1961: 279), with the second element never a root or a suffix but a 'splinter' or 'tail' of the second word. He continues,

> *Thus Blending or Telescoping can be defined as such a process of coining new words under which a blend is formed by adding the splinter of the last initial word to the stem or to the shortened substitute of the stem of the first initial word (words).* As we see, blends cannot be looked upon as units lying within the limits of one of the fixed structural types of word-building. It is their peculiar structure that distinguishes them from any other word structures. (Berman 1961: 279f; emphasis in original)

Berman uses two criteria for blends: first, the defining criterion for a blend is whether the second element of the new word is a splinter; he then differentiates within the group of blends on the basis of the form of the first element:

- "full blends": shortened stem(s) + splinter;
  for example, *nembutal* < *Na* + *ethyl* + *methyl* + *butyl* + *barbital*;
- "partial blends": full stem + splinter;
  for example, *loadaveyor* < *load* + *a* + *conveyor*

Berman mentions overlaps if the first element ends in the same letter as the first letter of the second element, and the occasional addition of prop vowels. According to him (1961: 280), however, the main problem consists in the "unstable border character of blending" which results from the instability of the splinters, which can, in turn, develop into suffixes or even new words, for example, *omnibus* > *'bus* > *bus*: *airbus*, *railbus* …

3.3 Hansen (1963 and 1964): Blends and Onomatopoeia

Although Hansen (1963) also criticises the terminological confusion surrounding blends, he is not convinced by Berman's (1961) analysis. Hansen classifies examples like *walkathon* (which Berman would call a blend) and *paratroops* (according to Berman, a compound) as clipped compounds. He goes on to criticise the fact that Berman does not differentiate between the types *walkathon* and *smog.*

According to Hansen (1963: 123), blends in the narrow sense are only intentionally coined and referentially motivated blends of the type *smog*, which are formed from the beginning of one word and the end of another, with both belonging to the same word class and therefore being functionally identical and semantically similar. Semantically, the meanings of the base words are not simply added, but the mixed form of the blend symbolically points to the mixture/blending of the denotata. This is what makes blends fascinating: they are precise and handy, to-the-point and colourful, intriguing, unusual and attention-getting.

Hansen does not agree with Marchand (1960: 367) that the products of blending are monemes. Formations like *walkathon* he calls 'shortenings'

("Kurzformen") or 'contractions' ("Wortzusammenziehungen") or clipped compounds; in other words, they are mechanical re-formations without the typical semantic element of symbolic blending which is characteristic of blends (see Figure 1 below). The type *apartmate* he calls 'brackets' ("Klammerformen") which belong to the group of contractions. He illustrates this process with the example *paratroops* (1963: 128ff): *para-* carries the meaning of the full form *parachute*. Finally, he discusses the type *sexpert* (1963: 132), which he classifies as a 'haplologic telescope' or a 'telescoped word'.

Unlike clipped compounds, the type *smog* is a referentially motivated blend, that is, a type on its own, which, according to Hansen (1963), has more in common with symbolic formations like rhyme and ablaut formations than with purely mechanical types which were formed primarily for reasons of linguistic economy and which he would rather subsume under the heading 're-formations' ("Umformungen"), sub-section 'shortenings' ("Kürzungen"). Finally, Hansen mentions unintentional formations or contaminations (1963: 122), 'folk-etymologies', 'manufactured words' and sound, rhyme, assonance and vowel dissonance (1963: 137ff).

1. Blends in the narrow sense			referentially motivated	Type *smog*
Re-form-ations	Short-enings	**2. Clipped compound** 2.1. bracket 2.2. haplologic (clipped) cpd …	mechanic, for economic reasons	Type *walkathon* Type *apartmate* Type *sexpert*
	…	…		
3. Contaminations and others …				

Figure 1: Typology of blends according to Hansen (1963)

In order to systematise rhyme and ablaut formations, which are, according to Hansen, closely related to blends because of their symbolic character, he suggests the following typology:

Rhyme re-du-pli-ca-tion	**Rhyme composition ("Reimkom-position")**	1. both elements are independent words: a) *brag rags* b) *rusty-fusty* 2. composed from words, but with a change in form: *walkie-talkie* 3. composed from words, but with assimilation: *patchy-blatchy*
	Reduplication of syllables with varied initials ("Silbenver-doppelung + Anlautver-änderung")	4. one independent word + reduplication with varied initials: a) *hardy-dardy* b) *hedley-medley* 5. independent word with form change: *helter-skelter* 6. both elements are new formations, one copying the other ('root creation' – "Wurzelschöpfung"): *boogie-woogie*

Figure 2: Typology of rhyme formations according to Hansen (1964: 6f)

In his typology of rhyme formations, Hansen (1964: 6f) separates rhyme compounds without reduplication (1a) from those which are based on reduplication (1b – 3), while reduplication (4 – 6) can be sub-classified according to whether one part (and if so, which part) enjoys an existence as an independent word outside the reduplication.

1. both elements are words, but there is a real ablaut relationship	*clink-clank, snip-snap*
2. only one of the elements is an independent word, the other element reduplicates it and varies the vowel: a) usually, the first element is new b) the second element is new (rare)	a) *dilly-dally* b) *swing-swang*
3. both elements are new	*flimflam, whimwham*

Figure 3: Typology of ablaut formations according to Hansen (1964: 9f)

According to Hansen (1964: 9f), ablaut formations can also be subdivided, in this case into three major types, depending on whether they consist of two

independent words (sub-type 1), one word plus a reduplicant which is not ‘free’ (sub-type 2), or whether both constituents are new, that is, neither of them exists independently (sub-type 3). Sub-type 2 can be subdivided further according to which part is new: more commonly, the first element is new (2a). His typology is summarised in Figure 3 above.

Hansen elaborates in detail on the form and function of rhyme and ablaut formations (1964: 10-27). He notes that rhyme formations are often playful, that they often use plosives in word-initial position in order to be as attention-catching as possible, and that their repetitive effect is of utmost importance. Ablaut formations, on the other hand, are often based on real words denoting sounds and/or movements, they are frequently symbolic in character, and this effect is created with the largest possible vowel contrast. These observations concerning form and function of rhyme and ablaut formations are summarised in tabular form as follows:

Criterion	**Rhyme Reduplication**	**Ablaut Reduplication**
1. Character of the base form	Mostly playful, i.e. not based on existing words or morphemes	Mostly on the basis of existing words which designate sounds and/or movement; often symbolic
2. Form of variation	Preferably starting with plosives, tendency to be as striking as possible; importance of repetitive and monotonous effect	Greatest possible contrast: light – dark; position of tongue: high – low: 66 % display vowel contrast [ɪ – æ], 20 % [ɪ – ɔ]
3. Number of syllables and use of suffixes	Rhythmical and sound function of certain suffixes which create rhyme	Reduplication with variation of root vowel has symbolic function; therefore, suffixes are rare.

Figure 4: Form and function of rhyme and ablaut formations according to Hansen (1964: 10-27)

In terms of the relationship between the frequency of certain types and the number of syllables, Hansen produces the some estimates. Clearly, formations using bisyllabic elements form the majority of rhyme formations, whereas ablaut formations seem to show a preference for monosyllabic elements – possibly because this pattern foregrounds the vowel contrast more strongly.

Type		Rhyme		Ablaut	
A. monosyllabic elements		37 %	*bow-wow*	53 %	*chit-chat*
B. bisyllabic elements	B1. baby talk, slang	63 %	*wifey-pifey* *kicksy-wicksy*	47 %	*ninny-nanny* *tipsy-topsy*
	B2. sound, movement		*rumble-bumble* *helter-skelter*		*bibble-babble* *pitter-patter*
	B3. rare suffixes		*forum-snorum* *bolus-nolus*		*crinkum-crankum*
C. trisyllabic elements			*higgledy-piggledy*		*wibbledy-wobbledy*

Figure 5: Syllable structure and frequency of rhyme and ablaut formations according to Hansen (1964: 25)

Finally, Hansen ascribes a naturally symbolic character to rhyme and ablaut formations. However, he is not of the opinion that it would be justified to dismiss them as mere ‘motivation by linguistic form’, as this only applies in the rare cases which were formed exclusively for reasons of euphony and playfulness for its own sake. He suggests grouping ablaut and rhyme formations with imitation, sound symbolism (“Lautnachahmungen und Lautbilder”) and blends (Hansen 1964: 30f).

3.4 Heller & Macris (1968): “Shortening Devices”

Heller & Macris (1968) postulate the need to take the medium in which shortenings were formed, into account in their analysis, that is, whether the shortening was formed

- phonologically,
- orthographically, or
- on both levels.

Phonological shortenings can be reflected orthographically (as in *o’clock*), but this is not always the case (as in [hi:z] for *he is*). In most cases, phonology and orthography influence each other.

Shortenings can, furthermore, be classified according to the part retained. As there is no uniform terminology, the authors suggest their own, mostly in

analogy with the term ‘acronym’ (or ‘stump word’, for example, *ad*): ‘mesonym’, ‘ouronym’, ‘acrouronym’ and ‘mesouronym’ etc. (see Figure 6 below), resulting in a somewhat idiosyncratic terminological system which has, to my knowledge not really caught on in the literature.

CLASSIFICATION	**EXAMPLE**
1. Type of Shortening	
A. Acronym (initial)	*ad*
B. Mesonym (medial)	*Liza*
C. Ouronym (tail)	*Beth*
D. Acromesonym (initial + medial)	*T.V.*
E. Acrouronym (initial + tail = blend)	*brunch*
F. Mesouronym (medial + tail)	*Lizabeth*
2. Medium Shortened	
A. Phonology	*ad*
B. Orthography	*Dr.*
3. Hierarchy Affected	
A. Monolectic (one word)	*ad*
B. Polylectic (more than one word, i.e. phrase)	*brunch*
(orthographic) CRITERIA	**EXAMPLE**
A. **No Mark**	*he is* (for [hi:z])
B. **Abbreviation Points** (orthographical shortenings only)	*C.O.D.* (when still read “cash on delivery”)
C. **Apostrophes** (the orthographical marks reflect earlier phonological shortenings)	*o’clock*

Figure 6: Typology of shortening devices according to Heller & Macris (1968: 207f)

Heller & Macris’ (1968) classification on three levels (type of shortening, medium and hierarchy) tries to capture various aspects of the shortening process, and they also propose orthographical criteria for shortenings (see Figure 6 above).

3.5 Schwarz (1970): Blends

Despite the brevity of his article, Schwarz (1970) presents a fairly detailed categorisation of blends, which is best summarised in tabular form:

ASPECT	VIEW	PATTERN	EXAMPLE
PHONEMATIC	**FORM-ATION**	Base words show overlapping phonemes	*hottle:* [hɔtl] < [hɔt] + [bɔtl]
		Initial consonant(s) + second element without initial consonant(s)	*bit, smog*
		Re-alignment of syllables; one base word may be unchanged	*ca ble gram* < *ca ble* + *te le gram*
MORPHOLOGIC	**FORM-ATION**	Blending of two simple lexemes	*snotel* < *snob* + *hotel*
		Simple lexeme + compound	*slotspitality*
	RESULT	One-morpheme word/moneme	*hottle*
		Whole morphemes + parts of morphemes	*Eurasia*
SYNTACTIC-SEMANTIC	**FORM-ATION**	Basis: co-ordinated constructions; base lexemes A and B are inter-changeable — I Blending takes place on the semantic level; A, B, C belong to the same semantic field	*Oxbridge* < *Oxford* + *Cambridge*
		II no semantic blending or blending of contents	*Dakoming* < *Dakota* + *Wyoming*
		III Base: endocentric construction; no blending on the semantic level, but on the phonematic, morphological and syntactic levels	*hot (A)* + *bottle (B)* > *hottle (C)*

Figure 7: Analysis and description of blends according to Schwarz (1970)

Schwarz' (1970) classification is similar to Heller & Macris' (1969) typology in that he also proposes a sort of cross-classification of blends (albeit with a different focus), which takes three levels into account: phonology, morphology and syntax-semantics.

3.6 Algeo (1975, 1977, 1978, 1980): Acronyms, Blends, and Taxonomic and Quantitative Considerations

In his essay about acronyms (1975), Algeo starts by describing this word-formation process on several levels, in order to be able to conclude with

concise and adequate definitions and delimitations. As far as the pronunciation of acronyms is concerned, he mentions three variants, exemplified by the following examples: *ms* (manuscript), *MP* ("em pee"), and *laser.* With reference to their underlying etyma, he notes:

> Although there is not unanimity, the weight of lexicographical and other scholarly opinion is in favor of restricting the definition of **acronym** to a shortening based on the major parts of a morphemically complex term, or 'compound term' as *Webster's Third* puts it. Thus, *HQ, TV, DDT,* and *TB* 'tubercle bacillus' are acronyms, but *TB* 'tuberculosis', *PJs, ID, OB, prof, ad,* and *mike* are not. (Algeo 1975: 224; emphasis in original)

He includes words from initials and/or initial syllables in his definition of acronyms, which excludes forms like *QT* (quiet) for the following reasons: the base lexeme is a moneme, and the example does not consist exclusively of letters from word beginnings. As a rule, acronyms originate in written usage and are only pronounced afterwards.

On the basis of these preliminaries, Algeo (1975: 227) suggests two definitions. The first one (a) captures what he considers to be the "majority use"; the second definition (b) is broader and places acronyms on the same level as "clipped forms":

(a) An acronym is a word formed orthographically by combining the initial letter or letters of the major parts of a morphemically complex term and pronounced either by letter names or according to orthoepic rules (or less often by a descriptive phrase, with inserted vowels, or in a combination of these ways).

(b) An acronym is a word formed from part of another word or exclusively from parts of other words.

As the terminological confusion surrounding acronyms and blends is enormous, Algeo (1975: 230) suggests, after a brief review of the various terms in use, the following classification:

> Acronyms belong to the more general class of **blends.** The latter are words that combine two or more lexical items, at least one of which has been shortened. … Acronyms are distinguished from other blends by being invariably derived from writing and shortened to the initial part of the constituents. … Blends themselves belong to the yet larger class of **abbreviations:** words that have been shortened, whether in speech or writing or both. (emphasis in original)

As far as the future of acronyms is concerned, Algeo is optimistic, and he makes an almost poetic declaration of love:

> Acronyms are one way language has of paying homage to its written mode. They are works of art to be constructed and secrets to be unraveled. They communicate in the briefest possible way. They are secret passwords by which the user can identify himself as one of the ingroup. They are playthings for the poet, icons for the mystic, tools for the bureaucrat and data for the linguist. And anything that can serve all those ends has its future assured. (Algeo 1975: 232)

Algeo (1977: 48-55) suggests the following typology of blends, with (a) and (b) as the major subtypes:

TYPE	EXAMPLE
a) blends with overlapping	
- phonological overlap	*slanguage*
- discontinuous segments overlap	*Ulsterior motives*
- overlapping includes all of 1 form completely	*sinema*
- sandwich word	*in-sin-uation*
b) blends with clipping	
- 2nd word is clipped	*food + (alc)oholic*
- 1st word is clipped	*Eur(ope) + Asia*
- both words are clipped	*br(eakfast) + (l)unch*
- 2 fore parts	*agit(ation) + prop(aganda)*
- acronyms	*laser*
- sandwich word	*chortle*
c) clipping at morpheme boundaries	*Oxbridge*
d) blends with clipping and overlapping	*motel*
e) blends with imperfect overlapping	*dang < da(mn) + (h)ang*

Figure 8: Typology of blends according to Algeo (1977: 48-55)

Algeo (1977) sees parallels between blends on the one hand and compounding and derivation on the other, as all three are composed of two (or more) parts; on the other hand, blends are similar to clippings in that both processes shorten one or more base lexemes; finally, he notes that they share the feature ‘overlap’ with haplologic formations.

Algeo’s second classification of blends also takes semantic and syntactic aspects into consideration:

a) ‘syntagmatic blends’: contractions or **‘telescopes’,** formed from phrases	*Amerind, morphonemics*
b) ‘associative blends’ (or **‘synomymic blends’** or **‘paradigmatic blends’** or ‘**portmanteaus’):** formations which are based on a semantic relationship between the two base words	*swellegant, smog*
c) ‘jumbles’: semantically similar but syntactically non-compatible words are blended	*happenstance* < *happen* + *(circum)stance*

Figure 9: Algeo’s (1977: 56-61) “Systemic Categories” of blends

Using Plato’s ‘traditional’ taxonomy (compounding, ablaut formation, borrowing, shortening and phonaesthetics) as a starting point, Algeo (1978) points out, in an essay entitled “A Taxonomy of Word Making”, that there is no general agreement as to how to define the acronym. Although there is some work on individual aspects, there is a lack of overall classifications, and, similarly, general outlines of word-formation present a lot of data and details, but they usually do not define the various processes concisely and precisely enough.

He touches upon the issue whether word-formation is a part of syntax or the lexicon, pointing out that the current discussion has focussed mainly on compounding and derivation, and observes that “[t]hese two variants of the same process are statistically important, but they are only one kind of derivation out of many” (Algeo 1978: 128). This is not sufficient, as all word-formation processes need to be taken into consideration.

Two years later, Algeo follows his research up with the essay “Where Do All the New Words Come From?” (1980). According to his data analysis, compounding and derivation (“composites”) account for about two thirds of all new words, while shortenings (including back-formations) account for 9.7 %. Blends are categorised as an independent class, alongside loanwords, shortenings, composites, conversion (“shifts”) and words of “unknown etymology” (see also Figure 24 in Section 5.1.3 below).

3.7 Soudek (1978): Blends

In connection with blending, Soudek (1978) is quoted frequently. Like others before him, he notes that there is

> considerable disagreement concerning the terminology to be used for different kinds of blends, the scope of blending (especially in relation to clipped compounds and acronyms), and approaches to a structural classification of bends. (Soudek 1978: 463)

Soudek (1978: 464) defines the blend as "a lexical unit consisting of splinters (or full forms) of two source words" combined in one of six ways (summarised as Figure 10a below), yielding four major types of blends (summarised as Figure 10b below).

POSSIBLE COMBINATIONS	PATTERNS
full word (X) + final splinter (y); with/without overlap	X/y or X(s)y
initial splinter (x) + full word (Y); with/without overlap	x/Y or x(s)Y
initial splinter (x) + final splinter (y); with/without overlap	x/y or x(s)y
full word (X) + full word (Y); overlap	X(s)Y
full word/splinter is implanted in another word; with/without overlap	implanted blend
orthography points to more than 1 word (pronunciation does not)	graphic blend

Figure 10a: Possible combinations of elements in the process of blending according to Soudek (1978: 464f)

A. CONCATENATED BLENDS: no overlap	A1 *happenident* < *happen* + *accident* A2 *pramateur* < *professional* + *amateur* A3 *bisalo* < *bison* + *buffalo*
B. OVERLAPPING BLENDS	B1 *bedventure* < *bed* + *adventure* B2 *animule* < *animal* + *mule* B3 *frogurt* < *frozen* + *yogurt* B4 *alcoholiday* < *alcohol* + *holiday*
C. IMPLANTED BLENDS	*anticipatering* < *anticipating* + *pater* *askillity* < *ability* + *skill*
D. GRAPHIC BLENDS	*buycentennial; sellebration*

Figure 10b: Soudek's (1978: 464f) typology of blends

The six combinations summarised as Figure 10a above focus on which part of the blend is shortened into a splinter[5], and whether there is overlap. In

[5] This is indicated in Figure 10a through the use of capitals for full (that is, unshortened) words (*X, Y*), and lower-case letters for splinters (*x, y*), with *X* and *x* for initial and *Y* and *y* for final constituents of blends.

addition, there are further types of overlaps: in word-initial position (*stroft* < *strong* + *soft*) and in word-final position (*stagflation* < *stagnation* + *inflation*). Soudek points out that not all blends are monemes (thus contradicting Marchand 1969: 451), and that some are actually intended to remain analysable (*alcoholiday, stagflation*).

3.8 Kreidler (1979, 1994 and 2000): Shortenings

Despite its title, Kreidler's (1979) contribution focuses mainly on clipping, and he treats all the other processes he mentions (blending, back-formation, acronymy) more or less in relation to clipping. He observes that, unlike composition, which creates new names for new referents, shortenings "are often merely new ways of designating phenomena and concepts which already have names" (Kreidler 1979: 24), although this is not always the case. Before moving on to a detailed discussion of clipping, Kreidler (ibid.) defines blends[6] as "multiple clippings" or "[w]ords … made by decomposition *and* composition" (emphasis in the original), and he cites examples which blend acronyms and blends with words (*lidar* < *light* + *radar, quasar* < *quasi-stellar, pulsar* < *pulse* + *quasar*). He defines the acronym as "a word which is devised from the written form of a lexical construction" (1979: 25); acronyms are "secondary designations" (1979: 26) and he (implicitly) distinguishes several types (see Figure 11 below). His most recent definition (2000: 957) of the acronym states that it is "always formed from the initial elements of its constituents, and these constituents are always syntagmatically related", thus excluding syllabic acronyms (see below).

Kreidler's categories of acronyms and clippings is summarised in tabular form in Figure 11:

[6] But see also Kreidler's (1994: 5029f) definition of blends in Section 2.2.2 above.

acronyms	initials of words or morphemes, 2 – 5 letters, stress on last letter, “letter-recitation”	*USA, FBI*		
		from one word	*Tb/TB*	
		multiple letters	*AAA (‘triple A’)*	
	“sounded out”, made pronounceable	*SNCC* [snɪk] *(Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee)*		
		NATO		
		use of “little words”	*CORE (Congress of Racial Equality)*	
		source term = chosen to produce a “significant” word	*WAVES (Women Appointed for Volunteer Emergency Service)*	
clippings	mostly one syllable	mostly first part of word	*ad*	
		last part	*phone*	
		middle	*flu*	
	two or three syllables	ends in /ɪ/	/ɪ/ from source	*deli*
			/ɪ/ added	*alky*
		ends in /o/	/o/ from source	*demo*
			/o/ added	*combo*
		stress on last syllable	*exám*	
		primary stress on first syllable, secondary stress on last syllable	*íntercòm*	

Figure 11: Kreidler’s (1979: 25-31) typology of acronyms and clippings

For Kreidler (1979: 26), the distinguishing criterion between clippings and back-formations is that in the former, the parts that are cut off are not morphemic, while in the latter, they are. However, he questions the usefulness of these distinctions. A related process, but of a syntactic nature, is ellipsis, which contain “more information than they display” (1979: 28) and are often restricted to certain contexts. In the context of clippings, Kreidler (1979: 27) mentions their frequency, playfulness, unpredictability, loss of redundancy, their contextuality and the need to resemble the source form to some extent[7].

[7] Strangely, Kreidler (1979: 27) discusses a clear case of ellipsis under ‘clipping’: *shocks* (for *shock absorbers*), and he fails to point out that this example displays the interesting feature that the elliptical form is homonymous with a word which is, in a sense, the antonym of the full form (see also Section 2.2.3 above).

Finally, Kreidler (1979: 31-34) mentions certain restrictions on clipping, for example, that some clippings only appear in combinations (*op art, prog report*), and a number of phonological constraints which, however, do not differ in any way from the restrictions on unclipped English words. In terms of their semantics, he mentions cases of semantic extension (for example, the noun *dividend* yields *divvy*, n, and *to divvy up*), functional shift (*to rev up*), new connotations (*Philly, Chevy, Aussie*), semantic separation (*fan* versus *fanatic*) and additional semantic features (for example, [+FEMALE] in *coed*). According to Kreidler (1994: 5030), clipping is possible due to an "attitude of familiarity to the referent" and because the names for these referents are "longer than most of the lexical items which are familiar to the speakers" – an explanation which seems somewhat superficial and simplistic.

As far as acronyms are concerned, Kreidler (2000: 958) observes the "increasingly common practice" of creating them as homonyms of existing words, which results in a "kind of double semantic value, denoting one referent and suggesting another", and he (2000: 957) analyses syllabic acronyms, such as *Benelux* as "sequences of clippings".

As reasons for shortening, Kreidler (2000: 959) refers to the "great burgeoning of technical vocabulary in every phase of modern life", the "increasing complexity of political administration" and bureaucracy, and playfulness and "social bonding". Unlike the prevailing naming function of compounds and derivations, shortenings are "instances of re-naming", which are possible due to redundancy and because they are context-bound. However, semantic separation can happen.

Some of Kreidler's (2000: 962) sweeping statements are untenable, such as his observation that "[a]bbreviations are likely to be identical in form with existing lexemes", or vacuous, like his concluding remark that the investigation of acronymy and clipping "is an important part of research in morphology".

3.9 Cannon (1986, 1987, 1989, 1994, 2000): Alphabet-Based Formations, Blends and other Neologisms

After a detailed review of the literature, Cannon (1986: 730) summarises his definition of blends as follows:

> … a blend involves a telescoping of two or more SEPARATE forms into one, or, rarely, a superposition of one form upon another. It usually contains overlapping and preserves some of the meaning of at least one of the source words, though sometimes so much of the roots are lost that a blend is unanalysable. (emphasis in original)

Cannon classifies blends as shortenings, but, at the same time, he distinguishes them from "nonblend shortenings" (731f); the latter are shortenings of idiomatic expressions (*BP* – 'beautiful people'), acronyms, "unabbreviated shortenings" (*autoland* – 'automatic landing'), shortened compounds (*Amerindian*), clippings, mixed formations and back-formations. His subcategorisation of blends is summarised in Figure 12 below:

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="4">90 'traditional blends' (overlap)</td><td colspan="2">neither source word remains intact: 31</td><td>*Dixican*</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">both source words remain intact: 30</td><td>*glassteel*</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">only terminal word remains intact: 19</td><td>*biathlete*</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">only initial word remains intact: 10</td><td>*beefalo*</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="12">42 blends without over-lap</td><td rowspan="4">19 cases of fusion at syllabic juncture; original syllabification preserved</td><td>2 reduced words fused at consonantal juncture: 6</td><td>*stagflation*</td></tr>
<tr><td>fusion at vowel-consonant juncture: 11</td><td>*parafoil*</td></tr>
<tr><td>fusion at vowel-vowel juncture: 1</td><td>*radionics*</td></tr>
<tr><td>fusion at consonant-vowel juncture: 1</td><td>*Dexedrine*</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="8">23 cases: fusion changes syllabic structure (re-sylla-bification)</td><td colspan="2">1</td><td>*Ms*</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">spelling hides changed pronunciation: 1</td><td>*etorphine*</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">resyllabifi-cation of initial splinter</td><td>1 -> 2 syllables: 7</td><td>*linar*</td></tr>
<tr><td>2 -> 3 syllables, technical terms: 5</td><td>*ecdysone*</td></tr>
<tr><td>number of syllables unchanged: 1</td><td>*neuristor*</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">nontechnical terms: 8</td><td>*snurfing*</td></tr>
</table>

Figure 12: Cannon's (1986: 742-744) corpus analysis of blends

Cannon's (1986: 742-744) analysis is based on a corpus of 132 blends from three dictionaries. The 118 nouns, 11 adjectives and three verbs are mostly based on co-ordinated words belonging to the same word classes. His defining criterion for the subclassification of blends is whether there is overlap, and if

there is, which (if any) part of the source word(s) remain(s) intact; and if there is no overlap, where the constituents are joined and whether this fusion results in a new syllabic structure.

Cannon (2000: 954f) observes that "the most commercially successful blends are often also morphologically transparent", but as "modern blends are often abstract rather than concrete", they may be difficult to interpret, and to illustrate this point, he cites *autopia* (from *auto[mobile]* + *utopia)* – clearly a case of graphic blend, which Cannon admits indirectly by pointing out that "the item's written form makes it morphologically transparent", thereby making another imprecise statement, as morphemes will not help us in the analysis of this example. Cannon (2000: 956) concludes his handbook article with the observation that

> the small number of acceptances of these supposedly viable items into the general language suggests that blends may continue as a morphologically interesting but nonetheless minor part of word formation.

Cannon (1989: 99-105) starts with a detailed review of collections and dictionaries of abbreviations, and with the suggestion that the term 'initialism' be used as an umbrella term to cover acronyms and abbreviations, as one of his main concerns is the lack of consistency with regard to the terminology, a malaise which is even promulgated further by lexicographic practice[8]. In order to clear up this confusion, Cannon (1989: 106f) postulates "two conditions for initialisms":

> First, except for an infrequent one or two letters inserted for orthoepic purposes, every constituent in the initialism must have a known lexical source, thereby excluding 'shape' items like *A-line* because *A* has no such source. Second, no constituent word in the source can be preserved intact, thus excluding French *L'heure H 'L'heure heure'* … [W]e will propose replacing *abbreviation* with the common term *shortening* as the name of the *division* that

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[8] He states, for example (1989: 105):

> One reason for the lack of systematic study has been the considerable overlapping and inconsistency within a general taxonomy, on which linguists may still disagree.

And (1989: 106):

> The influential computer world, an extremely fertile creator of initialisms, generally terms all initialisms as acronyms, even when the items are true abbreviations.

> produces blends, acronyms, abbreviations, and other reduced items (emphasis in original).

He goes on to define acronyms as being based on sources with at least three constituents, and he restricts the number of initial letters from each constituent to two, with some minor exceptions. His corpus shows that the majority of abbreviations are nouns, consisting of up to five letters (the average is 2.8 and 60 % consist of three letters), and a large proportion originated in the sciences. Acronyms are almost exclusively nouns (98 %), and 54 % of all acronyms are proper nouns; they consist of three to nine letters, and semantically they are related to political organisations, systems, the military and computers (Cannon 1989: 109-115). In general, acronyms "look more like words than abbreviations do, with fewer varying forms containing periods, and they are more likely to be proper nouns" (Cannon 1989: 116).

Cannon observes that initialisms are "the most writing based of all categories of English word-formation" (1989: 116), and the majority of the corpus are "deliberate creations" (1989: 118). As their production is not governed by word-formation rules, initialisms might better be categorised as instances of word creation. Finally, Cannon (1989: 121) emphasises their productivity, their value in terms of linguistic economy, and the fact that they can function as bases for further word-formation processes. However, according to him, they are not in-group markers because of their contextual nature – a statement with which many linguists would disagree.

A modified classification[9] is presented in Cannon (1994: 81), based on Cannon (1989), where he subcategorises shortenings into clippings, back-formations, blends and others, and calls acronyms "the most unpredictable" word-formation process. They should therefore, he concludes, be "viewed as extramorphological". On the other hand, he (1994: 81) warns us not to underestimate the importance of acronyms and abbreviations:

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[9] See also the summary of Cannon's (1987: 279) numerical analysis of several dictionaries of neologisms in Figure 26 (Section 5.1.3) below.

> These two categories must not be overlooked in linguistic description … [T]hey appear as common nouns …, adjectives, verbs, and interjections … Older initialisms are now exercising considerable productivity. They act like other categories in expanding the vocabulary ...

3.10 Jung (1987): Acronyms

To begin with, Jung (1987) notes that, in the vast majority of cases, acronyms result from written usage – unlike clippings, which are coined orally and should not be categorised as acronyms anyway. According to Jung, acronyms are formations that are pronounced either by letter names or as words (”acronyms proper”), and they can be based on full sentences[10], complex noun phrases, compounds and, in most cases, syntactic groups. In some cases, the linear sequence of the initials in the underlying phrase is reversed, in others orthographic means and/or dots are used for the purpose of disambiguation, or prop sounds are inserted to make the resulting acronym pronounceable (for example, *SNCC* [snɪk] – ‘Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee’).

Analysing 200 German and English acronyms, he finds that they consist, on average, of 3.86 letters, that German uses more bound morphemes and this is reflected in the structure of the acronyms, and finally that the lexical morphemes in the underlying phrases have a greater weight than the grammatical ones in both languages. Jung concludes his article with the suggestion to “teach” computers synthetic rules for the production of acronyms and abbreviations in the interest of producing more transparent items in the future (1987: 157) – a highly questionable proposition, in my opinion, as it runs counter to the variety of purposes of acronyms and abbreviations – some of which are, precisely, obfuscatory.

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[10] In this case, Jung (1987: 150) speaks of “pseudo-acronyms” or “pseudo-backformations”, because the acronym is formed first, and the underlying sentence is phrased afterwards to fit the acronym, e.g. *KEYS* – ‘Knowledge of English yields success’. I would question this sequence of events, however, as many doubly motivated acronyms are probably coined simultaneously with their long forms.

3.11 McCully & Holmes (1988): Acronyms

McCully & Holmes (1988) note that the vast majority of acronyms are nouns and they attribute their exceptional productivity since the mid-1930s to the fact that they are "coinages arising on special occasions to meet special needs" (McCully & Holmes 1988: 29) – even though many of them are rather short-lived. Rather than classifying them as word-**formation** processes (which, according to them, follow morpho-syntactic rules), they speak of "word **creation**" which is determined by phonological rules, because most acronyms consist of two syllables and are relatively regular.

3.12 McArthur (1988): Shortenings

According to McArthur (1988), five factors should be taken into consideration when discussing abbreviations and shortenings:

- depending on the speaker, there is a whole range of transparent to completely obscure examples;
- some abbreviations are general property (for example, *US*), others are technical terms;
- many abbreviations can be used even if their underlying full forms are unknown to the speaker (for example, *radar*);
- 'people in the know' do not always deem it necessary and/or desirable to enlighten others, as the use of jargons enhances their feeling of superiority, belonging to an in-group etc.;
- polysemy is pervasive, for example, *AA* – 'Alcoholics Anonymous' (AmE) vs. 'Automobile Association' (BrE).

McArthur (1988: 38) observes that "[t]he core purpose of all abbreviated usage, ancient or modern, alphabetic or otherwise, is to combine economy of effort with repetition of the familiar", and he mentions five factors as causes for the enormous productivity and popularity of shortenings:

- the need for compact names in the sciences;
- practical advantages of company names in telex-style;

- the popularity of striking names and designations in advertising;
- the influence of computer language; and
- the influence of Japanese which uses syllable words.

McArthur (1988: 38-42) suggests a typology which covers four main types, summarised in tabular form as Figure 13 below. However, this typology does not accommodate various other and mixed forms, a shortcoming which he is fully aware of:

> … we need a more flexible and accommodating model [of abbreviation] … in either of two forms: the traditional categories plus an indefinite range of hybrids among and around them, or a continuum, in which the traditional categories are focal areas rather than distinct containers (McArthur 1988: 41).

McArthur lists a number of unclear and mixed forms: fluctuating pronunciation (*WHO*), and items which show characteristics of acronyms as well as initialisms (*Vtol*), and he underlines the word character of shortenings by presenting affixations, compounds and other combinations based on shortenings (for example, *ex-POC, IBM PC*).

TYPE	DESCRIPTION	(+ "pronounceability")
1. initialism	"script-based"; takes affixes like other words	a) "unpronounceable": *KKK* b) "semi-pronounceable: *BBC 'Beeb'*
2. acronym	formed from initials; behaves like other words, which is mirrored in their orthography: *radar*	pronounceable, and: c) "meaningless": *Nalgo* d) "mimicking an existing word": *SALT* e) intentional homonymy: *NOW*
2b) syllabic acronym	formed from syllables (+ letters): *Amoco* – 'American Oil Company'	
3. clipping	a) back-clipping b) fore-clipping c) back- and fore-clipping	
4. blend = port-manteau-word	= a word-formation process, but less regular than affixation and compounding; - primarily forms new words, shortening effect is secondary	

Figure 13: McArthur's (1988: 38-42) typology of shortenings

3.13 Kobler-Trill (1994): "Shortenings" in German

Due to its thoroughness, Kobler-Trill's (1994) dissertation is an important contribution to the description and classification of certain shortening processes in German. Her study provides a very detailed structural analysis[11] of acronyms and abbreviations in Standard German, followed by a quantitative diachronic corpus analysis of the frequency and prevalence of these processes in several newspapers.

Kobler-Trill (1994: 13ff) defines typical "shortenings" ("Kurzwörter") as shortened forms which have graphically and phonetically realised forms, thus excluding written abbreviations ("Abkürzungen", or "Schriftabkürzungen", for example, *vgl.* – 'cf.') as the latter, according to her, do not form part of word-formation. Another defining criterion is that a "shortening" is the reduction of a certain "base lexeme" ("Basislexem", BL), that is, it must be shorter than the "base lexeme". It creates a relation of synonymy between the base lexeme and the shortening, that is, the shortening constitutes a doublet to the already existing longer lexical unit (they share the same extralinguistic referent), and this semantic dependency distinguishes shortenings from other word-formation processes. In some cases, this referential dependency can only be established via the long form. The base lexeme, finally, usually consists of phrases which are characterised by a fixed order of their constituents. Most base lexemes serve as superordinate terms for all the shortenings based on them and the amount of the shortening determines the degree of motivation.

For her classification, Kobler-Trill (1994: 63-95) develops a number of criteria, which are mainly structural (the number and quality of the segments of the base lexeme, which are used in the shortening and their position in the base lexeme); in addition, she considers the phonological realisation of the letters in

[11] Kobler-Trill's 1994 definitions and typology seem, indeed, to have set standards for subsequent discussions of shortenings in German, and they are summarised and referred to frequently, for example, in Starke (1997: 88-91) and Poethe (1997: 198f). It is for this reason that her study is summarised here, despite the fact that the subject language of her research is German.

the shortening, the structure of the base lexeme (compound, phrase), possible graphic deviations between shortening and base lexeme, and homonymy, homophony and homography.

In the following table (Figure 14 below), Kobler-Trill's terms have been translated and corresponding English examples have been used to replace the German examples provided in the original. Kobler-Trill explicitly excludes elliptical forms (*air [plane] port*) and iconic formations (*T-shirt, U-turn*), formations which classify or categorise (*A-class*), formations containing 'foreign' elements (*bio-, euro-*), and blending as the majority of blends do not fulfil the criterion of being based on a synonymous base lexeme and, according to her, most of them behave semantically like compounds. Furthermore, she classifies compounds whose last constituent is shortened to a suffix (*dishwasher* < *dishwashing machine*) as suffixations and excludes back-formations and conversions. Although she acknowledges that there are numerous processes which involve both shortening and combination, these do not fall within her area of interest.

Shortenings				
Clippings (mono-segmental shortenings)	End-clippings	*demo[nstration]*		
		high [pressure system]		
	Front-clippings	*[violon]cello*		
		[door] bell		
	End- and front-clippings	*Lisa*		
All other shortenings	Partial shortenings	*e-mail*		
		SI units		
		lo-cal meal		
		rehab clinic		
	Letter words (shortenings consisting of several parts or elements)	Regular types	Initialisms	*NATO*
				BBC
			Syllabic acronyms: *Nabisco*	
			Mixed forms: *Cosatu*	
		Special types	*Tb*	
			DAX	
			Btx	

Figure 14: Kobler-Trill's (1994: 88) typology of shortenings (adapted)

Furthermore, Kobler-Trill (1994: 187-196) discusses the functions of shortenings in discourse: univerbation and economy, new word-formation potential, referential neutrality and clarity (especially in jargons), euphemism, secrecy and obfuscation, and markers of in-group identity. In addition, she discusses attitudes towards the use of shortenings (181-186). Finally, her corpus analysis reveals that "shortenings" did indeed increase quantitatively in German usage between 1949 and 1989, especially as names for organisations, institutions and similar referents[12].

3.14 Lehrer (1996 and 1998): Blends

Lehrer's (1996: 359) focus is on the "factors that lead to a successful identification" of novel blends, and by this she means the correct interpretation of what she calls the "target words" of blends, that is, the words which contributed parts to their formation[13], especially in cases where there is overlap. She hypothesises that the following factors facilitate this process: context, as much "target word" material as possible, the frequency of use of the "target word", the lowest possible number of words in its "neighborhood", the successful identification of one part of the blend. According to Lehrer (1996: 360), the general marginalisation of blends is "unfortunate" and, due to their

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[12] See also Poethe (1997), who discusses the use of shortenings in the context of the German unification. She presents a fascinating linguistic-politico-historical account of the role of shortenings in secret service activities during former GDR times, and she concludes that, post-1989, we find both continuity and change with respect to the use of shortenings.

[13] In my opinion, Lehrer's premise that the underlying words need to be 'correctly identified' (which is reflected in her choice of the term "target word") in order for blends to be understood is problematic. It is the nature of blends that their form mirrors their 'blended' referent, and in many instances, it will be sufficient for readers/listeners' understanding of the blend to capture its general association, the 'hint' supplied by the mixed form.
In addition, I find the choice of the term "target word" less than felicitous as it is ambiguous: one might be led to believe that this term refers to the form that results from the blending process, rather, as Lehrer intends it to mean, the source words of the blend in question.
See also Kelly (1999), as reviewed in Section 3.15 below, who maintains that, in the case of some blends, the decoding process is delayed intentionally.

productivity, unjustified; we need to understand the blending process as many blends are short-lived, and in this respect, she proposes to look at the "structure of the mental lexicon and on linguistic and psycholinguistic aspects of word retrieval, form identification, and semantic interpretation". According to Lehrer (1996: 360), blends are particularly interesting in this regard:

> There is … an asymmetry in blend usage. It is intended to be understood 'on-line', but it is often created 'off-line'. That is, listeners or readers are expected to understand a novel blend without being told what the parts are.

Lehrer (1996: 360f) further hypothesises that

> … the factors that lead to the successful identification of the words that make up the blends (the targets) and their interpretation are sensitive to the same factors that have been found relevant in psycholinguistic studies of lexical access: frequency, neighborhood density, and semantic priming.

Blends are notoriously difficult to classify due to their variety and due to their tendency to turn into new affixes, combining forms and clippings (defined as "conventionalized short forms of words which syntactically function like full words" – Lehrer 1996: 361); Lehrer takes up the concept of 'splinters'[14] as those "parts of words in blends which are intended to be recognized as belonging to a target word, but which are not independent formatives" (1996: 361), and she claims that "[b]lends are a major source of new combining forms": "Splinters from blends very quickly become combining forms, and combining forms and splinters may in principle become clippings, or even affixes (although this does not in general happen)" (Lehrer 1996: 362) – thus turning the production process of splinters to blends upside down. She perpetuates the myth of the irregularity of blends ("no general rules can be given; all cases are word-specific", 1996: 363), and therefore emphasises the need to "identify the two contributing words" for their understanding. However, "[a]fter blends have become established parts of the vocabulary … knowing the source words becomes superfluous to understanding them …"

[14] She does this without making reference to Berman (1961) who, to my knowledge, was the first to introduce this term, which was later popularised by Adams (1973) and Soudek (1978) – see also Section 2.5.3.

Apart from some minor constraints on blends in terms of their positions and depending on whether they originate from the beginning or the end of a word, Lehrer (1996: 364f) claims that "[m]ost blends are introduced through the written medium, most of which can be processed both visually and auditorily", while instances of the former are rare. This is a bold statement to make, and I would disagree with Lehrer that blends originate in the written medium – apart from "written" or "graphic" blends, obviously.

For her empirical tests, Lehrer (1996: 364) establishes several categories of blends (see Figure 15 below). Her categorisation rests on three main criteria: overlap, contiguity and the number of splinters involved in the blend. The first two criteria are of a binary nature: either there is overlap or not, while the third criterion (number of splinters) is scalar.

Overlap	+ Overlap	*wintertainment, flustrated*	
	- Overlap	*Flaretrol < flare + control*	
Contiguity	Contiguous segments within word or splinter	+ overlap	*Flaretrol < flare + control*
		- overlap	*palimony < pal + alimony*
	Discontinuous words or splinters	*entreporneur < entrepreneur + porn[ography], flustrated*	
Number of splinters	Zero, only overlap	*sexploitation, palimony, cocacolonization*	
	One, combined with a full word	Word + splinter	*oildraulic, vodkatini, boatel*
		Splinter + word	*narcoma, sugly < so + ugly, squangle < square + angle*
	Two	*psychergy, dynam < dynamic + magnetic, Spanglish*	

Figure 15: Lehrer's (1996: 364) categories of blends

In her experiments, Lehrer attempts to determine the factors which contribute to the understanding of blends (in terms of their "target words"), and their rate of acceptance, and she admits that the second question will be influenced, at least in part, by the answers to the first one, that is, blends which are easily understood will receive a higher rating than those which are not. Not surprisingly, Lehrer's (1996: 385) tests showed that

> [t]he mechanisms that are involved are the same as those for lexical retrieval of any other words. The more letters present the easier the target is to identify. Targets are more easily identified where they are frequent and where they have no neighbor or few neighbors, or when the neighbors have low frequencies. Semantic compatibility and plausibility of the two targets also plays [sic] a role, just as it does in the interpretation of novel compounds.

Lehrer (1998: 3) analyses "compound-like words that result from blending" based on the assumption that "[t]he relation between blends (e.g., *Irangate*) and their source words (e.g., *Watergate*) is normally that of hyponym and superordinate". According to her (1998: 4f), (final) splinters can become productive morphemes, and new forms can be created on the basis of these new elements, which might then even function as heads:

> In many cases the original word (the source word) that gives rise to the new combining form (the splinter) becomes the superordinate for new formatives. This has occurred with *Watergate, landscape*, and *bikathon …* (Lehrer 1998: 6)

However, due to semantic generalisation of salient[15] items, it is more common for the source morpheme to "acquire a superordinate status", rather than the whole source word, although "[t]he productive splinters from blends retain a connection to their source words … but they could be set free if for some reason the source word were to become archaic or obsolete", and they result from the resegmentation of words – unlike neoclassical compounding[16] (Lehrer 1998: 16).

3.15 Kelly (1998): Blends

With the help of three studies, Kelly (1998) sets out to provide "evidence that certain patterns in blends can be predicted quite well from specific cognitive and linguistic principles" (1998: 580), thus proving previous scholars such as

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[15] Lehrer (1998: 7):

> A word is salient to speakers if it is easily identifiable and retrievable, known to the whole speech community, and is found in texts where the appropriate topic is discussed … Salience is important in identifying the source words for the splinters in blends.

[16] Lehrer (1998: 14) wrongly attributes the term 'neoclassical compounding' to Bauer (1983) and not to Marchand (1969).

Bauer (1983) and Cannon (1986) wrong when they claim that the formation of blends is “random” or “fairly arbitrary”. In order to achieve this, Kelly focuses on “three aspects of blend structure: the order of blend components, the boundary between them, and similarities between boundary phonemes”.

Based on a corpus study, but excluding blends which consist of more than two parts and those which are not based on conjunctive phrases, Kelly (1998: 582) finds that “blends typically placed the shorter word before the longer word”, that the “ordering patterns in word blends can be predicted by some of the same variables that affect word order in conjunctive phrases”, and that “words denoting prototypical members of categories are preferred for first position” (583). Furthermore, he (1998: 586) finds that “breakpoints in blends do not fall randomly. Rather they cluster at major phonological joints, such as syllable, rime, and onset boundaries”. As far as overlaps are concerned, he finds that there is a likelihood of blends using similar consonants in order to delay the decoding process by the hearer – thus contradicting Lehrer (1996) (see also Section 3.14 above).

3.16 Dienhart (1999): Stress in Reduplicative Compounds

The central issue Dienhart (1999: 3) sets out to debate is whether “there [is] any correlation between the form of [reduplicative] compounds and their stress patterns”. He attempts to tackle this issue by “determining class membership” and then “determining the stress patterns for the items” (1999: 4) within his three categories[17]. In order to limit the membership in his three classes, Dienhart (1999: 12) applies a number of filters or conditions:

[17] As a starting point, Dienhart (1999: 3) adopts the generally accepted tripartite division of reduplication, which originally goes back to Jespersen (1974: 173-183):

1. kernel repeated with no change: *boo-boo*
2. kernel repeated with change of initial consonant: *hocus-pocus*
3. kernel repeated with change of vowel: *mish-mash*

> SINGLE PHONE CONDITION (SPC): This condition denies membership to monomorphemic constructions of the form CVCV, where the 'reduplication' involves only a single phone. The repeated phone can be either C or V.
>
> AFFIX CONDITION (AC). This condition denies membership to any polymorphemic construction consisting of an affix and a root (e.g., *dismiss, lowly*), where the form of the affix is not conditioned by the phonological makeup of the root. Rather, the affix has general distribution, attaching itself freely to a range of roots in addition to the one in question.

These filters yield the following delimitation for the "broadest possible set", in his words,

> … any sequence X_1 X_2, where X_2 is related to X_1 by being identical (*boo-boo*), by differing in consonant onset (*hocus-pocus*), or by differing in vowel peak (*mish-mash*). (Dienhart 1999: 13)

Based on these filters, and taking primary stress into account, Dienhart (1999: 14-31) then introduces sub-categories for his three classes of reduplicative compounds. These are summarised in tabular form (simplifying slightly by ignoring exceptions) as follows:

Class			Example
1 "*boo-boo* class"	1a	single stress	*lulu, mama, tom-tom, yoyo*
	1b	double stress	*blak-blak, chop-chop, pooh-pooh, so-so, tut-tut, ylang-ylang*
2 "*hocus-pocus* class"	2a	single stress: monosyllabic, primary stress on first part	*bedspread, boytoy, brain drain, hot spot, thigh high*
	2b	double stress: polysyllabic	*airy-fairy, boogie-woogie, hocus-pocus, willy-nilly*
3 "*mish-mash* class"		single stress, mostly monosyllabic kernels	*chiffchaff, chitchat, kit-cat, zig-zag, wishy-washy*

Figure 16: Dienhart's (1999: 14-31) stress-based typology of reduplicative compounds

Class 1 covers pure reduplications, which Dienhart further sub-classifies according to their stress patterns. Class 2 consists of rhyme formations, again subdivided according to stress, and Class 3 contains ablaut formations which always display single (primary) stress.

3.17 López Rúa (2002): Acronyms and their "Neighbours"

López Rúa (2002: 31) initially subdivides "shortenings" into "initialisms" (consisting of "acronyms" and "alphabetisms"), and clippings, blends and "abbreviations" (like *Mr.*). Her article, which is based on her much longer PhD thesis, aims at applying

> prototype theory to the analysis of a set of metalinguistic categories of a morphological nature … Particular attention is paid to *initialisms* … because the variety and complexity detected in their analysis point to a structure which openly defies all attempts at a description in the classical fashion.
> (López Rúa 2002: 33; emphasis in the original)

In order to achieve this, she uses the "nondiscrete approach", according to which "membership conditions can be hierarchised and are neither necessary nor sufficient", category members can be arranged "in centre-periphery structures according to their varying degrees of representativity", thus favouring the prototype approach over the fuzzy-set or the discrete category theories, as

> acronyms or clippings are not viewed as displaying degrees of membership in their respective categories, but simply as displaying degrees of typicality or representativity (they are not 'more or less' acronyms or clippings, but more or less 'representative' members of their categories). As regards the classical theory, its lack of flexibility becomes an important limitation for an efficient account of the richness and internal complexity revealed by the categories under study. (López Rúa 2002: 33)

After stating these premises, López Rúa (2002: 35f) proceeds to analyse a corpus with the help of "defining parameters and possible values" (2002: 34) in order to determine prototypical examples. These parameters are mostly structural:

- Number and type of source form
- Pronunciation
- Orthography
- Degree of shortening
- Degree of phonic integration of the constituents
- Mode of expression

Her main interest lies in "initialisms", and in order to define this category and its sub-categories, the first, second and fourth criteria are regarded as "sufficient".

For the analysis of blends, she uses the term ‘splinter’[18], which she defines as follows:

> I … regard as splinters those graphic and phonemic sequences (not only in blends but also in peripheral initialisms) which are neither inflectional nor derivational morphemes, nor combining forms …, and whose length generally allows their identification as belonging to a previous word. Consequently, splinters tend to be syllables or units larger than syllables in their sources … When they are shorter than syllables, their constituents are the syllable onset …; the onset and the nucleus …; or the rhyme. (López Rúa 2002: 37f)

Her items are then arranged in groups, or categories, and sub-categories, and within each of these, items are arranged according to their centrality. Her “radial polycentric network” is reproduced[19] here:

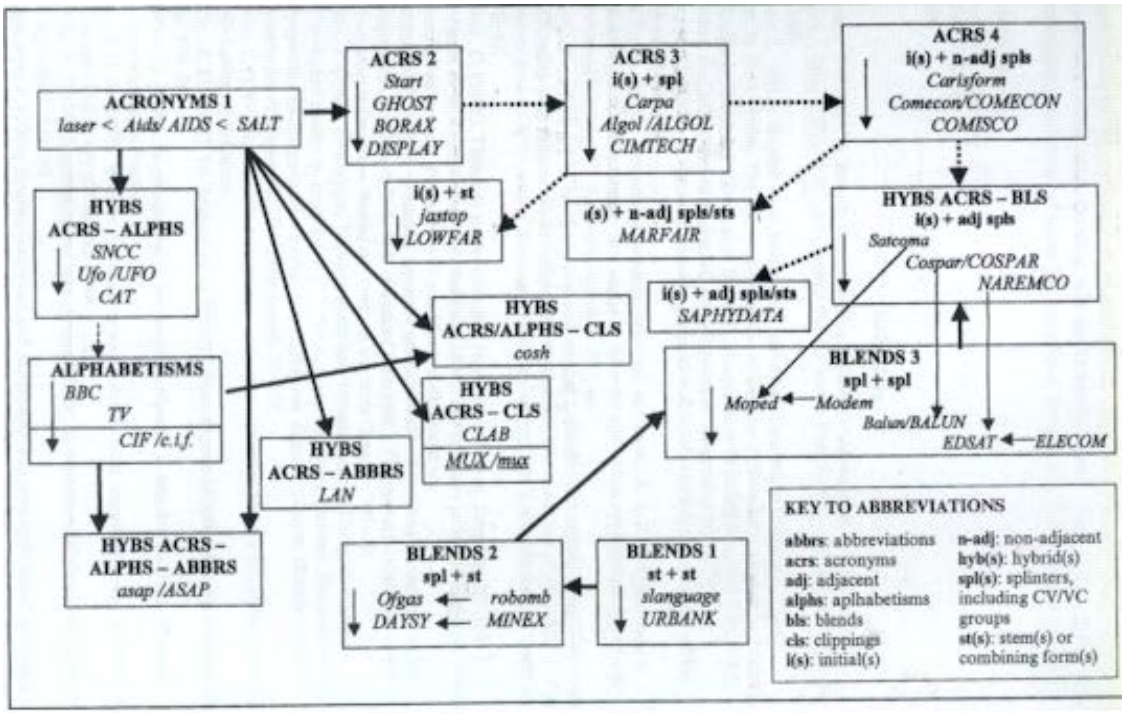

Figure 17: López Rúa’s (2002: 57) “radial polycentric network of *acronyms*”

Most alphabetisms are classified as “central cases”, while acronyms are more variegated with an “evolving” categorical centre (López Rúa 2002: 38), and

[18] Amazingly, López Rúa (2002: 37) claims that she took this term from Lehrer (1996) – see also Sections 2.5.3 and 3.14 above.

[19] Due to technical restrictions, the quality of the scan is, unfortunately, not as clear as I would have wished. However, it does illustrate López Rúa’s approach and the outcome of her research.

there are a number of hybrids and ambiguous cases, as well as category shifts to neighbouring categories and "intracategorial progressions (that is, changes in centrality within the category)" (López Rúa 2002: 39).

López Rúa (2002: 56) explains that her "radial polycentric network" is "equipped to account for the centre-periphery-borderline continuity, both within and between categories", and that its structure "allows the incorporation of category members … which no longer bear a direct relationship to the original centre." Among her parameters, two are more basic than the rest: 'degree of shortening' and 'degree of phonic integration'. In the graphic representation of her model (Figure 17 above),

> [c]ontinuous arrows indicate categorical progressions both within categories (centre-periphery-borderline) and between categories, whereas discontinuous arrows spring from items or subcategories which function as subcentres for further assimilations and connections. (López Rúa 2002: 58)

Although López Rúa (2002: 59) mentions the "excessive dependence [of initialisms] on extralinguistic factors" in her concluding remarks (in addition to "their restricted use" and "ephemeral quality" – both of which I would refute), she does not go beyond structural criteria in her analysis herself, and she goes on to contradict herself in the very next sentence, when she speaks of "their increasing number, popularity, and stability in language". The main merit of her study is that she manages to highlight the futility of trying to capture the variety of shortenings in clear-cut categories.

3.18 Minkova (2002): Ablaut Reduplication

All reduplications are expressive, thus "allowing for the existence of some degree of phonaesthesia" (Minkova 2002: 134f) and "the semantic and morphological status of the components in them is subordinate to the overall meaning of any lexical item that might participate in their formation", which is why Minkova (unlike Dienhart 1999) explicitly excludes syntactic compounds like *bedspread.* According to her, they consist of a base and a reduplicant,

which both have the same status, and they are created mainly for phonological and semantic reasons, while any morphological connections are secondary; therefore, “reduplication does not block potentially meaningful lexical units from appearing to the left, to the right, in neither or in both parts of the word.” (Minkova 2002: 137)

Like other scholars[20] before her, Minkova (2002: 139) notes that “the common denominator for Ablaut reduplication is the presence of a high front vowel in the first syllable peak, alternating with a maximally low vowel in the second element”. In most cases, the primary stress lies on the first syllable, with the secondary stress remaining strong enough to preserve the quality of the contrasting vowel.

Minkova’s (2002: 166) analysis confirms “the possibility of bi-directional Base-Reduplicant copying” and “fixed segmentism”, and, of particular interest in the context of the present study is her conclusion that “[t]he rise and decline of English Ablaut reduplications is … a stylistic and sociolinguistic issue unrelated to the properties of the process”.

3.19 Summary and Evaluation

In the literature discussed above, issues of delimitation, definition and classification are all-pervasive. This is not surprising, given the relative structural irregularity of non-morphematic word-formation processes, which led to decades of neglect (see Chapter 1). The range and scope of the various works are summarised in Figure 18 below.

Even today, there is still no agreement as to the position and role of non-morphematic word-formation processes within the larger frame of word-formation, and the discussed works also show some inconsistencies and

[20] See Section 2.3.2 above.

contradictions. **Berman (1961)**, for instance, concentrates too much on the fact that blends are formed from splinters and thus loses sight of their main characteristic: their iconicity, that is that their mixed forms mirror mixed denotata[21].

Heller & Macris (1968), on the other hand, take the term 'acronym' at face value – despite its generally established usage even at the time – and form a whole new range of analogous terms, which results in a complicated system of classification on the basis of formal and structural criteria, completely neglecting semantic and motivational aspects.

Schwarz (1970) only looks at blends, but at several levels, which is a useful contribution. It makes sense that his typology is based on the syntactic-semantic analysis.

Kreidler's (1979, 1994, 2000) contributions are idiosyncratic in terms of his terminology ("little words" for 'free grammatical morphemes' or 'function words', for instance), they remain rather vague and superficial, and he uses a lot of space stating the (fairly) obvious, for instance that clippings have to conform to the phonotactic rules of the English language. Kreidler's typology mixes structural, phonotactic and suprasegmental criteria, thus limiting its usefulness. Finally, his grouping together of blending and back-formation is less than helpful for a closer understanding of shortening processes.

Jung (1987) analyses acronyms according to formal criteria (numbers of morphemes 'represented' by initials etc.), and draws conclusions as to their degree of transparency based on this analysis. However, he completely disregards the fact that the initials and other letters used in the formation of most acronyms do not represent morphemes but whole words, and that acronymy uses, quite generally, a completely different kind of motivation from,

---

[21] Otherwise, why classify *nembutal* and *bus* as blends, but *Eurasia* and *cablegram* as compounds?

for example, compounding: it is one of their defining characteristics that they are **not** relatively motivated, but most of them show total loss of motivation. If one does not know what the initials in *NATO*, for example, stand for, one will never find out, because the initials on their own (all from lexical morphemes, by the way) are of no help whatsoever. This vacuum allows for secondary motivation, but here we have to do with a completely different kind of motivation as compared to the relative motivation of, say, compounds: it is only when taken together, and not in terms of the individual constituents they represent, that the letters yield a word which acts as a sort of pointer in the direction of the denotatum. Finally, the medium, that is, whether they were coined orally or in written usage, is insufficient as a defining and distinguishing criterion between clippings ("abbreviations") and acronyms.

McCully & Holmes (1988) are alone in claiming that acronyms are formed on the basis of phonological rules. This is clearly not convincing, as it is one of their special features that they are formed consciously and with pen and paper in hand, which does not exclude their being made pronounceable by adding prop letters later.

Cannon's (1986) corpus analysis of blends shows, once again, the shortcomings of purely mechanical and structural approaches to non-morphematic word-formation processes, which result in countless sub-categories without much adequate explanatory value. Furthermore, some classifications are highly problematic, which becomes even more apparent in his overall taxonomy (1987: 279 – see Figure 26 in Section 5.1.3 below). Cannon's (1989) corpus analysis of acronyms and abbreviations confirms our intuitive ideas concerning some characteristics of these word-formation processes, such as the dominant word classes and semantics. His overview articles (1994 and 2000) mainly summarise his earlier research and make strong claims in favour of his terminology. Clearly, Cannon's strength lies in the amounts of data he analyses rather than in his analytical skills and theoretical insights.

AUTHOR	ACRONYM	CLIPPING	BLEND	ONOMATOPOEIA	MAIN CRITERION
Baum (1955, 1962)	pure: *Asdic* 2nd order: *loran*		*motel*		letters vs. syllalbes
Berman (1961)			telescoping: *nembutal, bus*		2nd element = splinter
Hansen (1963, 1964)		clipped cpd (mechanical): *walkathon*	**(a)** blending (semantic): *smog*	sound symbolism **(b)** rhyme; ab-laut; imi-tation; ima-ges	(a) blending; (b) form + function
Heller & Macris (1968)	acro-meso-nym: *T.V* acro-nym: *ad* meso-nym: *Liza* ouro-nym: *Beth* mes-ouro-nym: *Lizabeth*		acrouro- nym: *brunch*		part of the shortening remaining intact
Schwarz (1970)		III *hottle* II D*ako-ming* I *Ox-bridge*			semantic – syntactic
Algeo (1975, 1977)	acronyms: *DDT, CARE*	telescope: *Amerind*	portmanteau: *smog*		structure, overlap, syntagma, paradigma
Soudek (1978)			*animule, bisalo*		+/- overlap, clipping
Kreidler (1979)	letter reci-tation: *USA* pronounce-able: *NATO*	*ad, flu, phone, deli, combo exam*			structure, pronunciation, syllables, stress
Cannon (1986)	nonblend shortenings: *BP, burns, bi, kbar, Amerindian* **…**		*parafoil, beefalo*		+/- overlap, clipping
Jung (1987)	acronym: *DDT, NATO*	abbreviation: *ad*			medium, morpheme structure
McCully & Holmes (1988)	acronym: *SMOG, AWOL*				level of formation, phonology
McArthur (1988)	initialism: *KKK, BBC* (syllabic) acro.: *Nalgo*	clipping: *rev*	portmanteau: *brunch*		structure, function, pronunciation
Kobler-Trill (1994)	Partial shortening: *e-mail* letter word: *NATO, Cosatu*	clipping: *demo, cello*			structure of BL + shortening
Lehrer (1996)			*wintertainment, palimony*		overlap, contiguity, number of splinters
Dienhart (1999)				*boo-boo* *hocus-pocus* *mish-mash*	stress, syllable structures

Figure 18: Tabular Summary of the works discussed above

Similarly, **Kobler-Trill (1994)** presents a detailed structural analysis of clippings and acronyms, excluding blends and other related processes. Her main criteria are the relationship between long form ("base lexeme" – BL) and the shortening, and the form of the resulting clipping or acronym. Her analysis is interesting due to its absolute thoroughness, despite its rather narrow focus.

Soudek's (1978) contribution, on the other hand, provides a good starting point for the discussion of blends, and **Hansen's (1963, 1964), Algeo's (1975, 1977)** and **McArthur's (1988)** typologies make useful contributions to the description and analysis of non-morphematic word-formation processes. However, I beg to disagree with Hansen; instead, I support McArthur's classification of blends as a shortening process, because they do contribute to the formation of precise and efficient names, despite their symbolic and iconic character. Similarly, I disagree with Algeo's sub-category "blends with clipping at morpheme boundaries" (*Oxbridge*), as I would, rather, agree with Marchand, Berman, Soudek and others that one of the basic defining criteria of blending is the fact that it is a word-formation process which is **not** morpheme-based.

More recent and cognitively inspired work has not yielded substantially different results. Thus, **Lehrer's (1996, 1998)** typology uses a cross-classification which is much more explicit and clear than, for example, Kreidler's (1979). However, her premise that all blends depend on their "target words" for understanding is questionable. Her experiments show that the decoding processes for blends are essentially not much different from those for other word-formation processes. Similar conclusions are drawn by **Kelly (1998)** with regard to the internal structuring of blends, such as the prototypicality of the first elements.

Finally, **López Rúa (2002)** hierarchises shortenings according to their prototypicality in terms of their source forms, pronunciation and the degree of shortening they display, and in this regard, her work is similar to that of Kobler-Trill (1994). She then arranges her items in groups (categories), and the items

within these groups according to their centrality. The result is a rather complex radial graphic category structure.

As far as onomatopoeia are concerned, both **Dienhart (1999)** and **Minkova (2002)** look at stress patterns, the former with regard to reduplications in general, the latter in ablaut formations only. However, the results do not differ substantially from those of earlier work, such as **Hansen (1964)**.

The next section will summarise and review some non-taxonomic accounts of various aspects of non-morphematic word-formation.

3.20 Other Studies of Non-Morphematic Word-Formation Processes

Marantz (1982: 436), clearly influenced by the Generative paradigm of his time, categorises reduplication as a type of affixation. In a rather repetitive passage, he states:

> Except for the fact that the material attached to the stem in reduplication resembles the stem phonologically, reduplication rules look like normal affixation processes. To provide the best account of reduplication rules, we say they *are* normal affixation processes. The one unique feature of reduplication, the feature which leads us to group together diverse morphological processes under the title *reduplication*, is the resemblance of the added material to the stem being reduplicated (emphasis in original).

He reviews material from numerous different languages and concludes that "reduplication [is] the affixation (or infixation) of a skeletal morpheme" (Marantz 1982: 456).

Katamba (1993) basically follows Marantz (1982)[22] when he (1993: 180) defines reduplication as "a process whereby an affix is realised by phonological

[22] Interestingly, both Katamba (1993) and Alderete et al. (1999) – see below – indicate identically wrong page numbers for Marantz (1982) in their bibliographies (namely 483-545, instead of the correct numbers 435-482); in addition, Alderete et al. (1999) do not list Katamba (1993) as a reference, and their article appeared in the same journal as Marantz' publication.

material borrowed from the base" and goes on to provide examples from various languages to discuss "reduplication as prefixation" (1993: 186-189) and "reduplication as suffixation" (1993: 189f). He concludes that "reduplication is an affixation process which is peculiar in that it introduces a phonologically underspecified affix" (1993: 200).

Under the sub-heading "Fixed Segmentism as Morphology: Overwriting", **Alderete et al. (1999: 355)** discuss cases such as English *schm*-reduplication (*table-schmable, Oedipus-Schmoedipus*): "In English the overwriting string *šm-* is a prefixal morpheme, and so its properties are those of prefixes and other bound morphemes generally". They confirm that "overwriting strings are indeed affixes", that overwriting affects the reduplicant, while the base remains intact" (Alderete et al. 1999: 356), and they conclude:

> The morphological type [of fixed reduplicative segmentism] exhibits the properties of affixation generally, since it literally *is* affixation, but affixation simultaneous with the reduplicant rather than onto a base (emphasis in original; Alderete et al. 1999: 359).

Ravid & Hanauer (1998: 79) set out to "test a prototype theory of rhyme in adult speakers of Hebrew", which posits that "centrality to the prototype is determined by the following Rhyme Centrality principle: (RCP); [sic] *Maximal resemblance in a minimally contrasting pair*" (emphasis in original). Based on the assumption that the syllable is the basic rhyme unit, they (1988: 83) find that "[p]rototypicality is determined by the ratio of resemblance to contrast between words".

Recently, **McCrum (n/d** and **2001)** has made some contributions to the social and cognitive aspects of sound symbolism. He defines 'sound symbolism' as "all kinds of non-arbitrary relationships between phonetic content and meaning. Sound symbolism occurs both language specifically and cross-linguistically". 'Phonetic symbolism' is "the non-arbitrary representation of a phone by a range of specified semantic criteria", and by 'onomatopoeia', he understands "direct sound imitation through phonetic form" (McCrum n/d). He further elaborates (2001: Section 0):

> Sound symbolism is an affective or expressive language use working at a submorphemic, sometimes subphonemic, level and predisposes evaluative, pejorative use and meaning change. Sound symbolism ascribes non-arbitrariness to, typically, sub-sections of the vocabulary containing lexical-semantic forms such as onomatopoeias, sound symbolic lexemes and templates.

In his study, he analyses the effects of socio-cultural processes on psycholinguistic phenomena and hypothesises that "… the changing semantic [sic] of a sound symbolic schema is largely a time/culture factor" (2001: Section 0). He finds that "…social and cultural events cause changes to the numerical composition and semantics of a sound-symbolic value" (2001: Section 6.0).

3.21 Comprehensive Taxonomies of Word-Formation Processes

Apart from attempts to classify (aspects of) non-morphematic word-formation processes, there have been several attempts to integrate morphematic and non-morphematic word-formation processes in a single typology (see also Section 5.1.3 below for some quantitative analyses). Other linguists (for example, McArthur[23] 1992: 1123f) at least list the various types of word-formation processes in English, without really providing a typology or taxonomy. These attempts will not be reviewed here, as they have little to contribute to our discussion. However, it is important to note that any typology is a simplification and that, to some extent, it always gives the illusion that we have to do with clear-cut discrete categories by simplistically allocating certain ambiguous formations to one category while they could also have been placed elsewhere (see also Sections 1.5, 2.2 and 2.3 above). Therefore, it is important to keep in mind that, in reality, categories often overlap and intersect.

[23] McArthur, for example, lists the following categories: compounding, derivation, conversion/functional shift, back-formation, phrasal verbs, blends, abbreviations (initialisms, acronyms, clippings), root-creation (echoic, for example, *cuckoo*, and onomastic), and hybrids.

One innovative typology was proposed by **Tournier (1985: 47-50** and **1988: 18-24)**. In what follows, I will base myself on Lipka's (2002: 108f) reproduction and characterisation of Tournier's model, due to the fact that the original typologies were published in French. Lipka (2002: 108) explains:

> [Tournier] distinguishes three large categories, or macro-mechanisms, of … productive patterns, namely according to which elements of Saussure's linguistic sign are concerned: 1. Both *signifiant* and *signifié* (morpho-semantic neologism), 2. only the *signifié* (semantic neologism), and 3. only the *signifiant* (morphological neologism). The external process of adopting loanwords remains outside these three categories. Word-formation proper, for Tournier, falls within category 1 (compounding and affixation) and 3 (clipping and the production of acronyms).

1. Morpho-Semantic Neologism	Construction: Affixation: Prefixation; Suffixation; Backderivation Construction: Composition: Juxtaposition (e.g. *statesman*); Amalgamation (e.g. *sexploitation*) Phonetic Motivation
2. Semantic Neologisms	Class Transfer — Conversion Metasemantic Processes ("Métasémie"): Metaphor; Metonymy
3. Morphological Neologism	Reduction of 'signifiant': Aphaeresis (Fore-Clipping); Apocope (Back-clipping); Acronymy ("Siglaison")
4. EXTERNAL	Loan-Processes

Figure 19: Tournier's (1985: 47-50 and 1988: 18-24) typology of English word-formation processes, according to Lipka (2002: 109)

A rather different overview of English word-formation processes is presented by **Bauer (1988: 92)**, in the form of a network, based on certain resemblances

between the various processes, symbolised by connecting lines. He comments that his model is arranged around a

> central core of strongly morphological processes, made up of prefixation, suffixation, backformation and neoclassical compounding. Outside that central core, clipping, blending and forming acronyms appear as processes which are much less morphological. This does not mean that there is a firm line between morphology in the central core and non-morphology outside it. Rather, morphology shades off into other things, and the central core is probably the area which is most clearly within morphology …
> … there are no firm boundaries to morphology … there are … close links between morphology and phonology on the one hand, and morphology and syntax on the other. (Bauer 1988: 91)

Figure 20 below is a reproduction of Bauer's model.

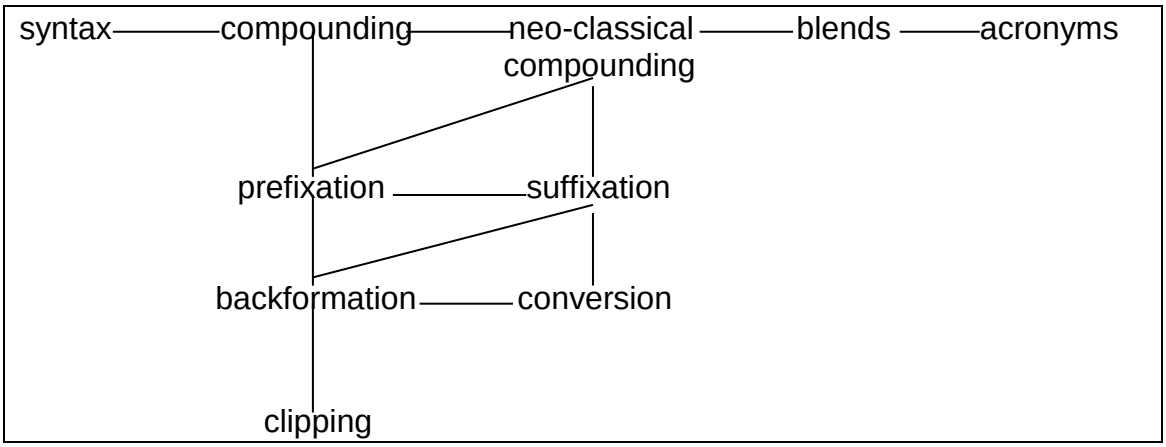

Figure 20: Bauer's (1988: 92) network of word-formation processes

One could easily expand Bauer's network, by adding onomatopoeia at the top (linked to compounding, neoclassical compounding, and blends), and by adding two more linking lines between blends and clippings on the one hand, and acronyms and clippings on the other. This would make their function as shortenings visible and it would, incidentally, also link three non-morphematic word-formation processes more closely together. After the concluding review of comprehensive typologies of word-formation, the following section presents new, alternative taxonomies.

3.22 New Taxonomies According to Structure and According to Motivation

To conclude this chapter, I propose two new typologies. These focus on the place of non-morphematic word-formation processes within the greater context of word-formation in general, and, therefore, they also include morphematic word-formation processes, without, however, going into great detail as far as the latter are concerned. The primary aims of these taxonomies are as follows:

- to situate non-morphematic word-formation processes within the larger context of English word-formation as a whole;
- to bring together practical and manageable criteria for the **structural** and **motivational** aspects for the categorisation of non-morphematic word-formation processes, which will then be applied to the corpus;
- to present a clear picture, a 'common sense' classification – rather than an attempt to be as innovative or as 'different' or as detailed as possible.

In the following graphic representations of the structure of non-morphematic word-formation processes in relation to morphematic word-formation processes (Figure 21) and the scale of motivation (Figure 22), non-morphematic word-formation processes have been set in **bold** type, while morphematic word-formation processes, which are, in our context, of interest only insofar as their relationship to non-morphematic word-formation processes is concerned, have been shaded in order to set them off from the main focus of our attention.

3.22.1 Taxonomy According to Structure

The main aims of this typology (see Figure 21 below) are to summarise the general ideas outlined in Chapter 2 in terms of the major categories and sub-categories of non-morphematic word-formation processes, and to present an alternative typology to the ones reviewed earlier in this chapter. This is done at this stage of the argument, in order to allow us to take into account the relevant literature (reviewed earlier in this chapter) and to off-set the proposed typology from the ones discussed above.

MORPHEMATIC WORD-FORMATION	CONVERSION		
	BACK-DERIVATION		
	AFFIXATION	Suffixation	
		Prefixation	
	COMPOUNDING		
NON-MORPHEMATIC WORD-FORMATION	**SHORTENINGS**	**Blends**	Blend: 2 initial splinters
			Blend: initial + final splinter
			Telescope: syntagmatic, overlap
			Total Blend
		Clipped Compounds:	one part remains intact
		Clippings	Back-clipping
			Fore-clipping
			Back-and-fore-clipping
			Mid-clipping
			Written/Graphic Clipping
		Acronyms	Abbreviations/Initialisms
			Acronyms
			Syllabic Acronyms
	ONOMATO-POEIA	**Imitation**	
		Sound Symbolism	
		Redupli-cation	Pure Reduplication
			Ablaut/Alliteration
			Rhyme Formation

Figure 21: Taxonomy According to Structure

The guiding principles underlying this new taxonomy are as follows:

- clarity of presentation and systematicity[24];
- to strike a balance between a possibly very detailed sub-categorisation on the one hand, and the aim to relate non-morphematic word-formation to morphematic word-formation on the other;
- to lay the groundwork for the subsequent discussion of the descriptive criteria (as outlined in Chapter 4 below) in terms of the structural categorisation of non-morphematic word-formation processes; and
- to provide a framework for the structural aspects of the corpus analysis in Chapter 5 below.

[24] It should be noted, however, that the categorisation proposed here is not to be understood as an attempt to deny the fact that categories shade off into each other, or that there are overlaps and 'grey areas' (see also Section 1.5 above).

In sum, my aim here is not to present the most complex and detailed typology imaginable, but to give a clear overview of the place of non-morphematic word-formation processes within word-formation in general.

Some non-morphematic word-formation processes share certain similarities with certain morphematic word-formation processes, for example, clipped compounds and blends with compounds, and so on. These shared characteristics are reflected in the relative vicinity or distance in which the various (morphematic and non-morphematic) word-formation processes find themselves[25].

In order to make a clear graphic distinction between morphematic word-formation processes on the one hand, and non-morphematic word-formation processes on the other, the latter are shaded in grey and possible details and sub-categories are omitted.

3.22.2 Scale of Motivation

As indicated in Chapter 2 above, non-morphematic word-formation processes are motivated differently from morphematic word-formation processes (for further discussions of motivational aspects, see also Section 4.2.2 below) – in fact, their different motivational structure, and the degree of motivation they display, can be seen as one of the defining criteria for grouping them together under this cover term. Therefore, it is justified to arrange the major categories of both morphematic and non-morphematic word-formation processes on a scale (see Figure 22 below), starting with full motivation (imitation) at one end of the scale, via gradually less strongly motivated categories to total loss of motivation (acronyms), and then increasing motivation again – although of a

[25] Despite the apparent similarity of back-derivation (or back-formation) with clipping, this process is grouped with morphematic word-formation. The reasons for this are outlined in Section 2.1 above.

different, ‘artificial’ kind, in the cases of doubly and triply motivated (intentional) acronyms.

In some cases, the motivational vacuum left by the loss of motivation in acronyms is compensated for with a secondary, intentional motivation: some acronyms are ‘engineered’ in such a way that they resemble existing words, in some cases even words which display a denotational link to the acronym, and in rare cases, the resulting acronym is homonymous with one of the constituents of the full form, thus providing a triple link.

DEGREE OF MOTIVATION	CHARACTERISTICS	WF TYPE + EXAMPLE
full motivation	**form (imitation) + content**	**direct imitation:** ***miaow***
partial motivation	**sound symbolises movement**	**sound symbolism:** ***judder, wobble, rush***
iconicity	**blended form - blended referent**	**blends:** ***smog, motel***
playful motivation	**playfulness +/ movement**	**reduplications:** ***tick-tick, zig-zag***
relative motivation	morphemes/signs: self-explanatory, transparent	morphematic wf (cpds, affixation etc): *steamboat, rewrite*
low relative motivation	**combination of shortened morphemes**	**initial splinter blends:** ***minicam, hazchem***
almost total loss of motivation	**only through full form**	**initialisms, written clippings:** ***Inc, abbr***
no motivation	**loss of motivation through loss of full form**	**clippings:** ***pants, pub, bus***
no motivation	**instantaneous loss of motivation**	**initialisms, acronyms:** ***BBC, KKK; Nato***
double motivation	**initials form word with mnemonic function**	**intentional acronyms:** ***FIST, NOW***
triple motivation	**double motivation + first constituent = acro**	***GAS = Gas Appliance Society***

Figure 22: Scale of Motivation

On this scale of motivation, unmotivated acronyms constitute the lowest point in terms of motivation, while in the case of doubly and triply motivated acronyms, motivation is on the increase again. According to this characteristic, the motivational structure of non-morphematic and morphematic word-formation processes can be graphically illustrated in a parabola (see Section 3.22.3 below).

3.22.3 Parabola

Visually, we can translate the scale of motivation, into a quasi-geometrical parabola, starting with the 'highest point' (direct imitation), via the gradual decrease in motivation to the 'lowest point' (acronyms), and rising again with doubly and triply motivated acronyms. Of course, this parabola is not based on a mathematical equation, but its aim is purely illustrative.

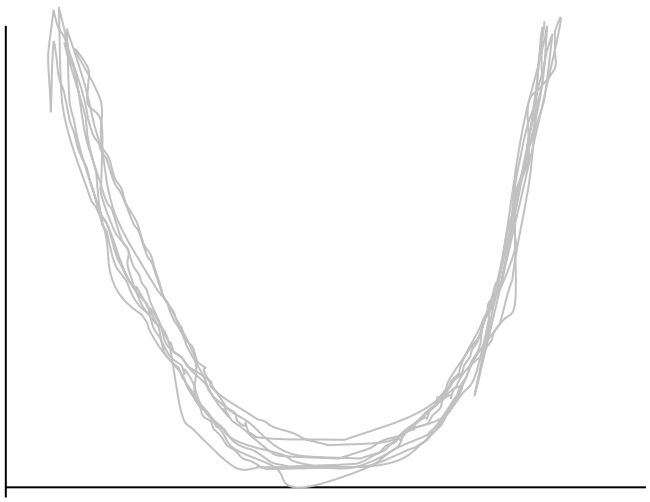

Figure 23: Parabola of Motivation

The left end of the (deliberately) slightly fuzzy curve is determined by fully motivated items, that is, by items which are motivated by form and content (for example, *miaow*). Moving down, via partial motivation (*rush*), iconicity (*smog*) and playful motivation (*zig-zag*) to relative motivation (characterized by transparency, for example, *steamboat*), we find patterns which suffer from low

relative motivation (*hazchem*) until we reach the lowest point: loss of motivation (represented by two patterns, namely clippings, which have “lost their full forms” (*pants, pub, bus*), and acronyms and abbreviations (*BBC, KKK, Nato*). With intentionally formed, homonymous acronyms (and some abbreviations), motivation is on the increase again – albeit of a different kind (for example, *FIST, NOW* and *P.A.Y.E.*; see also Section 4.2.2 below), and it is for this reason that we are climbing up again, but on the right-hand side of the curve. Finally, triply motivated acronyms such as *GAS* can be situated even higher on the right-hand arm of the curve.

3.23 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter has been to situate the present study in the context of the relevant literature, both the literature dealing specifically with one or several non-morphematic word-formation processes, and some more overarching categorisations of word-formation processes in general. As we have seen, most of the literature that focuses on non-morphematic word-formation processes is structurally oriented and taxonomic, and only a relatively small number of publications approach them from a different perspective (for example, from a cognitive or socio-cultural background).

Based on the various typologies, both specific and more general, we have presented a synopsis of the various and manifold categorisations and their main criteria (Figure 18), and we have developed a new structural typology (Figure 21), which forms the basis for the structural criteria discussed in the next chapter. We have also proposed a scale of motivation (Figure 22), as this feature is one of the most salient characteristics of non-morphematic word-formation processes, and we have produced a visual illustration of this scale in the form of a parabola.

In the process, the limitations and shortcomings of purely (or mainly) structural analyses have become evident. In order to overcome these, I will now move on to a discussion of non-structural and use-related criteria, which might usefully be applied to the description of non-morphematic word-formation. Thus, this chapter has prepared the ground for a more detailed discussion of the descriptive criteria in Chapter 4 (the multi-level approach), which will, in turn, be applied to the corpus in Chapter 5. By introducing user-related aspects into the description of non-morphematic word-formation processes in Chapter 4, the approach to non-morphematic word-formation processes will thus be opened up and broadened in order to overcome the limitations of purely (or mainly) structural analyses.

4. Methodology and Approach

4.0 Introduction

The starting point for the present study of non-morphematic word-formation processes is the framework of Morphology, which flourished in the context of structuralism[1]. However, as purely structural criteria did not yield any really satisfactory results in the analysis of non-morphematic word-formation processes (see Chapter 3), the morphological approach is widened to include aspects of other sub-disciplines of linguistics: in this chapter, I propose an eclectic, interdisciplinary analytical model by incorporating elements and insights from other linguistic sub-disciplines, such as Sociolinguistics, Text Linguistics, Pragmatics, Cognitive Linguistics and Corpus Linguistics. Within this multi-level approach, I establish relevant criteria for the description of non-morphematic word-formation processes. The concepts introduced in this chapter are discussed insofar as they are of relevance to our field of study, taking as a starting point the typologies proposed as the outcome of Chapter 3. I will then proceed to a brief introduction of the components and concepts which form part of the multilevelled and multi-disciplinary approach adopted in this study (the 'programmatic' component), in order to prepare the ground for its application to the empirical corpus study presented in Chapter 5.

Before moving on to the presentation of the criteria, we start, somewhat unconventionally, with a case study in the form of an exposé of the role some of these extremely productive word-formation processes play in advertising and politics[2], in order to illustrate the 'functional potential' of non-morphematic word-formation processes.

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[1] Under the influence of cognitive approaches to language, there seems to be a renewed interest in the study of Morphology and Word-formation, as can be seen from a number of recent publications, for example, Adams (2001), Bauer (2001), Booij et al. (2000), Cruse et al. (2002), Haspelmath (2002), Lipka (2002) and Schmid (2004MS).

[2] It should be noted that the analytical model (that is, the interdisciplinary, multi-level approach), which is at the centre of the 'programmatic' part of this study, will be outlined in the remainder of Chapter 4, that is, after the case study (Section 4.1). With the exception of some names of political parties, the examples used in Section 4.1

4.1 *Case Study*[3]*:* Rhetorical Aspects: Non-Morphematic Word-Formation Processes in Advertising and Politics

Advertising and politics make frequent use of non-morphematic word-formation processes because of their euphemistic, obfuscatory or emotional qualities. This section examines the special characteristics of non-morphematic word-formation processes and analyses samples of advertisements and political papers/documents with respect to the rhetorical functions of non-morphematic word-formation processes.

As we have seen, non-morphematic word-formation processes display interesting features, especially in terms of their motivation, ranging from full motivation (imitation of sounds) and relative motivation (certain blends, for example *hazchem*) to loss of motivation (acronyms) and secondary motivation (intentional acronyms), and it is this particular characteristic that is frequently used in technical jargons and exploited for rhetorical purposes, especially in politics and advertising. Onomatopoeia (that is imitation, sound symbolism and reduplication), on the other hand, displays emotional and playful characteristics which appeal to the sub-conscious and make them popular in comic strips, children's rhymes and advertising.

Maybe the most interesting process in the context of advertising and politics is acronyming. As acronyms are, in the majority of cases, consciously formed (they are exceptional in that they constitute the only instance of word-formation which originates in the written mode), they are perfect tools in the hands of anybody who needs to sell something, be it artefacts or ideas. They often lend a 'scientific flair' to the texts in which they are used, that is they can be used to obfuscate concepts or to convey a pseudo-scientific impression in order to

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form part of the corpus (Chapter 5 below) and the data collection is outlined in Sections 5.1 and 5.2, followed by the data analysis (Sections 5.3 and 5.4).

[3] An earlier version of this section was presented as a conference paper in Lusaka (see Fandrych 2000). The advertisements appeared in *Time*, European Edition (which is also the African edition, despite its name), on 11 October 1999, 22 and 29 May 2000 and 19 June 2000.

impress (if not confuse) the reader. In the following sections, I analyse some sample texts to demonstrate how non-morphematic word-formation processes are used for rhetorical purposes in advertising and politics.

4.1.1 Non-Morphematic Word-Formation in Advertising

An advertisement for Inmarsat reads as follows:

You want 64kbps, mobility, IP, ISDN now?
You've got it … Via Inmarsat.
Inmarsat Global Area Network
VIA *INMARSAT*
MUCH MORE THAN TALK

There is no explanation of the abbreviations and acronyms used in the text. The advertisement clearly tries to impress the reader with technical jargon and either assumes that the reader knows what the abbreviations and acronyms mean or that he/she will think that their denotata are desirable precisely because he/she is not familiar with these terms.

Similarly, the following advertisement for Sun Microsystems tries to convey that what they have to offer will make business people finally want to link up with the Internet. Again, no explanation is provided for terms like *JAVA* and *JINI,* and fashionable names and terms like *iPLANET* and *e-commerce* ('Internet planet' and 'electronic commerce', analogous formations to *e-mail*) are either assumed to be familiar or meant to impress those to whom they are not. Of course, not only abbreviations and 'computer speak' fall into this category of obfuscatory terms, but there are other formations which have a similar function, for example *networked world, scalable applications, open software platform.* In this text, we also have some examples of compounds containing non-morphematic word-formations, for example *JAVA and JINI technologies,* which exemplify, once again, the word-like quality of acronyms.

The dot in .com presents
THE SUPERFANTASTIC
NET ECONOMY!
The feel-good hit of
The 21st century!
COME ENJOY **THE SUPERFANTASTIC NET ECONOMY**. THE DOT IN .COM, **SUN MICROSYSTEMS**, HAS THE END-TO-END SOFTWARE YOU NEED. WHETHER YOUR BUSINESS IS STARTING UP OR STARTING OVER, **WE CAN HELP**. OUR SOFTWARE CAN **CONNECT YOUR DATACENTER** TO YOUR SUPPLY CHAIN TO **YOUR CUSTOMERS**, AND EVERYTHING IN BETWEEN. **EVERYTHING**. EVERYWHERE. BECAUSE WE'VE ENGINEERED FOR A **NETWORKED WORLD** SINCE 1982. IT STARTS WITH THE **SOLARIS**.COM OPERATING ENVIRONMENT, WHERE 75% OF THE NETWORKED WORLD ALREADY LIVES. THEN, **iPLANET** E-COMMERCE SOLUTIONS PREPARE EVERY ASPECT OF YOUR BUSINESS FOR THE WEB. FROM INFRASTRUCTURE TO PROCUREMENT AND SALES, iPLANET PROVIDES OPEN, **SCALABLE APPLICATIONS** THAT HELP YOU STREAMLINE PROCESSES AND SPEED TIME TO MARKET, SO **YOU CAN GROW** (REALLY GROW) YOUR .COM BUSINESS WORLDWIDE. AND THANKS TO **JAVA** AND **JINI** TECHNOLOGIES, YOUR PEOPLE WILL HAVE **ACCESS TO INFORMATION** REGARDLESS OF PLATFORM OR LOCATION. GET READY FOR **INSTANT MONITORING** OF PRODUCTION, INVENTORY, CUSTOMERS – **YOU NAME IT** – FROM A UNIVERSE OF CONNECTED DEVICES LIKE PALMTOPS AND CELL PHONES. WHETHER YOU NEED ONE PIECE OR THE ENTIRE ARCHITECTURE, SUN'S **OPEN SOFTWARE PLATFORM** MAKES IT EASY TO JOIN THE SUPERFANTASTIC NET ECONOMY. AND THAT HAS **EVERYONE DANCING** IN THE STREETS.
Sun
microsystems
We're the dot in .com

The next advertisement for the new Audi A6, accompanied only by a photograph, reads, quite simply:

Y2.1K compliant.

This is a word play, drawing on the somewhat unusual, but now quite familiar, *Y2K* ('Year 2 Kilo' = 'Year 2000') [4] and the various combinations based on this acronym, for example *Y2K compliance, Y2K compliant* (or, sometimes, the blend *Y2Kompliant*), in this case blending it with the engine size of the new

[4] Note that this advertisement appeared on 11 October, in the middle of the "millennium bug" scare (or *Y2K*), which triggered fears of a global computer meltdown due to the feared incompatibility of dates and resultant transition problems.

model. It is eye-catching and smart, inviting the reader to work it out and thus spending more than the usual time perusing the advert.

The following advertisement optically/graphically highlights and clarifies the blend which constitutes the trade name, *Cinemax,* and it also explains the acronym *HBO.* In this case, we have another attempt at catching the reader's attention:

HBO
cine*max*
When Traveling Worldwide …
Look for the Best Movies on TV!
HBO
Home Box Office
Cine*max*

Finally, the last advertisement to be analysed in this context is unusual in that it actually discusses unusual word-formation processes (or seems to, at first sight):

We could write the book on derivatives.
It helps that we wrote the alphabet. It bears
The catchy designation "FpML." It is the language that enables
Internet-based dealing in financial derivatives. We developed
FpML in partnership with PricewaterhouseCoopers, gave it
to the industry, and along with other leading companies created
a B2B industry standard. A new tool, a new dialogue. The same
clarity, the same fervour. **I work for J.P. Morgan.**

Despite this 'attack is the best defence' strategy, neither *FpML* ("the catchy designation") nor *B2B* are explained, and the advert is accompanied by an 'alphabet soup', or rather by a 'terminology soup', in the right-hand margin: computer-technical terms which are so intertwined and printed in different type faces and colours that they are indecipherable. A clever and witty ad, but nevertheless – or: therefore? – not very informative.

To conclude this section, I would like to look at an interesting case of product placement. The following short note appeared in *Time* (19 June 2000, p. 16), and in the same issue, two companies, a software provider and a mobile phone company, advertise their latest products using the same abbreviation, *WAP,* an acronym that is explained neither in the short article, nor in the advertisements[5].

> **WAP PHONES**
> **Hyperactive**
>
> NOKIA SPARES ITS CUSTOMERS the often tedious manual set-up process needed when registering a new WAP service. When users click on a website's Nokia Activity button and type in their mobile number, the settings for the service are sent as a SMS message that automatically configures the phone.

The corresponding adverts read as follows:

> **welcome to WAP**
>
> **web wireless** WAP technology puts your Web business within the reach of everyone with a mobile phone. And in the WAP world, Informix is already way ahead. Right now, Informix software connects e-businesses with their mobile customers around the world. Our technology puts us way ahead of the competition. And that's exactly what it will do for you.
> **Inform*i*x**
> **SOFTWARE**
> **way to web**

Note the frequent alliteration and the blend in the case of the trade name, graphically supported by the italics: *Informix* < *information* + *mix.*

[5] Incidentally, *WAP* stands for 'wireless access protocol'.

The mobile phone company Ericsson advertise their latest model with the same feature, on two different pages, again without any explanation as to what this acronym stands for:

> **HOW TO BECOME AN INTERNET MILLIONAIRE.**
>
> **THE NEW ERICSSON R320 WITH WAP.** Get the winning lottery numbers and the football pools straight away. Get WAP and you'll get Internet access directly in your phone. Get R320 and you'll also get built-in modem, infrared connection, voice memo, a large display and – of course – a mobile phone. **MAKE YOURSELF HEARD.**
> **ERICSSON.**

> **THE NEW R320**
> **WITH WAP.**
> **THE NEW ERICSSON R320 WITH WAP.**
> Gives you Internet access directly
> in your phone. R320 is the most powerful
> phone we have ever made. It's also
> extremely thin. Nevertheless it has room
> for a built-in modem, infrared connection
> to your computer, voice memo for
> your private thoughts and a calendar.
> **MAKE YOURSELF HEARD.**
> **ERICSSON.**

4.1.2 Non-Morphematic Word-Formation in Politics

It is to be expected that acronyms and other non-morphematic word-formation processes fulfil different functions in political texts as compared to advertising copy. In order to demonstrate this, I will analyse an extract from a paper on the on-going political debate in Lesotho about whether the country should maintain its political independence, or whether it should join the Republic of South Africa as its newest province (Some party names, like *BCP* 'Basotholand Congress Party', and *BNP* 'Basotho National Party', are mentioned and explained earlier on in the text).

The first striking thing about this extract is the homonymy of two party acronyms (*LLP* – 'Lesotho Liberal Party' vs. 'Lesotho Labour Party'). Homonymy is quite frequent with acronyms (and, to a lesser extent with clippings), which is usually not problematic because the respective formations are easily identified in their respective contexts. What is surprising here is that two parties use the same abbreviation. Another interesting acronym is *LCN* – 'Lesotho Council of NGOs', an acronym containing another acronym. This is relatively rare, although formations containing acronyms (for example, the *Y2K* combinations discussed in Section 4.1.1 above) do occur.

Integration

Integration as another vision of Lesotho's future historically can be traced to Pan African unity sentiments also associated with the BCP. Although accorded a lower profile this theme co-existed uneasily with the claim of the Free State in the party's [sic] in the 1960s. In an interview with the BBC the party leader Mr. N. Mokhehle indicated in 1990 that he would favour the establishment of a confederal relationship between Lesotho and South Africa. However, antagonism towards the African National Congress (ANC) and the perception that it would in all likelihood form the first government of a democratic South Africa generates visible antipathy to integration within the rank and file of the party.

In recent years a growing number of political and civic organizations have been joining the chorus in support of integration. The leader of the United Democratic Party (UDP) was the first to make the call in 1989 arguing that the conditions which had informed Lesotho's opposition to incorporation into the Union of South Africa at the turn of the century had changed. The National Union of Mineworkers of South Africa (NUM) gave a boost to integration in a resolution motivated by Basotho miners urging for the unification of the two countries. The resolution mentioned the fact that Lesotho's economy was not viable, that Basotho have to look to South Africa for jobs, the impossibility of ever getting the lost territories back, historical and cultural ties between the people of South Africa and Lesotho, etc., as grounds justifying integration.

A conference hosted by the Lesotho Council of Non-Governmental Organisations (LCN) on behalf of the NUM in 1991 to initiate debates illustrated the range of alignments on integration. Among the new formations which supported integration were the Popular Front for Democracy (PFD), Kopanang Basotho Party (KBP), the Lesotho Liberal Party (LLP) and at the time the biggest trade union federation in the country, the Congress of Democratic Trade Unions (CDU). The royalist Marematlou Freedom Party (MFP) indicated that its attitude would be one of wait-and-see and therefore at that stage it was non-committal. On the other hand the Lesotho Labour Party (LLP) was categoric in its rejection of integration stating that its priority would be to claim the Free State if it became the government of Lesotho after the elections …

(Mahao 1993: 62f)

Generally, we can say that acronyms, although usually precise and to-the-point in their full forms, only have a limited descriptive value when it comes to

political institutions and organisations, as only initiates know about the personalities and programmes behind the acronyms and their corresponding full forms. Political acronyms, therefore, quickly degenerate to labels, handy for insiders but confusing and empty for non-initiates. The following extract from a newspaper article shows similar characteristics.

NNP close to collapse

The bulk of the New National Party favours a closer relationship with the ANC

Howard Barrel and Barry Streek

The Democratic Party and ruling African National Congress are engaged in a tug of war to win over the bulk of the collapsing New National Party.

Whichever way the NNP leadership decides to go looks likely to split the party down the middle, particularly in its Western Cape stronghold.

The bulk of the NNP leadership, particularly in the Western Cape, favours a closer relationship with the DP. This faction includes long-standing NNP MPs and organisers and, in the Western Cape, MEC for Safety and Security Mark Wiley and MEC for Finance and Development Planning Leon Markovitz.

Provincial Premier Gerald Morkel, who supports the coalition with the DP, cut short his trip to China and rushed to Cape Town on Wednesday to deal with the crisis.

The NNP's populist maverick Peter Marais and a number of senior coloured members of the party in the Western Cape favour a link-up with the ANC. Senior NNP sources add that the party's national leader, Marthinus van Schalkwyk, also inclines to the ANC.

Van Schalkwyk is coming under growing pressure to accept the offer from one or other of the two main parties in Parliament to halt what appears to be a rapid deterioration in his negotiating position.

…

Van Schalkwyk and DP leader Tony Leon were due to meet late on Wednesday. The meeting was scheduled to take place just hours after the announcement of the defection to the DP of the NNP's former Western Cape leader and provincial premier Hernus Kriel – and Kriel's appeal to other NNP members to join the DP.

…

On Tuesday, Louis Luyt, leader of the small Federal Alliance, which has two seats in the National Assembly, announced his party would be fighting under the DP's banner in local government elections in November, and called on other opposition parties to follow suit.

…

Kriel, an NNP grandee, is a particularly attractive catch for the DP because of his long-standing political relationship with the populist ANC-inclined Marais. Kriel's defection to the DP gives Leon's party greater reason to hope it can stymie ANC plans to win the NNP into a coalition in the Western Cape.

(*Mail & Guardian*, 15-22 June 2000, p. 8)

The headline uses the abbreviation *NNP*, which is explained in the sub-heading immediately afterwards. Several other party names appear throughout the

article, sometimes in their full forms, sometimes as abbreviations, so that those readers who are not familiar with them need to make the connections themselves. It can safely be assumed, however, that the majority of the readers are familiar with both the full versions and the shortenings, and that the repeated use of both versions was chosen for stylistic reasons (to avoid unnecessary repetition) and for textual reasons (to give the article cohesion and coherence), rather than for clarity.

The situation is different with *MEC*, which is used twice without any explanation, and informal interviews have shown that although most readers know what MECs are and what they do (provincial government), they do not know what the abbreviation stands for ('Member of Executive Council'). *MP* is also used on its own, but in this case we can safely assume that readers of political articles know what it stands for.

Finally, what is interesting from a word-formation point of view is the free use of multiple combinations such as *NNP leadership, NNP sources, NNP MPs, NNP members, ANC-inclined*, compounds which use abbreviations as one (or more) of their constituents.

4.1.3 Conclusion

Non-morphematic word-formation processes, especially acronyms, can be handy and precise tools in science and technology, and at the same time they preserve, in their full forms, a high degree of descriptive accuracy and completeness (for example, the acronyms *wimp* and *laser,* the blends *modem* and *smog*). However, as we have seen in this section, their role in advertising and politics is rather different: Non-morphematic word-formation processes, and especially acronyms, fulfil specific roles in advertising and politics: they can convey a pseudo-scientific[6] touch, euphemistically clouding issues at hand[7];

[6] Hughes (1988: 170) speaks of "mystifying, pseudo-scientific name[s]" for "miracle ingredient[s]", which produce a Unique Selling Proposition, and he observes a

they often function as attention-getting devices (especially blends of unusual combinations), and they frequently become handy but rather empty labels, unmotivated for their users, who understand their gist and use them nevertheless, especially in the context of politics[8]. In this sense, they are rhetorical devices and their use cannot always be seen in a positive light, if we adopt the position that in a modern democracy and consumer society people should be in a position to make informed decisions.

Hughes (1988: 29) is categorical in his criticism of certain linguistic changes:

> Today it is fashionable to see language change as virtually inevitable, a fact of life, and consequently to decry criticism of this fact and to pour scorn on those who disapprove of such changes. Such an attitude may seem rational and realistic, but it is important to distinguish between changes which are natural, evolutionary and symbiotic with social changes, and those which are artificially contrived or cynically imposed by an oligarchy.

While I do not agree completely with this statement of Hughes', I do think that his warning is not unfounded, and certainly some non-morphematic word-formation processes are used (or even coined) specifically with the aim to obfuscate[9], mislead or placate the general public[10], especially, as we have seen, in advertising and in political discourse.

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frightening readiness of copywriters to produce new exaggerated superlative formations such as *fantabulous* and *stupendiferous* (Hughes 1988: 178).

[7] See also Dent (2003: 29): "Acronyms and initialisms are the necessary if sometimes ugly shorthand for many of the new technologies, given their complex and forgettable full names." And (2003: 47): "Business speak, ad-speak, and management speak are often seen as …wrapping up the unsavoury or simply uninteresting in terminology which sounds good but which may in fact say little."

[8] See Bauer (1988: 39):

> In many cases the acronym may actually precede the title which it purports to abbreviate, or at least, the title may be manipulated in order to give an acronym which is considered suitable for the group concerned. This is particularly the case with pressure groups which are in the public eye.

[9] In his concluding chapter, aptly entitled "Verbicide and Semantic Engineering" (1988: 224ff), Hughes goes even further in his condemnation of some of the trends of semantic change he discussed earlier:

> … when one analyses promotional language in general, it becomes clear that whole sections of the lexicon have become atrophied, blighted, or vandalized. (Hughes 1988: 247)

[10] A related, but functionally different, phenomenon is 'initialese', as defined by McArthur (1992: 520):

4.2 Criteria for the Description of Non-Morphematic Word-Formation Processes

In the following sections, the multi-level, interdisciplinary approach will be outlined and aspects from various linguistic sub-disciplines will be discussed. However, it lies in the nature of any multidisciplinary eclectic approach[11] that one cannot present all the implications in-depth and discuss all the relevant concepts as thoroughly as some readers might wish: an approach such as the present one will necessarily 'scratch the surface' of the disciplines it draws upon, and we can only touch upon those aspects that are of relevance to our study. Nevertheless, we will try to negotiate this 'breadth versus depth dilemma' in a pragmatic manner.

4.2.1 Structural Aspects

Although non-morphematic word-formation processes are obviously not as regular and predictable as morphematic word-formation processes, that is, they are not analysable in terms of underlying structures/sentences, determinant/determinatum structures and so on (see Section 1.3 above), there are certain structural aspects which can help to systematically analyse the formation of shortenings and onomatopoeia, especially if we allow sub-morphemic units to come into play (see Section 2.5 above). The discussion of structural aspects of the corpus will be based on the structural taxonomy proposed in Section 3.22.1 above.

An informal, sometimes pejorative term for a style that uses initials to economize in space, effort, and expense. It assumes familiarity on the part of readers or listeners and is common in classified advertisements …"

[11] In other words, the following sections will discuss the components of this multidisciplinary approach, which 'picks and chooses' and combines concepts from a variety of linguistic sub-disciplines, such as Morphology, Syntax, Semantics, Pragmatics and Discourse Analysis, Text Linguistics, and Sociolinguistics.

The main emphasis, however, lies on determining whether there are any interrelationships between structural features and other criteria, such as semantics, motivation, function and textuality, thus making structure **one** of a number of descriptive criteria, rather than the main and defining focus of the description of non-morphematic word-formation processes.

4.2.2 Motivation

Morphematic formations like *steamboat* or *rewrite* are interpretable at first 'sight', they are transparent as long as their constituent morphemes are known, as Marchand (1969: 2) explains: "A composite rests on a relationship between morphemes through which it is motivated." Kastovsky (1982: 151) calls this type of motivation "relative"; relatively motivated lexemes are "self-explanatory" or "transparent", and Adams (2001: 7) states that

> [c]omplex words are motivated by their parts, or understandable in terms of them, to varying degrees. … Words like these are assumed to be semantically 'compositional' – regular, transparent and instantly understandable, and even if they are unfamiliar they do not seem especially unusual. The processes which enable them to be formed are described as productive.

Bauer (1994a: 3355) relates transparency to lexicalisation:

> A word is said to be 'transparent' if it can be analysed into morphs with a clear relationship between morph and morpheme and in such a way that each morpheme is always realized by the same morph … Words which are not formed by the addition of productive processes, must be listed in the lexicon.

According to Ungerer (1991b: 132), the term 'morphological motivation' "applies to all word formation items whose structures can be analyzed in terms of their morphemic constituents by the language user"; this makes them transparent. As example he quotes the compound *gold watch*, which is "morphologically motivated because the base elements in their totality (i.e. the two signifier/signified combinations) serve as models for the derived item".

The situation is very different with non-morphematic word-formation processes: Acronyms are prone to (almost) instantaneous loss of primary, relative

motivation, as very often their full forms are forgotten as soon as they are formed; this opens the door for secondary, or even tertiary, motivation which is almost invariably consciously engineered (for example, *FIST, GAS*). Blends are often iconic; that is, their mixed forms mirror their mixed denotata (for example, *smog*).

Direct imitation, for example, of animal sounds, is motivated by content **and** form (for example, *crash*). Fill (1980: 14f) calls phonetic motivation of this type the "view/perspective from words to things"[12], that is, the words evoke their referents. Rhyme and ablaut formations are obviously primarily, if not entirely, motivated by linguistic form, in that they are playful formations, and their phonetic make-up evokes their referents, for example, *tick-tock* and *hush-hush.*.

Ungerer (1991b) analyses acronyms and trade names and their particular need for motivation. He observes:

> Acronyms belong to word formation because they are based on other words of the language … Like clippings and blends they do not consist of a chain of complete morphemes derived from the base, but of a chain of 'formatives' … which correspond to the submorphemic elements of the base. … 'partial' morphological motivation can be observed with many clippings and blends. Acronyms … do not normally even permit this limited kind of motivation.
> (Ungerer 1991b: 134)

As reasons for this loss of "primary motivation", Ungerer (1991b: 134ff) mentions the written nature of acronyms, the extreme reduction of their bases to single letters, their letter-by-letter pronunciation (in the case of abbreviations) or new pronunciation (in the case of acronyms), changes in stress patterns which often deviate from the predominant pattern of word-initial primary stress, increased decoding efforts, homonymy, and reduced semantic accessibility. Acronyms are special, as their "... primary motivation … – and this includes phonological, graphic and semantic motivation – is impaired to such an extent that any kind of additional motivation is highly welcome" (Ungerer 1991b: 136). The lack of primary motivation is often compensated for by providing additional

[12]My translation. The original reads: "Schau … von den Wörtern auf die Dinge".

phonological motivation to arrive at orthoepic acronyms which comply with normal English syllable structures, although the original values of vowels and consonants in the base lexemes are seldom restored. Nevertheless,

> a new kind of motivation seems to emerge … [especially] where the pronunciation as well as the spelling are modelled on the phonological and graphic form of an existing 'prop' lexeme. Here the phonological and graphic analogies seem to be only two components in a new, a 'secondary' kind of morphological motivation, which … also comprises a semantic component. (Ungerer 1991b: 138)

However, acronyms still differ in terms of their motivation from other "normal" English words as

> ... this kind of 'associative' motivation has the disadvantage that it does not contribute to the denotational substance of the derived item. What it can do is to provide an anchor for the kind of ready-made denotation which ... is typical of many of the more complicated acronyms and this seems to be something that makes the effort of linking acronyms to prop lexemes worthwhile. (Ungerer 1991b: 141)

Ungerer (1991b: 155ff) distinguishes between the following aspects:

- arbitrariness, which is the relation between *signifiant* and *signifié*; there may be total or partial arbitrariness; degrees of arbitrariness can be arranged on a scale;

- conventionality, which means acceptability as "the product of a sociolinguistic interpretation" (155); degrees of conventionality can be arranged on a scale; and

- motivation as cognitive/psycholinguistic interpretation: "how easily [are] signifier and signified of a linguistic sign ... matched in the mental lexicon"? (Ungerer 1991b: 155); motivation depends on stimuli and degrees of motivation can be arranged on a scale.

Motivation is then defined as "the motivational potential … which is available to the language user", and "onomatopoeic items are highly motivated … because the language user finds that the signifier (which imitates the extralinguistic referent of the signified) is highly compatible with the signified in question" (Ungerer 1991b: 156).

McArthur (1992: 12) mentions four major types of acronyms in terms of their motivation: mnemonic acronyms (*SALT),* parasitic or slogan acronyms (*NOW*), shorthands (*EPCOT* or *Epcot*), and semi-acronyms (*BBC – 'Beeb'*), and he

emphasises the considerable creativity which goes into the creation of some (intentional) acronyms and abbreviations.

Interestingly, there is also the opposite phenomenon: euphemisms and intentionally obfuscatory terms (see also Section 4.1 above). In the context of institutionalised code[13] names, Hughes (1988: 219) notes that "[t]he acronym imparts a legitimacy to the secrecy of the agency".

4.2.3 Word Class

In morphematic word-formation processes, the determinatum usually determines the word class of the new formation. Suffixation, in which the suffix, as the determinatum, often changes the word class of the new formation, is contrasted with compounding and prefixation, which maintain their word class and are sometimes called 'expansion' (Marchand 1969: 11), as they are "analysable on the basis of the formula AB = B".

As non-morphematic word-formation processes are not explainable in terms of an underlying determinant/determinatum structure, this affects the word classes in which they appear. At first glance, the overwhelming relative frequency of nouns is striking. In terms of their word class, acronyms are not bound by the last constituent of the full form, which lends them considerable syntactic flexibility. In fact, almost any constituent of the long version can function as head of the phrase and thus of the acronym, for example:

FIST	–	'Federation of Interstate Truckers'
NOW	–	'National Organization of Women'
NATO	–	'North Atlantic Treaty Organization'

Furthermore, some exocentric acronyms defy categorisation, as they are based on phrases which, as a whole, convey rather complex concepts, for example, *nimby* – 'not in my backyard'. Clippings usually follow the word class of their

[13] See also Poethe (1997) on the function of shortenings in the *StaSi* ('Staatssicherheit'), the secret service of the former GDR.

respective full forms, which means that in the case of back-clippings, the head (and sometimes more) is usually deleted, for example, *apps* < *applications*. Blends, on the other hand, seem to behave in a manner which is very similar to that of compounds, in that the second constituent/splinter determines the word class of the new formation, for example, *himbo, metrosexual* and *sexiled*.

4.2.4 Word-Formation Basis

Many neologisms can become parts/constituents of new formations (multiple word-formation), and the same is true of non-morphematic word-formation processes, for example *yuppie – yuppification, celeb*, v < *celeb*, n; *WHAT!, BBC programme* and others (see also Sections 2.2 and 2.3 above). It is expected that this ability of entering new formations is related to lexicalisation. Of special interest will be the question which types of complex (multiple) word-formation our non-morphematic word-formation items enter most easily, and as which constituents. The freedom with which the English language uses the process of conversion[14] will probably make these multiple formations easier.

4.2.5 Origin

[14] I prefer the term 'conversion' to 'zero-derivation' in this context, as the latter would not make sense with acronyms, blends etc: there are no morphemes involved. A convincing argument against the use of the term ‘zero-derivation’ and in favour of the concept of ‘conversion’ is put forward by Bauer (1988: 31f), using *round* (as preposition, as adverb, as adjective, as verb, and as noun) as an example: which one, he asks, is the one without the zero morph? And he continues,

> [s]o a zero is contrasting with nothing at all, a lack of even a zero. What is more, all the other *rounds* must have different zero morphs, so that different zeros contrast with each other. Even if this state of affairs is possible within a generative theory of morphology, it does not have much plausibility as an account of the way in which real speakers process language. For that reason, the term **conversion** will be used here …(emphasis in the original)

Many formations originate in American English (since the New Deal in the 1930s and subsequently)[15], but not exclusively. Acronyming, for instance, was popular in Russian long before it became wide-spread in English, and South African English has had an on-going love affair with this particular word-formation process, due to the quasi-syllabic character of the combination *SA* for 'South Africa(n)' (see Section 2.6.4), resulting in formations such as *SAFA, Cosatu* and *Unisa*.

In the age of the globalisation of English it is also, in many cases, difficult – or even impossible – to determine the exact origin of a term, as an item might originate simultaneously in several varieties of English; in other cases, a term is, despite its American English origin, almost instantaneously adopted in several other varieties. This is especially true of computer-related terms, the constantly expanding vocabulary of the Internet and other terms in the domains of science and technology (see also Section 2.7 above), the media and entertainment.

4.2.6 Medium

Most word-formation processes, both morphematic and non-morphematic, are active on the level of orality. However, there are notable exceptions, as Bauer (1988: 39) points out:

> Some ways of creating new lexemes (but not ways of creating new word-forms of lexemes) depend upon the existence of a writing system. They are thus not universal, since not all languages are written. Neither do they clearly belong under the heading of morphology, although they are included here for the sake of completeness. In particular, two types are relevant here, **blends** and **acronyms** (emphasis in original).

Although I do not agree with Bauer that all blends originate in the written medium, there can be little doubt that acronyms do. Maybe the only other

[15] Of course, there are some much older cases, for example, *INRI* and *SPQR*, but the **popularity** of acronyms and their wide-spread use and production is a relatively recent phenomenon. See also Cannon (1989: 99-105) for an account of historical developments, including dictionaries of abbreviations, and Section 2.2.1 above.

process which is similar to acronyms in this respect is the written clipping (for example, *abbr(ev)* < *abbreviation*). Other shortenings – mainly blends and clippings – originate in oral usage, just like compounds and affixations, or in a context in which oral use is of primary importance, for example, in advertising and (radio and television) journalism. Of course, the conditions of the formations are mirrored in aspects such as spelling, pronunciation, stress/accent and style/register[16].

Recent developments in language use, and the influence of electronic communication on general usage (see Section 2.7), might call for the introduction of a third category, alongside the oral and written media: the electronic medium. Electronic communication is somewhere 'in between' the oral and the written media: on the one hand, it shares certain characteristics with written communication – after all, people do type – on the other hand, people 'talk' via e-mail, as noted by Liwei (2001: 18) (see also Section 2.7 above)[17].

Crystal's (2001: 47) assessment is slightly different; according to him, "Netspeak" shares certain characteristics with both the written and the spoken medium, but

> … on the whole, Netspeak is better seen as written language which has been pulled some way in the direction of speech than as spoken language which has been written down. However, expressing the question in terms of the

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[16] Interestingly, Hughes (1988: 243) claims that there is a difference in terms of their preference for the oral and the written medium in American and British English respectively:

> Generally speaking, it is traditionally conceded that in matters of linguistic usage America tends to follow more of an oral standard and Britain more of a written one. These conventions are in many ways extensions of their respective dominant ideologies: the British model focuses on the highest common factor; the American on the lowest common denominator. However, there are curious anomalies in the ruling of the authorities.

The popularity of the acronym in American English seems to be such an 'anomaly' or exception to the rule.

[17] This position contrasts somewhat with Ong's (1982: 3) contention that we can observe a "shift from orality to literacy and on to electronic processing". Ong (1982: 11) speaks of 'secondary orality' and by this he means "telephone, radio, television, and other electronic devices that depend for their existence and functioning on writing and print".

> traditional dichotomy is itself misleading. Netspeak is identical to neither speech nor writing, but selectively and adaptively displays properties of both.

Nevertheless, he (2001: 47f) arrives at the conclusion that Netspeak is a new and unique phenomenon:

> Netspeak is more than an aggregate of spoken and written features … it does things that neither of these other mediums do, and must accordingly be seen as a new species of communication.

In his final conclusion, Crystal (2001: 238) expresses himself less cautiously than in the earlier parts of his book[18] and places Netspeak at the same level as speech, writing and sign language:

> … Netspeak is something completely new. It is neither 'spoken writing' nor 'written speech'. … [I]t is something fundamentally different from both writing and speech, as traditionally understood. It is, in short, a fourth medium.

For our purposes, we will consider the electronic medium as a separate level, in between the spoken and the written modes, thus moving away from the traditional dichotomy.

4.2.7 Style

Marchand (1969: 9f) comments on the constant production of new formations in American English that

> many of these neologisms are coined for the sheer pleasure of coining, as stunts. Newspapermen, radio speakers, comic-strip artists play a great role in the production of words.

It is remarkable that advertising and journalism love the more unconventional and colloquial blends and clippings, for example, for brand names (*Swatch* < *Swiss* + *watch*) and in headlines (for example, *Time*, 2 December 1985, p. 39: "Au revoir, Mon Képi-taine" – in this case with graphic support for the decoding of the blend: *képi-taine* < F *képi* + F *capitaine*). However, other non-morphematic word-formation processes are popular in headlines, too, using

[18] However, Crystal (2001) is not entirely consistent throughout his book; on page 48, for instance, he speaks of Netspeak as a "third medium", that is, in addition to speech and writing, while he calls it a "fourth medium" on page 238, that is, in addition to speech, writing and signing.

ambiguity and wordplay, especially with doubly motivated acronyms, for example in *Time*, 3 July 1989, p. 25: “Arms Control. Off to a Bad START?”; or alliteration, as in “Back from the Bikini Brink” (*Time,* 17 July 1989, p. 55).

Due to the fact that blends are not formed from morphemes, Marchand (1969: 451) ascribes a mainly stylistic, rather than a grammatical, function to blends. Certainly, context, text types and style/register play an important role in the coining processes of blending and clipping. Many innovative formations are not immediately acceptable at more ‘refined’ levels of speech, as Quirk et al. (1985: 1522) observe:

> … not all words which result from the application of the rule are acceptable; they are freely acceptable only when they have gained an institutional currency in the language.

In recent years, computer terms and Internet-related terms have greatly enriched the vocabulary of the English language, and many of these new terms are metaphorical and/or structurally innovative, for example, *bookmark, mouse, input, (to) download* (also: *D/L*), *URL* and many more. Thus, they involve what Hughes (1988: 17) calls “shifts in social connotation or **register**” (emphasis in the original)[19]. He elaborates further:

> These more subtle changes in verbal appropriateness to varying contexts are most apparent, and most illuminatingly discussed, via the relationship of particular words to others in the same field, rather than solely through the relationship of the word to some referent or concept. (Hughes 1988: 17)

Most noticeably, creative nicknames[20], wordplay and innovative backchannels, turn-taking procedures and cohesive devices have emerged in Netspeak, many

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[19] Stylistically marked forms offer the language user an alternative to already existing terms, thus enriching the paradigmatic dimension – see also Coulthard’s (1985: 39) catchy phrase “choice or chain” for the differentiation between the paradigmatic and the syntagmatic perspectives.

[20] Bechar-Israeli (1996: 13) presents a (semantic) typology of nicknames in chat rooms. A structurally innovative nickname is, for example, *F-sgl-34* (Bechar-Israeli 1996: 21).

of which involve the novel use of abbreviations, symbols, punctuation marks, and onomatopoeia[21].

4.2.8 Internationalism

Many non-morphematic word-formation processes are language-specific, especially blends and clippings; forms which are motivated by linguistic form are more readily understandable by speakers from different linguistic backgrounds, but that does not make them entirely transparent and intelligible; anyway, most formations, be they morphematic or non-morphematic, are more or less language-specific and it is the exception rather than the rule that they move from one language to another.

As is the case in other respects, acronyms are the exception to the rule. They are so popular as designations for international organisations, processes, treaties and so on, that they are often 'international' right from their inception – even though it has to be noted that the Romance languages usually order them differently, for example, *OTAN* for *NATO, ONU* for *UNO, Sida* for *Aids.*

It is noteworthy that terms originating in 'computer speak' frequently assume almost instantaneous multiple identities as loan words (or loan translations) in other languages, for example, German *Maus* (for *mouse*), *Input, log out, toolbox, URL*, and even French web sites use terms like *FAQs* and *plug-in*[22]. In

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[21] Herring (1999: 12-14) discusses "alternative methods of signaling listenership and negotiating turn allocation", cross-turn reference and topical organisation in chat room exchanges.

[22] Interestingly, even French and other Romance languages seem to make an exception as far as computer-related terminology is concerned (a large proportion of which consists of acronyms and abbreviations), due to the American Internet hegemony (see also Bourbonnais & Yergeau 1996), and French web sites also use a number of English terms.

some cases, even parallel versions exist side by side, for example, the German *download* (loanword) and *(he)runterladen* (loan translation).

4.2.9 Semantics

In his chapter 'Lexicon Semantics', Allan (1986, vol.1: 215) discusses

> the possibility of predicting the meaning of words on the basis of their morphological form, e.g. by using the meaning of the word's lexeme and morpheme constituents to predict its meaning.

He briefly looks at a number of word-formation processes with a view to answering the question of

> … whether the meanings of newly coined items are predictable from the meanings of their sources, or whether they are idiomatic so that the items have to be entered in the dictionary. (Allan 1986, vol. 1: 239)

Hughes (1988: 15f) emphasises the fact that new words often reflect technical innovations or social processes, and that they may involve register shifts (see Section 4.2.7 above). Thus,

> … over time words can be twisted, telescoped and stretched in shape, with semantic consequences. Some, like *culprit* are 'fortuitous or ignorant running together of forms' … Others are ingenious *portmanteaux.* … Today the major growth areas of portmanteaux are in technical terms (*hi-fi, slo-mo, ergonomic*), new developments like *Chunnel* and *Laundromat*, and brand names (*Natwest, Monergy, Instamatic* and *Xpelair*). (Hughes 1988: 21)

The fact that the meanings of complex lexemes are more than just the sum of the meanings of their constituent parts is generally recognised, for example, in compounding (*housewife*) and in affixation (*wellness*) (see also Section 4.2.11 on lexicalisation, which involves, among others, semantic changes). However, this situation cannot simply be transferred to most cases of non-morphematic word-formation.

In the context of non-morphematic word-formation processes, the main issues seem to be the following: First, acronyms are consciously created, artificial

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On the other hand, Crystal (2001: 216-223) argues that the Internet also provides unprecedented opportunities for multilingualism and even the promotion of minority languages.

formations, which means that their semantics is engineered, at least to a certain extent; second, their full forms often pass into oblivion almost instantaneously (*NATO*), which opens up interesting possibilities for consciously created secondary (*START, NOW* and *WHAT!*), or even tertiary (*GAS*), motivation. This characteristic makes them ideal instruments in the naming processes of national and international organisations and other institutions. Clipping is not only a formal process, but it often produces items which are stylistically marked, a phenomenon which can even lead to stylistically different doublets like *exam – examination* (see also Section 2.2.3 above).

The meaning of blends, on the other hand, goes far beyond the sum of the meanings of their constituents (even more so than in the case of compounds and affixations, back-formations and conversions), due to their iconic character, which reflects the 'blending' of their referents (for example, *Bollywood* and *celebutante*). Similarly, the semantics of rhyme and ablaut formations, as well as the semantics of sound symbolism and of imitation is enhanced – if not actually determined – by their iconic character (for example, *helter-skelter, ping-pong, rush* and *miaow*).

In any case, we can safely assume an additional component in most non-morphematic neologisms, at the very least with respect to the stylistic level. Stylistic connotations range from 'technical, scientific' in the case of many acronyms (*ALVINN, FLIR*), through 'informal, colloquial' with blends (*chillax*) and clippings (*Jozi*), to 'playful' as far as motivation by linguistic form is concerned (*willy-nilly, so-so, bash* and *crack*).

4.2.10 Semiotics

In his classic and still frequently quoted book on semantics, Lyons (1977: 100) observes that a 'symbol' "rests upon the conventionality or arbitrariness of the

relationship between the sign and its signification". As Balamakova (2003) observes, "… a sign stands for an object or concept: the meaning is created both through encoding (by the source) and decoding (by the receiver, or reader – in semiotic analysis)." This aspect is closely related to Motivation (Section 4.2.2) and Semantics (Section 4.2.9). In our context, both onomatopoeia on the one hand, and blends and symbolic combinations (*U-turn, T-shirt*) on the other, can display semiotic relationships. Some of these formations display 'iconicity', that is, there is some kind of resemblance between the sign and the referent, which can be "either natural or cultural" (Lyons 1977: 102):

> If the relationship is one of form and meaning and the general principle is resemblance of some kind, the form may be described as iconic. Iconicity understood in this sense will be a more specific kind of motivation; it may be either primary or secondary, but it will always be dependent upon properties of the medium in which the form is manifest (Lyons 1977: 105).

Some non-morphematic word-formations show iconicity[23] (see Ungerer 1991a: 163f and 170f: "referential interpretation"), especially blends (for example, *smog, motel*), sound symbolism (*rush*) and direct imitation (*rattle*). Others make use of symbols, for example, *Xing* (for *crossing*). In the context of reduplication, Bauer (1988: 25f) observes that

> [r]eduplication is frequently used iconically. By this, I mean that the form of the word in some way reflects its meaning. So reduplication is frequently used to indicate plurality, intensity and repetition …

According to Ungerer (2002: 375ff), instances of imitation (*crash, cuckoo*) show a high potential for iconicity due to their imitative character, even though this is filtered by the cultural and language-specific phonological restrictions of the languages in which they occur. He is much more sceptical as far as phonaesthemes are concerned (for example, /ɪ/ symbolising 'small'), as there is no consistent evidence for their emotional or attitudinal qualities. Secondary

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[23] At this stage, it becomes imperative to distinguish the notion of 'iconicity' applied here from the more structural concept of iconicity used in Natural Morphology, which is primarily concerned with inflection, as summarised by Matthews (1991: 224):

> What is closer in meaning is closer in form; what is less close in meaning is less close in form.

And ibid, with original emphasis:

> … we will often be able to establish that forms and meanings stand in an **iconic** or **diagrammatic** relation.

phonaesthetic centres, on the other hand, are based on cognitive concepts which evolved gradually from clusters of parallel phonological forms in a language (or language family), for example, [sw-] in *swing, sway* etc; these clusters then function as models for further iconic formations. Ungerer argues, therefore, that iconic relations can only obtain between word forms and mental concepts and not between word forms and extralinguistic referents. In addition, it is usually only one part of the word which is iconic. He concludes that, in the minds of language users, motivation and iconicity are linked and that there are indications that the iconic nature of the linguistic sign dominates over arbitrariness.

Sadowski (2003: 422) proposes a "sequence of signs", which he summarises as follows: *signal -> emotive sign -> index -> icon -> arbitrary sign.* According to him (2003: 416f), emotive signs are universal and non-referential and indices are "referential but still non-iconic"; and icons "are signs not physically co-present with their referents but only resembling them in their formal structure", due to analogy because "different objects perceived at different times are mentally related through similarity of certain characteristics or properties."

4.2.11 Lexicalisation and Institutionalisation

Lipka (2002: 113) emphasises that lexicalisation[24] is a "a gradual, historical process, involving phonological and semantic changes and the loss of word motivation", and he (2002: 111) defines this process as

> … the phenomenon that a complex lexeme once coined tends to become a single complete lexical unit, a simple lexeme. Through this process it loses the character of a syntagma to a greater or lesser degree … In my definition an essential condition and a prerequisite for this gradual diachronic process is the fact that a particular complex lexeme is used frequently.

Lipka (2002: 112) distinguishes this process from institutionalisation[25], which emphasises the sociolinguistic side of words, that is, "[a] complex lexeme is

[24] Very similar definitions are provided in other publications by the same author, for example, Lipka (1994: 2165) and Lipka (1992: 107ff).

institutionalized when the original nonce-formation is accepted by other speakers as a known lexical item". For Lipka (1994: 2166), "[i]nstitutionalization … depends on different regional, social, 'stylistic' and other varieties of a language. It is a matter of smaller or larger speech communities within the National Standards of a language ..." Thus, institutionalisation happens on the level of the 'norm' of a language and is related to social groups and dependent on social variables.

Matthews (1991: 100) also distinguishes between institutionalisation and lexicalisation:

> In the history of a language, collocations and figures of speech may often be **institutionalised** (as clichés or idioms) without also being **lexicalised** as single units … Alternatively, lexicalisation may follow (either at once, as for *dishwasher*, or later, as for *son of a bitch*) and this may lead to the fossilisation of at least one member (e.g. *whinchat*) to a purely derivational formation (e.g. *childhood*) or to virtual morphological unity (e.g. *chaffinch* [tʃæfɪntʃ]). For a language like English, it would be simple-minded to expect that a single feature – be it a stress pattern or whatever – should mark the boundary between what is lexicalised and what is merely institutionalised (emphasis in original).

And for Schmid (2004MS: Section 4.2), lexicalisation is related to structure, while institutionalisation is accounted for on the socio-pragmatic level, and, finally, concept formation is related to cognition. According to him, new lexemes go through three phases: creation, consolidation and establishment, and these stages affect all three levels (that is, the structural, the socio-pragmatic and the cognitive levels). As causes for lexicalisation he names cultural, linguistic and cognitive factors (Section 4.3.3)[26].

Quirk et al. (1985: 1580) see a link between lexicalisation and shortening:

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[25] Note that Bauer's (1988: 67) definition of institutionalisation of words ("the coming into general use in the society and so being listed in dictionaries") corresponds to Lipka's 'lexicalisation'; and Bauer (2001: 212) relates institutionalisation to the process of a word's becoming 'item-familiar' within a speech community:

> Item-familiar institutionalised words may be stored as wholes, although this is likely to be most economical for words with a high frequency of occurrence, or for words which are learnt early enough to be in place before the development of the full morphological parsing facility.

[26] See also Dent (2003: 21): "There are five primary contributing factors to the success or failure of a new word: usefulness, userfriendliness, exposure, the durability of the subject it describes, and its potential associations or extensions …"

> It is of the essence in lexicalization that, however lengthy and complex the formation of an item, it comes to be regarded as a single unit in relation to the meaning so lexicalized. In consequence, it is not the constituents of the word in combination that are seen as conveying this meaning but its individuality as a whole. Provided any part of the item is itself sufficiently individual to call up the whole, it can be shortened to a form which is linguistically convenient but need not reflect the morphological make-up of the full form. For example, *bus* (from *omnibus*), *ad* (from *advertisement*), *bit* (in information processing, from *binary digit*); *TV* (from *television*). We distinguish three highly productive ways in which abbreviation is involved in English word-formation giving us CLIPPINGS, ACRONYMS, and BLENDS. (emphasis in original)

According to Adams (2001: 10), lexicalisation "is the expression of a concept or concepts in one lexeme", which makes complex lexemes appear less analysable after some time. They will, therefore, need to be recorded in dictionaries, which "are likely to foster a misleading view of the present state of word formation" as dictionaries have a tendency to focus on words which are no longer transparent (Adams 2001: 14).

Frequency of usage and cognitive stimuli might, according to Haspelmath (2002: 44), contribute to the storing of items – both simplex and complex – in the lexicon, and these factors are clearly of an idiosyncratic nature[27]. If we take this argument further, we can postulate institutionalisation as filling the gap between the idiosyncratic and the general level, that is, the level of the speech community.

Many *ad hoc* formations are short-lived, that is, they never have the opportunity to pass into the treasury of lexicalised or institutionalised formations, for example, *Clintessence* and *OpporTOMist*. Others are specialised, which gives them the opportunity to become part of the standard stock of particular groups of language users, be they professional jargons, slang or technical vocabulary, for example, computer-related terminology such as *mouse, download, CD-Rom* and *input*.

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[27] Haspelmath's (2002) "word-based" approach might account for this insight (see also Galani 2002 for a critical account).

For the purposes of the present study, an item will be defined as lexicalised once it has achieved full acceptance by the speech community and is integrated into the lexicon, a stage that is usually marked by phonological and/or graphemic changes (for example, stress and capitalisation), and/or semantic-stylistic changes (for example, *exam* versus *examination*). Items which have gained partial acceptance, that is, items which are accepted as part of jargons by certain **groups** of users **within** a speech community, will be considered to be institutionalised, for example, *ADN* – 'Advanced Digital Network'.

4.2.12 Productivity and Creativity

Leisi (1985: 100) defines productive word-formation processes as word-formation processes that are still active today, that is, word-formation processes which still lead to considerable numbers of neologisms in modern English (see also Figure 26 in Section 5.1.3). Katamba (1993: 66) defines productivity as "productive word-creation using the internal resources of a language". He introduces the concept of generality and states (1993: 66f) that "[t]he more general a word-formation process is, the more productive it will be assumed to be". Consequently, there are degrees of productivity, and productivity is "subject to the dimension of time". Even synchronically, not all word-formation processes are equally productive, due to certain restrictions such as blocking[28]. Thus, we can observe with Adams (1973: 197) that

> [i]t appears that there are not many patterns which we can call 'fully productive' – that is, on which we may coin whatever new words we please without the risk of producing words that we cannot use.

Adams (2001: 9) links productivity to regularity, but she admits, rather confusingly, that

[28] Bauer (1988: 66) defines 'blocking', or 'preemption', as "the non-existence of a derivative … because of the prior existence of some other lexeme".
See also Katamba (1993: 73ff).

> … productive (regular) patterns of lexeme-formation are not essentially different from unproductive (irregular) patterns. Rather, some are perceived on the basis of very large numbers of lexical items …

Thus, a new word can be "evoked by a series of others, and [be] a possible model for them". Adams (2001: 17) pronounces herself against the common distinction between 'productivity' and 'creativity', as it is "not watertight" (see also below); according to her, all word-formation processes are "subject to reanalysis". But she also admits that "[t]he semantic transparency of complex words is … important if a process is to be productive" (2001: 147), and that communicatively "useful" processes will be more productive than others: "Changes in productivity can sometimes be linked – at least in part – to specific cultural factors" (Adams 2001: 148). Usefulness in this context is understood to refer to the naming function, and especially the function of information condensation, their textual function by providing cohesion, contextual factors and word class (Adams 2001: 149ff).

Matthews (1991: 78) emphasises the fact that there are degrees of productivity and speaks of a "gradation between established forms and those not established". Time is an important factor in productivity as "[r]ules are synchronic: they lay down what is possible and excluded in a language at a specific time. Analogy is diachronic: it explains why what was once excluded can become possible" (Matthews 1991: 79). However, Bauer (1988: 61) cautions that

> … we can speak of productivity in synchronic terms, or of changes in productivity in diachronic terms, but not of productivity as such in diachronic terms.

According to him, the degree of generalisation of a word-formation element reflects its past productivity. Furthermore, Bauer (1988: 62ff) distinguishes between productivity and analogy: the former refers to the general vocabulary of a language, while the latter refers to the vocabulary of an individual speaker. His (1988: 65) criteria are "wide-spread use in the written and spoken media, and listing in dictionaries."

Unlike Adams (2001: 17; see above), Bauer (1983: 63) does make a distinction between ‘productivity’ and ‘creativity’, with the latter not governed by rules. He summarises:

> The discussion of such processes as acronyming, clipping and blending … made it clear that where there were generalizations to be captured they frequently depended upon notions such as euphony, which it may not be possible to formulate in generative terms. In all these cases it was suggested that the examples under consideration were exceptions to the general principle of regularity in word-formation – that they were possibly creative rather than productive, and so on. (Bauer 1983: 293f)

In some of his more recent work, Bauer (1994a and 2001) focuses more explicitly on productivity. He (2001: 22f) notes that non-morphematic word-formation processes have often been excluded from “the domain of productivity” (2001: 22) and are, *à la rigueur*, discussed under the heading ‘creativity’: “The generalisation here is that, for many scholars, productivity is defined as being a rule-governed matter” (Bauer 2001: 23). In order to solve this dilemma, Bauer (2001: 64) makes the following suggestion:

> I propose that CREATIVITY and PRODUCTIVITY should be taken as hyponyms of INNOVATION, and distinguished according to whether or not rule-governedness is envisaged. (emphasis in original)

Another related term in this context is ‘analogy’, which results from “parallel pattern[s] in the minds of speakers” or “paradigm pressure” (Bauer 2001: 84). This applies to phonaesthemes, which, according to Bauer, “indicate a semantic field” (see also Section 2.3.1) or association:

> If such words [i.e. words formed with phonaesthemes] are deliberately formed because of this common element, or gain general acceptance because of it, then analogy rather than rules appears to be at work. The answer to this is that phonaesthemes are not morphological, and thus not subject to the same rule-governed behaviour that morphology is. Even if phonaesthemes do arise through analogy (and the possibility that they are a post-hoc rationalisation of random behaviour should not be ruled out) this would not prove that morphology must arise in the same way. (Bauer 2001: 84)

Finally, Bauer (2001: 205) defines ‘productivity’ in terms of ‘availability’ and ‘profitability’, with ‘availability’ being “an either-or, and … things are either productive or unproductive in this sense”; furthermore, availability is “a phenomenon of the speech community” (206) and can “change diachronically”.

Essentially, this concept is restricted to morphological processes[29]: "Some irregular innovations are viewed as creating their effect precisely because they are not standardly regular morphological processes, and these are … excluded from consideration."[30] The second "theme", 'profitability', is related to the number of constraints a morphological process is subjected to and which limit its profitability, for example, "competition between morphological processes", "pragmatic demand" etc. (Bauer 2001: 207-209). Bauer concludes his new approach with a discussion of how 'availability' and 'productivity' interact – for him "the crux of the confusion which has haunted so much of the discussion on productivity in the past" (Bauer 2001: 209). He summarises:

> Availability and profitability both have the same apparent effect on the number of coinages, but the causes of these apparently similar effects are distinct: availability is a matter of what the language system determines; profitability is a matter which is determined by language norms. In principle, it is clearly important to distinguish between these two sides of morphological behaviour. In reality, it has been common practice to look at the effects of both as a single amalgamation. (Bauer 2001: 209f)..

Finally, Bauer (2001: 211) provides a comprehensive definition:

> 'Productivity' deals with the number of new words that can be coined using a particular morphological process, and is ambiguous between the sense 'availability' and the sense 'profitability'. The availability of a morphological process is its potential for repetitive rule-governed morphological coining, either in general or in a particular well-defined environment or domain. Availability is determined by the language system, and any process is either available or unavailable, with no middle ground. It creates psychologically real distinctions between available ('living') and unavailable ('dead') processes, which can be tested in a number of ways. The profitability of a morphological process reflects the extent to which its availability is exploited in language use, and may be subject unpredictably to extra-linguistic factors. Where a single

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[29] See also Bauer (1994a: 3357):

> It is generally agreed that productivity is fundamentally concerned with the ability of a speaker to produce new forms. In morphology, this means lexemes or word-forms which have never previously been encountered. Productivity is concerned, however, only when this behaviour is rule-governed, and not when it depends on some unpredictable, possibly artistic, creative impulse from the speaker.

[30] Haspelmath (2002: 39ff and 99ff) also distinguishes between 'neologisms' and 'occasionalisms', that is, neologisms that "do not really catch on" (39), and for him, productivity rests on "morphological patterns or rules" (39). Remarkably, rules can be productive, or unproductive, and this accounts for the fact that some complex lexemes need to be listed in the lexicon. Due to the fact that productivity is a matter of degree, neologisms based on rules which have low productivity will draw more attention.

> morphological process has easily distinguishable meanings or sub-uses, these may be assessed independently for availability and profitability.

Thus, for Bauer (2001), productivity rests on availability (a yes-no issue) and profitability (which is a cline), and it varies through time. Finally, "words produced by available morphological processes may nevertheless become lexicalised" (Bauer 2001: 212) (see also Section 4.2.11 above).

In the context of non-morphematic word-formation, Lipka (2002: 110) observes that their

> … productivity is not rule-governed and pattern-based as with 'grammatical word-formation', the result of the process is not a syntagma, and the partially motivated constituents are not morphemes.

And Bauer (1988: 67) observes that "[c]lipping always provides synonymous words from the same base, but here the different style level (not the different meaning) allows both to co-exist". Although I would not agree with his statement that clipping always produces synonyms, he might have a point which explains why clippings seem to 'undermine' blocking. Similarly, Crystal (1995: 132f) cites a number of blends under the headings 'Lexical Creation' and 'coinage', 'nonce word', 'neologism', all of which are not (yet?) lexicalised, for example, *aginda* ('a pre-conference drink') and *fluddle* (< *flood* + *puddle*).

As far as non-morphematic word-formation processes are concerned, Bauer (1994a: 3356) is categorical:

> Everyone agrees that formations such as acronyms, blends and clippings … are not rule-governed. Most scholars would therefore agree that such formations are not productive. … Precisely how these are to be excluded from the domain of normal word-formation and defined as creative rather than productive use of word-formation processes is less clear. It is agreed that a distinction must be made.

I would question whether "everyone agrees" that non-morphematic word-formation processes are entirely non-rule-governed, and also whether they cannot be productive. However, the obvious issue in the context of our study is why non-morphematic word-formation processes have seen such an amazing increase in number in the latter half of the 20th century, and whether non-morphematic word-formation processes display productivity, creativity or cases

of analogy – because one thing cannot be denied: despite the fact that they are often called ‘marginal’, ‘non-rule-governed’ and “comprise only a small part of a language’s general vocabulary” (Cannon 1994: 81), acronyms (and other non-morphematic word-formation processes) do “shed light on the overall process of vocabulary expansion” (Cannon 1994: 81) and are, to a considerable extent, responsible for the particular ‘flavour’ of modern English discourse[31]. For our purposes, McArthur’s (1992: 808) rather open definition of productivity seems the most useful: “the capacity of a word element or a word-forming paradigm to produce new words”.

4.2.13 Pragmatics

New words are formed all the time, to name new phenomena, inventions, and/or products; to classify and differentiate between phenomena; to condense information (see Downing 1977: 823; Lipka 1987: 63-67; Clark 2000). Some neologisms are characterised primarily by their particular stylistic value (see also Section 4.2.7 above). Among the most important functions of word-formation in general are information condensation and category formation. Leech (1981: 31) captures the latter aspect clearly when he explains that

> it would be false to claim that the single word and the syntactic construction have exactly the same meaning, for the word carries an additional message – namely, the calling into existence of a category.

The breathtakingly fast development of technical research and modern technology creates a constant demand for precise, unambiguous and, at the same time, economical terms[32] – the perfect environment for acronyms. Their full forms are descriptive, to the point, detailed, their short versions are economical, short, precise; in their particular contexts, they are unambiguous (ambiguity only comes in with acronyms from other domains). They are the

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[31] See also Schmid (2004MS: Section 12.3) who estimates that acronymy is the process with the highest “output” rate (thus avoiding the term ‘productivity’) in present-day English.

[32] See also Leech (1983: 67): “… the Economy Principle is continually at war with the Clarity Principle”.

linguistic symbols of the late 20th century, as they are flexible enough to move and develop with the times. Some forms are exchanged without much ado when new, more 'powerful' forms enter the stage (for example, *AID* – 'Artificial Insemination by Donor' which was marginalised in the 1980s by *AIDS* – 'Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome').

American English, and here especially journalism, loves wordplay and attention-catching phrases. Many acronyms are not even explained in the text, sometimes because they are obviously known to most speakers (although they might not know what exactly an acronym like *NATO* stands for, they do know what it is), and sometimes because it is not in the authors' interest to unveil the exact meaning of a term and its triviality (for example, in advertising); in some cases, acronyms (and, to a lesser extent, blends and clippings) are employed precisely to obfuscate, or, by creating a certain distance, they serve the purpose of avoiding other implications, like taboos (see also Sections 2.7 and 4.1 above).

On the other hand, comics and certain types of advertising copy make use of forms that are emotionally and emotively appealing to non-rational aspects of human perception by using imitation, sound symbolism and suggestive onomatopoetic formations.

4.2.14 Textuality

Apart from their naming and categorisation functions, word-formations fulfil certain functions in texts, for example they can create cohesion and coherence[33], they condense information, provide anaphoric and cataphoric reference through pronominalisation, and they can produce stylistic effects and attract attention, especially in headlines (see Lipka 1987 and 2002: 187ff).

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[33] In this study, the terms 'cohesion', 'anaphora', and 'cataphora' are used in the sense of Halliday & Hasan (1976: 14, 17): anaphora refers back to something mentioned earlier, while cataphora points forward, "announcing" that something is following in the text. See also Levinson (1983: 67) on anaphora.

Shortenings are popular in technical and journalistic texts. Hughes (1988: 133) even identifies what he calls 'headline language', and he observes a global trend in terms of the preferred style: "Great currency is given to words which are short, emotive, low register to the point of being vulgar, and commonly incorporating metaphors of violence", and he continues:

> Headlinese, in terms of both vocabulary and syntax, has become a sub-language in its own right … It represents, together with 'telegraphese', the furthest limit of communication which can be achieved through the flexible medium of an uninflected language. (Hughes 1988: 142)

Thus, journalism welcomes shortenings and onomatopoeia, which convey a maximum of information and/or emotion in a minimum of space.

On the other hand, acronyms, in particular, can have an obfuscatory and/or euphemistic function in discourse (see also Sections 4.1, 4.2.2 and 4.2.13 above), depending on whether, where in the text, and how they are introduced and explained. However, in the majority of cases, the decoding process will not be impaired by the use of non-morphematic word-formation processes, not least because of the reader's co-operation[34]. McArthur (1992: 3) mentions several ways in which 'abbreviations' are introduced in texts: indirect association, the full form is accompanied by the abbreviated form in brackets and vice versa, the abbreviation is explicitly decoded with the help of one of the following phrases: "(stands) for", "or", or "as it is known".

Rhyme and ablaut formations, sound symbolism and imitation are also frequent in children's rhymes, colloquial and familiar language use, comics and advertising. Due to their disguising and secretive effect, acronyms are popular for technical and pseudo-technical terms, both in advertising and in technical texts (see also Section 4.1 above). They lend themselves particularly well to naming new inventions, processes, and institutions, because they are descriptive, specific, detailed and to the point (in their full form), and precise,

[34] See also Brown & Yule (1983: 199): "Texts are what hearers and readers treat as texts".

compact and manageable (in their short version) at the same time. This might also explain their popularity in computer-related jargons, where lexical innovation has developed into something of an art (see also Section 2.7 above).

4.2.15 Other Languages

This criterion concerns contrastive aspects across languages, concentrating mainly on English, French and German. For simplicity of reference and analysis, a separate category will be established, in addition to Origin and Internationalism (see Sections 4.2.5 Origin and 4.2.8 Internationalism above).

4.3 The Criteria: Working Definitions and Comments

Based on the preceding sections, we are now in a position to formulate working definitions for our corpus analysis, thus moving on to the operationalisation of the criteria described in the preceding sections of this chapter. Therefore, the following section will provide details on the individual criteria used for the description of non-morphematic word-formation processes, give working definitions and indicate possible implementation problems which might necessitate a 'pragmatic' handling of the categorisation of individual items.

1. ITEM

The example, hereafter 'ITEM'.

2. SOURCE

The source in which the ITEM was found. Wherever possible, the full context and co-text will be provided under 20. NOTES.

3. WF TYPE

4. SUBTYPE

for terms used here see Figure 21 in Section 3.22.1.

The following elements of word-formation will be used where appropriate: 'morpheme', 'formative', 'splinter', 'phonaestheme', 'combining form',

‘expressive symbol’. Terms such as ‘compound’, ‘suffixation’ and ‘conversion’ and so on are used only if they contain a non-morphematic word-formation. In those cases, there is cross-reference with WF BASIS (see below).

5. STRUCTURE

This category will allow for further additional structural features and/or characteristics.

6. MOTIVATION

As mentioned above, non-morphematic word-formation processes frequently suffer from almost instantaneous loss of relative motivation, a gap which can then be filled by new types of motivation, for example double/secondary motivation (or even triple motivation in the case of acronyms) and iconicity in the case of blends and onomatopoeia. In other cases, especially morphematic word-formation processes which incorporate non-morphematic formations, there will be relative motivation (even if the constituents themselves are suffering from loss of motivation).

7. WORD CLASS

Due to their naming function, it is to be expected that most non-morphematic word-formation items will start out as nouns, especially in the case of acronyms. However, there are exceptions. In the case of blends, the second splinter usually determines word class (in the same way as with compounds); the word class of clippings is usually identical with the full form. The word class of each item will be deduced from the context and co-text in which it occurs.

8. WF BASIS

Of particular interest in this context is the question of multiple formations: can (and has) the ITEM become part of a new formation? That is, can it constitute the word-formation basis for another, more complex formation?

9. ORIGIN

This criterion captures the national variety in which the ITEM originated, as far as can be determined, for example UK, USA, RSA.

10. MEDIUM

It is hypothesised that most formations originate in the spoken medium, with the exception of acronyms. The practical problem one faces with a corpus study like this is that most examples are found in written form. Due to its intermediate status (see Sections 2.7 and 4.2.6 above), ‘electronic’ will be

treated as a separate category, next to ‘oral’ and ‘written’ and will apply mainly to Internet-related communications and short-message-sending (SMS) communications.

11. STYLE

Stylistic aspects of non-morphematic word-formation processes will be captured under this criterion. In many cases, these labels will be based on the context and the co-text in which the ITEM occurs.

12. INTERNATIONALISM

This criterion captures comparative aspects and tries to determine whether the new lexeme is borrowed by other languages without formal changes, for example, *NATO* (E, G) vs. *OTAN* (F).

13. SEMANTICS

Similarly to ORIGIN and STYLE, the field and/or jargon in which the formation originated, will be deduced from the context and the co-text in which it was found.

14. SEMIOTICS

This criterion captures aspects such as iconicity, symbolism, imitation.

15. LEXICALISATION

Aspects such as lexicalisation (adoption of an item into the general usage and mental lexicon), and institutionalisation (adoption into a particular jargon, that is the lexicon of a particular group of language users within a speech community) are captured under this criterion.

16. PRODUCTIVITY

The productivity, creativity or analogy with other ITEMS is deduced, wherever possible, from the existence of patterns and/or parallel formations.

17. PRAGMATICS

Pragmatic and functional aspects are included under this heading, for example the use of the ITEM in advertising or as attention-getting device, and functions like information condensation, naming and categorisation.

18. TEXT LINGUISTICS

Somewhat related to 17. PRAGMATICS, this criterion captures aspects such as text types (cartoons, advertising, journalism, computer language and others) and communicative functions in texts, for example, in headlines and advertising, providing cohesion and coherence and so on.

19. OTHER LANGUAGES

This is a separate criterion from 12. INTERNATIONALISM, to enable us to filter out specific contrastive aspects and non-morphematic word-formation processes included in the corpus which originated in languages other than English.

20. NOTES

This category allows for any additional information, observations and contexts and co-texts, cross-references and so on.

4.4 Conclusion

Starting with a case study to illustrate some aspects of the socio-pragmatic potential of non-morphematic word-formation processes, Chapter 4 has presented an overview of the various aspects extracted from a number of sub-disciplines of linguistics which 'feed' the multi-level approach to the description of non-morphematic word-formation processes. Taken together, this multi-level approach constitutes the 'programmatic' part of the study in that it proposes a new and interdisciplinary method of analysing non-morphematic word-formation processes: a new analytical model.

Necessarily, the discussion of these aspects had to remain somewhat superficial, as an eclectic approach cannot possibly do justice to the multiplicity and variety of the theoretical body of knowledge on which it draws. In order to implement the criteria proposed in this study, these theoretical assumptions had to be reduced even further, in order to arrive at working definitions which will be operational in the description of the database. The outcome of this reductive process was presented in Section 4.3. After outlining the genesis of

the database and its characteristics in Chapter 5, these working definitions will be translated into the values which form part of the database, thus applying the proposed analytical model to the corpus, and vice versa.

5. The Corpus: Genesis, Selection, Size, Character and Analysis

5.0 Introduction

The following chapter is devoted to the discussion of the database and its analysis. It begins by providing the background to its compilation, its genesis and purpose. The structural criteria in the database are informed by the taxonomies proposed as the outcome of Chapter 3 (see Section 3.22 above), and the structure of the database as a whole applies the criteria and working definitions developed in Chapter 4. The corpus analysis thus complements and tests the taxonomies presented in Section 3.22 above, as well as the interdisciplinary multi-level approach proposed in Chapter 4, and it provides an application for both.

At the same time, this chapter presents a corpus of non-morphematic word-formation processes, which constitutes a contribution to the discipline of word-formation studies in its own right. The primary aim of the corpus and its analysis is to provide insights into the modes of production, the productivity and the conditions for use of non-morphematic word-formation processes. Thus, its analysis is not primarily quantitative or statistical in nature, but it is intended to establish certain co-occurrences and tendencies. It is hoped that these insights will also shed some light on the socio-pragmatic and functional aspects of the more ‘regular’ morphematic word-formation processes.

Due to their expository nature, which entailed the use of certain examples for the purpose of illustrating general characteristics and principles rather than for analytical purposes, Chapters 1 to 4 did not only use examples from the corpus but also made reference to well-known and common examples (such as *Nato, smog, motel, pub, rush, zig-zag*) and examples used in the literature discussed. Chapter 5, on the other hand, is devoted entirely to the discussion and analysis of the database which forms the core of the empirical component of the study; therefore, its focus rests exclusively on examples from the corpus.

5.1 Background: Genesis, Selection, Size and Character

5.1.1 Purpose, Selection and Character of the Corpus

After the proposal of new taxonomies and the development of criteria for the description of non-morphematic word-formation (what I called the 'multi-level approach' – see 3.22 and Chapter 4 above), working definitions were presented (see Section 4.3 above), thus yielding the basic framework for the database (see Figure 28 in Section 5.2.1 below for a discussion and presentation of the format in its final version).

The purpose of the database is explanatory and exploratory rather than statistical, that is, the analysis should not be seen as an exercise in statistics. A manually and self-compiled corpus can never be statistically representative, but it will always remain, to some degree and necessarily, impressionistic. Despite this mainly **qualitative** orientation, some figures will be extracted from the database during its analysis (see, for example, 5.3.1 below). Nevertheless, in our context, the database is used mainly to gain insight into **trends** rather than absolute and statistically representative figures, that is, we are more interested in co-occurrences than in statistics. This will be possible due to the fact that the corpus reflects the usage a 'normal' language user encounters in everyday life, as the items collected were encountered by the researcher in her everyday usage as a 'normal' speaker[1].

For the most part, the following **sources** were used: newspapers and magazines of American, British and South African origin, technical terms as far as they occur in the press and other media, journal articles and other publications (especially in linguistics), and face-to-face conversations (see below and Appendix 1 for a list of the sources from which the items were

[1] That this implies a certain bias is unavoidable: the corpus and its sources do, to some extent, reflect the researcher's interests in certain subjects rather than in others – for example, the absence of comic strips and cartoons is due to such a personal preference.

retrieved), and, finally, the Internet, novels and films. In addition, items from other languages, such as French and German, were included, if it was felt that they provided some relevant insights into cross-linguistic aspects.

The items were noted on index cards and later transferred to an electronic database. In the course of this process, the items were classified and categorised with the help of the context and their co-texts and later checked for consistency. Published dictionaries and electronic dictionaries were consulted where necessary and possible, for example, to verify aspects like lexicalisation.

The major aim of the database and its analysis is to determine trends and tendencies: Are there certain regularities, and if so, in which respect and on which level? Are there any determining extra-linguistic factors which contribute to the formation of certain types of items? What is the most frequent style of the various types of non-morphematic word-formation, what are their patterns of motivation, preferred text types, and which textual and pragmatic functions do they perform? Can we make predictions as to their lifespan? The ultimate aim of the database analysis is the development of a mechanism for the analysis of non-morphematic word-formation, which might then even prove to be applicable to morphematic word-formation as well.

On the basis of the database analysis, we can test the structural classification or taxonomy, which was presented as an alternative to the taxonomies proposed by other linguists, such as Algeo, Cannon, Tournier (see Chapter 3). This new taxonomy (see Section 3.22.1 above) groups blends, clippings and acronyms together in the category ‘shortenings’. Similarly, the category of ‘onomatopoeia’ comprises two heterogeneous sub-groups: ‘phonetic symbolism’ and ‘reduplication’.

5.1.2 Background Study to the Corpus

An earlier numerical analysis of the *OALD4* constitutes the preliminary study which initiated the present research (see Fandrych 1990), yielding some figures which allow us to quantify the numerical presence of lexicalised non-morphematic word-formation. Out of a total of 57,000 words and phrases covered by the *OALD4*, 2.5 % (1,425 items) are non-morphematic. Of these, roughly two thirds are shortenings (that is, 1.8 % of the total number of entries in the *OALD4*). A breakdown of this figure according to individual word-formation processes yields the following figures:

- 58.5 % acronyms (that is, 41 % of non-morphematic word-formation);
- 1.5 % blends (that is, 1 % of non-morphematic word-formation); and
- 40.0 % clippings (that is, 29 % of non-morphematic word-formation).

Nearly one third of the total number of non-morphematic word-formation processes are onomatopoetic formations (that is, 0.7 % of the total number of entries in the *OALD4*). If we break this figure down into smaller components, we obtain the following distribution:

- 58 % phonetic symbolism (that is, 17 % of non-morphematic word-formation); and
- 42 % reduplications (that is, 12 % of non-morphematic word-formation).

5.1.3 Other Studies

The findings of the *OALD4* analysis were then related to similar studies[2] conducted by other researchers in the field, in particular Algeo (1980), Leisi (1985) and Cannon (1987).

Algeo (1980) analyses several dictionaries of neologisms, without reference to

[2] NB: For the purposes of comparability, the terminologies were adapted slightly to conform with the terminology and categories applied in the present study.

technical vocabulary, slang and so on, which might explain the relatively small number of acronyms. Algeo's analysis yields the following figures (my bolding):

affixations	34.1 %	prefixation	15.6 %
		suffixation	18.5 %
composites	29.8 %		
shortenings	**13.1 %**	**clippings**	**3.3 %**
		written clippings	**0.2 %**
		blends	**5.2 %**
		acronyms	**2.2 %**
		abbreviations	**2.2 %**
loans	6.9 %		
conversion	6.4 %		
backformation	1.4 %		
others (semantic transfer etc.)	8.3 %		

Figure 24: Algeo's (1980) numerical analysis of neologisms

Leisi (1985: 104) compares the relative frequency of neologisms in English new-word dictionaries covering neologisms which appeared between 1963 and 1975. Leisi points out that his manual count is based on random checks and is, therefore, not comprehensive, but intended to provide some idea about the relative proportions of dominant productive types (my bolding):

1.	Affixation	20 % \	total of
2.	Combining Forms	17 % /	derivations: 37 %
3.	Compounding	41 %	
4.	**Blending**	**4 %**	
5.	**Shortening**	**5 %**	
6.	Conversion	5 %	
7.	**Acronymy**	**5 %**	
8.	Idioms	1 %	
9.	**Other Non-morphematic Processes**	**1 %**	
Total of neologisms		100 %	

Figure 25: Leisi's (1985: 104) frequency counts of English neologisms

Cannon (1987: 279) analyses several dictionaries of neologisms. His somewhat idiosyncratic classification (including some mistakes in numerical

processing), is presented in Figure 26 below (my bolding).

composites	29.5 %		
affixation	24.0 %		
shortenings	**17.0 %**	**abbreviations**	**3.4 %**
		acronyms	**1.1 %**
		clippings	**4.6 %**
		blends	**1.0 %**
		others	**6.9 %**
other “shifts"	15.5 %		
loans	7.5 %		
conversion	4.1 %		
backformation	1.1 %		
others	1.0 %		

Figure 26: Cannon’s (1987: 279) numerical analysis of several dictionaries of neologisms

It is interesting to note that Algeo’s (1980) and Leisi’s (1985) figures are very similar with regard to shortenings (in Leisi’s case, we need to add the figures for ‘blending’, shortening’, ‘acronymy’ and ‘other non-morphematic processes’ in order to achieve comparability): Algeo’s total is 13.1 %, while Leisi’s is 15 %. Even the internal distribution is strikingly similar, for example, acronyms and abbreviations amounting to 4.4 % (Algeo) as compared to 5 % (Leisi). Cannon’s (1987) figure for shortenings is slightly higher: 17 %, while his acronyms and abbreviations (taken together: 4.5 %) amount to a similar proportion to those of Algeo and Leisi; surprisingly, however, his figure for blends is comparatively very low (1 % as compared to Algeo’s 5.2 % and Leisi’s 4 %). The reasons behind these discrepancies probably lie in the fact that the authors did not analyse the same dictionaries at the same time. Furthermore, as pointed out above, Leisi (1985) only conducted random checks. However, the figures seem to be fairly reliable and still apply to present-day English: Dent’s (2003: 18) figure for blends, based on Oxford University Press files for the revised edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary*, is 5 %, thus supporting Algeo’s and Leisi’s figures (rather than Cannon’s).

5.1.4 Pilot Study *Pretest* and the Genesis of the Final Corpus

As a pilot study, the database format was tested on 400 entries (corresponding to about 30 % or one third of all non-morphematic word-formation entries in the *OALD4*). The purpose of the 'pretest' was to test the viability of the database format and its operationability, and to test the criteria, their validity and usefulness, before it was clear how big the database would eventually become. In order to enable us to verify these, some first data queries were conducted, resulting, for example, in the following figures, over a total of 400 items:

word class	258 nouns
word-formation types	170 acronyms 64 blends 20 borderline cases acronyms/blends 85 clippings 73 onomatopoeia 8 others

Figure 27: Pretest Queries

On the basis of this pilot study, some changes to the database format were effected, especially in terms of the length of certain fields, and a refined definition of the values. Furthermore, the additional criterion STRUCTURE was introduced. Delimitation problems and hybrids, multiple formations and overlaps between categories and their interpretation will eventually constitute one of the most interesting outcomes of the study. At this stage, it was too early to say anything conclusive about how the different criteria are related to each other.

The next step consisted in the processes of abstraction and formalisation. A second database was compiled, based on the pretest, and this resulted in a new combined database; that is, the combination of the two existing databases after adapting the formats. The comprehensive database was rearranged in alphabetical order.

At its peak, the Database *ABCO.mdb* (*Acronyms, Blends, Clippings, Onomatopoeia*) consisted of 1,528 items, compiled over a period of six years, first in the format of the database programme *dBASE*, and later converted into MicroSoft *ACCESS 2000*. For a large proportion of the entries ('items'), the contexts and co-texts were included. Once the compilation of the database was completed, the values for the criteria were harmonised and standardised. This 'weeding' process is described in Section 5.2.2 below.

Due to its unmanageable size (see the discussion of problems in Section 5.1.5 below), the corpus was then submitted to another 'weeding process', that is, it was screened item by item and a number of less interesting records – for our purposes – were deleted. These consisted mainly of straightforward acronyms (for example, of the *NATO* type), which would have added very little in terms of their explanatory value, and a number of records of non-English origin (unless they had an explanatory value for our purposes), and incomplete records (due to a lack of reliable background information). The resulting full corpus (or 'mother corpus') of 757 records is listed as Appendix 1, which presents a complete inventory of the items and their full forms and the sources in which they were spotted[3]. The corresponding permissible and used values for the mother corpus are discussed in Section 5.2.2 below and listed as Appendix 2.

As the 'mother corpus' still proved too unwieldy and unmanageable, it was used as a 'quarry', from which a final corpus of 163 records was distilled for in-depth analysis. The main criterion for this selection was to preserve as much variety as possible, and preference was given to items for which the co-texts are available. It is this final corpus (listed in its entirety in Appendix 4), which forms the basis of the corpus analysis and the subsequent discussion (see Sections 5.3 and 5.4 below).

[3] The 'mother corpus', in its unedited form, will be made available for research purposes to colleagues working in related fields. Please contact the author by e-mail (im.fandrych@nul.ls).

5.1.5 Problems

The major problem I was faced with was the step from theory to practice, that is, the operationalisation of the criteria and their application to the database. Working with a large amount of heterogeneous data on the one hand, and with rather strict, formal and stringent computer programme requirements on the other hand, the criteria and their definitions had to be handled in a pragmatic manner. Of course, every single criterion is informed by a large number of theoretical assumptions and insights (and these are discussed in some detail in Chapters 2, 3 and 4). However, when working with the data, the criteria need to be operationalised and implemented, and fairly straightforward working definitions need to be developed (see also Section 4.3 above).

In practice, the linguist is often faced with a certain degree of fuzziness, which needs to be curtailed so that it fits the structured database. To solve this problem, and in order to avoid unnecessary simplifications and omissions, an inductive[4] procedure was chosen, which consisted in the long and arduous abstraction step by step rather than trying to pre-empt abstract categories and pre-defining the criteria, as this would have limited the choice and the descriptive value. Other, related problems concerned the issue of how to handle multiple entries in the fields, and the heterogeneity of the data, both structurally and in terms of interrelations between the various criteria (see also Section 5.2.2 below). In some cases, the answer to the problem of fuzziness consisted in relegating additional information, comments and contexts to the MEMO field.

Furthermore, the list of criteria is long and bulky, in the ‘form view’ the forms take up the entire computer screen, and it was not possible to print out the complete database. The list view does not show the complete fields, thus only

[4] See Lenders & Willée (1986: 35) who point out that there will always be a certain amount of circularity involved in corpus work: certain regularities and systems of rules are discovered through the analysis of the corpus, and these rules are then applied to the description of the corpus. On the other hand, they argue, this circularity enables the researcher to verify and optimise the deduced rules.

allowing the researcher to see certain sections of the database at a time. The size of the individual data makes working with them slow and tedious, and the size of the corpus complicates matters even more. In addition to that, the data are very heterogeneous, and this requires extreme care in the process of formalisation and abstraction (see above).

5.1.6 Characteristics of, and Justification for, the Database ABCO.mdb

One might ask why the researcher did not choose to perform a dictionary analysis rather than compiling a new corpus. The following reasons led to the decision to compile an independent, specific corpus for the analysis of non-morphematic word-formation processes, rather than to perform an analysis of either an existing corpus (compiled for different purposes) or a dictionary.

Established text corpora like electronic newspaper corpora were not used for the following reasons[5]:

- they are too narrow in terms of text types and intended readership;
- they only reflect written usage; and
- they are too old by the time they appear.

In addition, Schmid (2004MS) shows that a 41,655 word, full-text corpus (consisting, in equal parts, of records of oral usage, personal letters, fiction, newspaper articles and academic texts) does yield interesting results in terms of commonly used ‘regular’ word-formation patterns, but it does not contain any blends at all and only a limited number (and range of patterns) of acronyms and clippings[6].

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[5] Concerning the size of corpora and the quantities of texts on which they are based, Johansson (1991: 305f) states:

> In the future, linguists will select their own material from the vast data sources available. Something may still be said, however, for smaller, carefully constructed sample corpora which can be analysed exhaustively in a variety of ways.

[6] See also Kobler-Trill (1994) and Section 3.13 for similar results of a full-text corpus analysis.

Dictionaries were consulted where necessary, but they are not suitable for analysis themselves, because

- dictionaries are generally conservative[7];
- dictionaries only list lexicalised items, thus excluding some interesting examples of creativity;
- dictionaries are not analysable with the help of a computer;
- the *OALD4* analysis (see Section 5.1.2 above) covers some aspects of what dictionaries have to offer to an analysis of this kind;
- for our study, variety is of greater interest than quantity, and so is the context in which an item appears, for example, for textual and pragmatic aspects;
- dictionaries were written with different purposes in mind, that is, etymological information and style labelling are not always systematic and consistent enough for our purposes;
- specialised dictionaries are too specialised and limited, for example, dictionaries of abbreviations contain acronyms and abbreviations only;
- dictionaries of abbreviations list numerous homonyms which are not that relevant for my purposes; and
- dictionaries would add an additional element of subjectivity (through the editors), as the research would rely on the labelling and selection of the dictionary editors and this would have consequences for my classificatory work, due to a certain inbuilt bias (editorial policy[8]).

The corpus *ABCO.mdb*, on the other hand, has the following advantages:

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[7] Incidentally, it is this conservative nature of dictionaries which makes them age so fast, and which, together with the rapid linguistic changes we are experiencing in the Internet age, necessitates more and more frequent publications of new editions to account for new forms – many of which are non-morphematic formations – in order to remain competitive in the highly commercialised and competitive dictionary market. For example, between the publication of the *OALD4* and the *OALD5*, six years elapsed, between the *OALD5* and the *OALD6*, only five years passed (interestingly, the *LDCE3* seems to resist this pressure). At the same time, electronic dictionaries have improved remarkably in terms of their user-friendliness (for example, through the inclusion of sound features) – see the *eCOD* (published in 1992) and the *CALD* (published in 2003); finally, there are a number of on-line dictionaries, for example, yourDictionary.com.

[8] For a fascinating account of an instance of editorial policy in lexicography (and its public perception), see Landau (2001: 254-260).

- it is fairly recent, that is post-1985 (with few exceptions), and it is based on material from a fairly clearly defined period;
- it comprises specially selected items; this allowed the researcher to pay particular attention to variety (see below);
- it is varied in terms of the items included, as one of the aims of the research was to capture the variety and range of different items, multiple word-formation processes, and overlaps, homonymy, word play and so on;
- it feeds from mixed sources and text types and media: spoken, written and electronic;
- it includes lexicalised, institutionalised and nonce formations, thus capturing the dynamic nature of word-formation and functional aspects of their use, for example, in advertising, as attention-getting devices, and for obfuscatory purposes;
- its analysis is enriched by the consultation of dictionaries; and
- many items are recorded with their context and co-texts; therefore, it is contextualised to a large extent (more precisely, the final corpus is almost 100 % contextualised; the “mother corpus” to a somewhat lesser degree).

On the basis of the above deliberations, it was decided to compile a new corpus. This compilation was conducted manually, and the genesis went through numerous stages, from index cards, via *dBASE* to *ACCESS 2000*, and on through several cycles of selection and reduction, as outlined above.

5.2 Format and Values

5.2.1 The Format

Figure 28 below summarises the final format of the database, indicating field names[9] and field lengths.

[9] In some discussions of (full-text) linguistic databases, for example, Lenders & Willée (1986: 90-93, 157) and Landau (2001: 278), the term ‘token’ is used for one particular occurrence of a lexeme in a text, and ‘type’ for the lexeme itself (see also Schmid 2004MS: Section 2.1.1); the term ’descriptor’ (see also Gregor & Krifka 1986: 73 and

The possible and permissible values which were entered in the various fields of the ‘mother corpus’ will be discussed in the next section and are listed as Appendix 2 at the end of the thesis. In addition, the full final corpus is made available as Appendix 4, which shows all the values, including the co-texts in the Memo field.

Field	Field Name	Field Length
1	ITEM	100
2	SOURCE	50
3	WF TYPE	50
4	SUBTYPE	50
5	STRUCTURE	50
6	MOTIVATION	60
7	WORD CLASS	7
8	WF BASIS	60
9	ORIGIN	10
10	MEDIUM	10
11	STYLE	10
12	INTERNATIONALISM	20
13	SEMANTICS	50
14	SEMIOTICS	50
15	LEXICALISATION	15
16	PRODUCTIVITY	30
17	PRAGMATICS	50
18	TEXTLINGUISTICS	50
19	OTHER LG	10
20	NOTES	>MEMO<

Figure 28: Format of the Database

The *Memo* field NOTES is a type of field which allows for full text entries (however without the typographical options offered by fully-fledged word processors). It was chosen and used to enable the inclusion of the context and co-texts of the ITEMs.

Lenders & Willée 1986: 21) is equivalent to our term ‘value’ (which is used here because it is the term used by *ACCESS 2000*).

5.2.2 The Values

The following section discusses the possible and permissible values that can be entered in the relevant fields in the 'mother corpus' database under the categories discussed in Chapter 4 above. The full records of these values are listed in Appendix 2, which consists of the complete inventories of all the permissible (and used) values in their respective fields for the items of the mother corpus (which is included as Appendix 1). This section should, therefore, be read with reference to Appendix 2 at the end of this study.

Due to the nature of the material under discussion, there is a much wider range of permissible values for certain fields (for example, SUBTYPE and the 'mixed bag' STRUCTURE) than for others (for example, WORD CLASS or MEDIUM). This lies in the nature of the criteria and, in the case of some criteria, it is also due to multiple entries in certain fields.

Obviously, the criteria could have been far more detailed, especially the ones related to the structural aspects of the items (that is, WF TYPE, SUBTYPE and STRUCTURE) and MOTIVATION. This would have implied the addition of a number of discrete sub-categories, thus eliminating multiple values in fields. However, in order to avoid multiple values entirely, it would have been necessary to increase the number of divisions and subdivisions to such an extent that the format of the corpus would not have been manageable on a normal computer. At the same time, the basic problem would have remained the same: where to draw the line, as the number of criteria, sub-criteria and further subdivisions is potentially endless, with ever finer distinctions and divisions possible. This dilemma is not a new one in Linguistics: in the context of word classes for syntactic analysis, Lyons (1968: 153) speaks of the "principle of diminishing returns"[10] and he explains that

[10] See also Lipka (2002: 167) for a discussion of the "principle of diminishing returns", in which, incidentally, he accuses Lyons of violating this principle himself – but, in the process, Lipka provides an example for quoting out of context.

> there comes a point (and where this point is might be legitimate matter for dispute) at which the increase in complexity of the rules is too 'costly' in proportion to its 'yield' …

Apart from the feasibility aspect and the perennial problem of where to draw the line, the problem remains nevertheless: would more discrete subcategories have been beneficial for this particular research, especially in view of the purpose of the study and the research questions (see Section 1.6 above)? In view of the main research interest, which is not only structural but also geared towards explaining the **use** and **functions** of non-morphematic word-formation processes, the decision was taken not to embark on the route of ever finer subdivisions. In the interest of enabling an interdisciplinary analysis, the number of subdivisions was, therefore, limited in order not to lose sight of the 'bigger picture'.

The outlook of the present study is not statistical and quantitative but focuses on the use and functions of non-morphematic word-formation processes in discourse. Therefore, the main purpose of the database lies in uncovering tendencies and trends in the material collected over a period of time. To this end, the structure of the database tries to strike a compromise between necessary simplifications (without being simplistic) on the one hand, and overspecification on the other hand. This balance is a precarious one, and the solution chosen under the circumstances is to work with multiple values, despite their problematic nature.

Furthermore, ever more detailed statistical results would only make sense in a representative sample, which would raise new problems of a different nature, especially the problem of how to achieve statistical representativity in the context of word-formation. Previous studies, for example, Kobler-Trill (1994), show clearly that the analysis of newspaper corpora only yields very limited results in terms of the variety of items (see also Section 3.13 above). As far as detailed classifications and sub-classifications are concerned, López Rúa's (2002) very detailed "radial polycentric network of acronyms" still leaves

considerable room for refinement, and it lacks the aspect of use and context (see also Section 3.17 above).

It is with these considerations in mind that the choice was made to work within the proposed structure, while fully acknowledging that there is no perfect solution and that there might be room for criticism. However, it is hoped that the results of the corpus study as presented below will justify this decision.

5.2.3 Further Observations

The criterion of MOTIVATION is one of the less straightforward ones. It should be noted that the values refer to the full ITEM, that is, for instance, a morphematic formation containing a non-morphematic constituent (or, in some cases, several), will be classified as 'transparent', that is, relatively motivated through its constituents, even if the constituents themselves are characterised by loss of motivation, because they have become lexicalised or because they underwent instantaneous loss of motivation. Examples are *to DHL, MSTies*, *MUDders, yuppification, IBM PC* and *PIN number*.

The value 'motivated' refers to whether, for example, a blend, acronym or onomatopoeic item is motivated, in some form, for the 'normal' language user or layperson, for example, *medicide* and *Menemies*. In other words, in many cases, technical or semi-technical terms will be clear for specialists in the relevant field in which the item originated (for example, *CD-Rom* or *modem* for computer specialists), and thus institutionalised (see Section 4.2.11 above); however, this does not necessarily mean that non-specialists will be aware of what the terms stand for.

Interestingly, in terms of MOTIVATION, we often find homonymy across languages, for example, some German items, which are homonymous with English words rather than German ones, such as *inDOpendent, Map, KIDS* and

KidS, or homophonous with English ones, for example *JES*. In other cases, we find homonymy with (previously) existing other non-morphematic lexemes, for example *Abba* and *LSD.* Finally, there are a number of cases which display partial homonymy, that is, one part of the item is homonymous with an existing lexeme, for example, *TeSWeST* and *BEE-Book*.

5.3 Analysis

This section is devoted to an in-depth analysis of the **final corpus**, as listed in Appendices 3[11] and 4. It begins with a first quantitative overview, followed by the application of the multi-level approach to the corpus (see Sections 4.2 and 4.3 above). In terms of its structure, the following sections roughly reflect the structure of the multi-level approach proposed in Chapter 4 above, starting with structural aspects, then moving on to the motivational, semantic and semiotic aspects, followed by aspects of lexicalisation and productivity, and concluding with stylistic, pragmatic and textlinguistic considerations.

5.3.1 Quantitative Distribution in the Final Database and Structural Aspects

To begin with, it seems appropriate to have a look at the quantitative distribution of **word-formation types** (see also Section 4.2.1) in the final corpus – despite the fact that the main purpose of the corpus study is neither quantitative[12] nor statistical (see Section 5.1.1 above). This also brings together the structural taxonomies proposed in Section 3.22.1 on the one hand, and the final corpus on the other, thus presenting a dual application of the two.

[11] For ease of reference, the items in the final corpus are also listed in tabular form as Appendix 3, as Appendix 4 is still rather long and bulky.

[12] In all of Section 5.3, the indication of figures and numbers is avoided as far as possible, in order not to convey the impression that we have to do with statistically representative data. However, in some cases, figures are used, in order to enable us to discuss certain prevalences within the corpus. It should be noted that, unless explicitly indicated otherwise, the figures always refer to absolute numbers (over a total of 163), that is, they are neither percentages nor proportions.

To this end, the word-formation types represented by the items in the final corpus were entered into the taxonomy proposed in Section 3.22.1 above. Figure 21 is reproduced below as Figure 29, this time including the numbers of the respective occurrences in the final corpus.

Figure 29 thus combines a first overview of the structural distribution of word-formation types in the final corpus within the structural categories proposed earlier in Section 3.22.1. The numbers in bold print indicate the number of items ('tokens') represented in the final corpus (out of a total number of 163) per each word-formation type.

MORPHEMATIC WORD-FORMATION **25**	CONVERSION **6**		
	BACK-DERIVATION		
	AFFIXATION **4**		Suffixation **3**
			Prefixation **1**
	COMPOUNDING **15**		
NON-MORPHEMATIC WORD-FORMATION **136**	SHORTENINGS **132**	Blends **64**	Blend: 2 initial splinters **3**
			Blend: initial + final splinter **25**
			Telescope: syntagmatic, overlap **36**
			Total Blend
		Clipped Compounds:	one part remains intact **5**
		Clippings **6**	Back-clipping **4**
			Fore-clipping **2**
			Back-and-fore-clipping
			Mid-clipping
			Written/Graphic Clipping
		Acronyms **57** (incl. **4** hybrids)	Abbreviations/Initialisms **16**
			Acronyms **36**
			Syllabic Acronyms **1**
	ONOMATO-POEIA **4**	Imitation	
		Sound Symbolism **1**	
		Redupli-cation **3**	Pure Reduplication **1**
			Ablaut/Alliteration **2**
			Rhyme Formation
OTHERS **2**	Symbols **1**		
	Ellipsis **1**		

Figure 29: Quantitative Distribution of Items in the Final Database (in the previously proposed Taxonomy According to Structure – see Figure 21 in Section 3.22.1 above)

By definition, the twenty-five morphematic word-formation items in the final corpus are all multiple formations, that is, they incorporate, in some form or other, non-morphematic aspects, and it is precisely for this reason that they were included. Examples are conversions based on abbreviations (*to okay, to R.S.V.P.,* and *to TKO*), on clippings (*to temp, to celeb*) and on clipped compounds (*to e*); the prefixation *un-PC,* and the suffixations *OK-ness* and *MSTies.* These examples are relatively noteworthy, as compounding has always enjoyed a comparatively high degree of freedom. Less surprising, on the other hand, are, therefore, compounds which incorporate one or several non-morphematic formations, such as *CD-Rom joint venture,* or formations which show onomatopoetic characteristics, for example, *model minority myth*.

However, there are also a number of non-morphematic word-formation processes, which are multiple formations, that is, they incorporate other non-morphematic formations. Of the 16 abbreviations in the final corpus, three contain numbers (*88, T2* and *NC-17*). The category 'acronym' (that is, 'acronym proper' or 'acronym in the narrow sense', contains five pseudo-acronyms[13] (*INXS, Sdoos, Spoos, whizzo* and *XS*[14]), and three acronyms in turn contain abbreviations and/or acronyms (*Bongo, Quango* and *WHAT!*). Similarly, some blends contain abbreviations and/or acronyms, for example, *ABB, FOI-able, No-K* and *Y2.1K; Romeow* is a blend from a name and the imitation of an animal sound.

Furthermore, there are a number of exocentric formations, for example, *ABC* and *NC-17*, formations which rely on graphic support, such as *InteracTV, Lo-CALL, OpporTOMist, Qualiflyer* and *suisside*, and re-interpretations, for example, *Aids, CNN, Moab* and *PC.* Finally, one symbolic formation (*T-*

[13] It should be noted that my use of the terms 'pseudo-acronym' and 'pseudo-abbreviation' differs from those used in some of the literature, for example, Jung (1987). I use this term for formations which are not really acronyms at all, for example, *INXS* and *XS*, as well as phoneticised forms, which no longer look like acronyms or abbreviations of the *deejay* and *Beeb* type, for example, *Sdoos* and *Spoos.*

[14] A similar example (which could not be included in the corpus any more) is the **abbreviation** *FXI* – 'Freedom of Expression Institute' (*Mail & Guardian*, 30 April-06 May 2004, p. 9).

shaped) needs mentioning, and one elliptical item (*Y*) – the latter containing a symbol, and the whole form is reduced to the symbolic element of the original long form (*Y chromosome*). The latter two examples are classified in Figure 29 as neither morphematic nor non-morphematic.

Further structural observations concern the criteria **subtype** and **structure**. The final corpus contains 57 acronyms (in the wider sense), including four hybrid cases, that is, depending on the pronunciation, they can be classified either as acronyms proper or as abbreviations: *EP-X, IPO, top* and *WAP*. 16 items are clear examples of the category 'abbreviation', for instance, *NWO* and *TCK,* while the large majority are acronyms proper, such as *Cow, FLIR, NOC* and *SERMS*; in the latter category, we also have several ironical (secondary) re-interpretations, for instance *AIDS, CNN, FBI, Moab* and *PC.* And finally, there is one syllabic acronym: *LEINET.*

Of the 64 blends, 36 are syntagmatic, overlapping telescopes, for example, *touron, killboard* and *celebutante*; some telescopes are graphic (or the overlap is emphasised in their written form, which lends support to the decoding process and renders the irony more evident), such as *Demo-crazy* and *royoil*. Other blends (25 instances) are composed of the common pattern 'initial splinter plus final splinter'. As this pattern constitutes the 'default' structure of blends, it is not marked in the database (that is, the field SUBTYPE is left blank). Examples are *broccoflower* and *plunget. Cinemax*, on the other hand, consists of two initial splinters (with overlap), and so does *ABB* (from acronym and abbreviation), while *InteracTV* consists of an initial splinter and an acronymic second element, which depends on graphic support, that is, the blended character of the item only becomes evident in its written realisation. Finally, *burbulence, Clinterngate* and *chiraclette* are interesting in that they blend more than two elements, with overlap contributing to the punning effect.

Clippings are less numerous in the corpus, with six instances, of which four are back-clippings (*Ana, apps, photog* and *pix*) and two are fore-clippings (*blog* and

Mia). Clipped compounds (five items) in the corpus are: *lad mag, Lo-CALL, Seadra, SimEarth* and *wax sax.* Of these, *Lo-CALL* and *SimEarth* are note-worthy for their graphic form, which acts as a decoding aid, and *wax sax* is a rhyming (clipped) compound.

The number of onomatopoeic items in the corpus is comparatively low (see Section 5.4 below for a discussion of the reasons for this): two phrases are alliterative (*Parks to the People* and *SLIP! SLAP! SLOP!*); *ChubbChubbs* is a pure reduplication, and *whoosh* is a case of sound symbolism, symbolising movement and sound.

Finally, *Y* is an ellipsis from the phrase *Y chromosome* (see Section 2.2.3 above for a definition of the term 'ellipsis' in the context of the present study), and *T-shaped* is a symbolic formation based on a metaphor ('width and depth'), which differentiates it from more common 'shape' items such as *U-turn* and *A-shape.*

In terms of their **word classes** (see also Section 4.2.3), the great majority of formations are nouns[15] (124 formations), and there are eleven adjectives, ten names[16], ten phrases, eight verbs[17], of which five are denominal conversions (*to celeb, to e, to R.S.V.P.*[18]*, to temp* and *to TKO*) and one is a de-adjectival conversion (*to okay*). In terms of their **word-formation potential** (see also Section 4.2.4), that is, their capacity to enter new formations, a number of items

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[15] See also Aitchison (2003: 178):

> There are many more nouns than verbs in a language, so the conversion of a noun to a verb is considerably more common than the other way about.

[16] As in other cases, the dividing line between the category 'name' and normal 'nouns' is not a clear-cut one. Of course, some cases are fairly obvious, for example, *ChubbChubbs, CNN* and *XS;* in other cases, however, the differentiation is less straightforward, for example, *FBI* and *NAFTA* – see also Section 5.3.2 below.

[17] See also Schmid (2004MS: Section 10.4), who notes that conversion usually forms verbs.

[18] This item is classified as 'denominal' here, in the assumption that the average speaker of English is not familiar with the full form and its precise meaning. *Répondez s'il vous plaît* (literally, 'please reply') is, of course, a phrase in French. The conversion, *to R.S.V.P.*, is used in the sense of 'to **respond to** the request for confirmation', thus showing semantic disassociation.

seem to have that potential, but in order to avoid speculation, not too much should be said about this feature. However, it seems safe to say that probably most acronyms, blends and clippings could become parts of compounds should the need for such an item arise, for example, formations like **ROV manager* or **NAFTA executive* (marked here with asterisks as I do not have any evidence of their existence) seem perfectly acceptable.

The values entered for **origin** (see also Section 4.2.5) obviously reflect, at least to a certain extent, the sources from which the examples were retrieved. This is why it seems reasonable to discuss this criterion together with **internationalism** and **other languages** (see also Sections 4.2.8 and 4.2.15). In the corpus, there is a strong dominance of formations of American origin (97 items), which, apart from having to do with the source material, also reflects the strong American dominance in the fields of technology, innovation and politics in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. Nine items are of British origin, eight of South African extraction, and there are a number of items (35) which were marked simply as 'English', as no more specific background could be established. In terms of their international 'currency', more or less exactly half of the items, that is, 132, are (likely to) be used internationally, and one item was adopted and adapted from French (*to R.S.V.P.*) and one went the opposite way (*Coca-colonisation*).

Medium (see also Sections 2.7 and 4.2.6): 55 items in the final corpus originated in the oral medium, the rest in the written medium. As the emoticons and other shorthand forms typical of SMS and Internet chat groups were not taken over from the 'mother corpus', due to their limited explanatory interest and lack of co-texts, there are no items originating in the 'electronic medium' in the final corpus. The clear predominance of written as opposed to oral origins is probably due to the relatively large number of acronyms and to the textual function (for example, anaphoric headlines) of some formations (which led to their inclusion in the corpus). This aspect is explored below in Section 5.3.4.

5.3.2 Motivation, Semantics, Semiotics

Many acronyms, such as *SUV, Quango, Bongo,* abbreviations, such as *WMC* and *SCR,* as well as one clipping (*Blog*) and three blends (*ABB, FOI-able* and *Y2.1K*) suffer from loss of **motivation** (see also Section 4.2.2) – 66 cases in our corpus. However, a considerable number of these fill this vacuum through their homonymy, or partial homonymy, with existing words (both morphematic and non-morphematic) or names (22 cases), for example, *SMART, PLAN, VoS, Mia* and *Ana*. *ABC* and *AAA* are homonymous with other abbreviations; *ALVINN, InteracTV* and *Lo-CALL* are homophonous with a name, an adjective and a phrase/adjective respectively.

97 items, mostly blends, but also some compounds and clipped compounds, remain motivated or transparent – at least to some degree, for example, *CD-Rom joint venture, eggstraordinary, fluffragette, Microsortof, mockumentary* and *Seadra*. This group also includes ironic formations, such as the blend *Besserwessi,* and formations which have an element of playfulness, sound symbolism or onomatopoeia, such as *INXS, Clintessence, mango-bango* and *lad mag*. Interestingly, four formations, which are not suffering from loss of motivation, show an additional element of motivation through homonymy (*Car-Ton*) or homophony (*Lo-CALL, Inglish, InteracTV* and *Seadra*) – unnecessarily so, one might say, as they are not in need of additional motivational support. On the other hand, two formations, namely *Mia* and *Ana*, are clearly obfuscatory precisely through their homonymy, which has the function of something like a ‘red herring’. In the last two cases, we could say that the homonymy has the opposite effect to its usual mnemonic function and anchoring. Finally, there is partial homophony (*SAREIN*) and pseudo-homophony (*T2*).

In terms of their **semantics** (see also Section 4.2.9), by far the largest single group consists of media-related terms (60 items), that is, terms which are media-related or which originated in the mass media in the widest sense, many of which are ironical and of which a substantial number are blends (for

example, *Bennifer, Besserwessi, Clinterngate, himbo, fluffragette, metrosexual, sexiled* and *touron*). Other relatively strongly represented subject areas are business and economics (for example, *tax avoision, intrapreneur, T-shaped*), the military – in this case with a clear dominance of euphemistic acronyms (*Cow, FLIR, Moab* and *NOC*), and names (for example, *ABC, ChubbChubbs, INXS, OK soda, SHARP, WHAT!* and *XS*). Due to the naming function of neologisms, however, it is sometimes difficult to decide, where to place an item[19], especially when trying to avoid multiple entries in value fields.

77 formations are **semiotic** (see also Section 4.2.10). The largest group in this category is the group of blends (49): their forms mirror their referents in some way, for example, *Bennifer, broccoflower, cinemax, himbo, plunget* and *thinspirations* – mostly media-related terms like the ones quoted here, and often ironical. As would be expected, a large proportion of these semiotic items are *ad hoc* formations (seven), or coined for effect (14), and only two seem to be lexicalised. Furthermore, there are five formations, which are dependent on graphic support (*Cowsteau, eggsessive, eggstraordinary, Romeow* and *Ruthanasia*), in other words, their 'blended' character only becomes apparent in print due to their homophony (*eggsessive, eggstraordinary, Romeow*), quasi-homophony (*Cowsteau*) with existing words, or through the graphic invocation of a related word (*ruthless*) in the case of *Ruthanasia*. In addition, there are three formations which make use of symbols: *88* (obfuscatory, coded), *BBB* (a sort of code) and *T-shaped* (where the shape of the upper-case version of the letter *T* metaphorically stands for width and depth at the same time).

[19] See also footnotes 16 and 18 in Section 5.3.1 above. It is for this reason that I have decided to avoid, as much as possible, to indicate (potentially misleading) numbers of occurrences – also in view of the fact that our primary interest in this section is neither statistical nor quantitative.

5.3.3 Lexicalisation and Productivity

Related to the criteria discussed in the previous section, is the aspect of **lexicalisation** (see also Section 4.2.11). As would be expected, some media-related terms are coined for effect, and many of them will remain ephemeral, for example, *Car-Ton, Clintessence, gundamentalist, OpporTOMist* and *Y-CHOPS*. 104 formations (among which 18 seem to be arguable and are therefore marked with a question mark, that is, as 'inst?') might be institutionalised, for example, *ALVINN, broccoflower, SMART* and *TCK*.

Only a relatively small number (four items) can be classified as lexicalised with some certainty: *Aids, CNN, FBI,* and *PC* – interestingly, all four acronyms (in the wider sense), three of which are initialisms. In order to support this claim, these items were looked up in three dictionaries: the *OALD5*, the *LDCE3* and the *CALD*. Interestingly, only three of the items were listed in all three dictionaries, namely *Aids, FBI* (in its common form, 'Federal Bureau of Intelligence') and *PC*, or *pc* (in the common sense of 'politically correct'). *CNN* (in the sense of 'Cable News Network', not the ironic re-interpretation) was listed in the *LDCE3* and the *CALD*.

As far as **productivity** (see also Section 4.2.12) is concerned, we are moving on uncertain ground, and we cannot claim to make definite predictions, but we are in the realm of speculation, so to say. However, turning back to Figure 29 above, the clear predominance of shortenings over other word-formation patterns is undeniable. According to our criteria, 51 items seem to lend themselves to analogous formations, or they were formed in analogy to existing formations, for example, *Bongo, Quango*[20] and *yummies*. 87 formations seem to have been coined on a productive pattern, for example, *adultescent,*

[20] It is tempting to conclude that *Bongo* and *Quango* are parallel formations, that is, that they were formed simultaneously, by analogy to – or as extensions of – the term *NGO*. However, I do not have evidence for that (even though the two items were spotted in the same newspaper article, but this is definitely no evidence – see also *Ana* and *Mia* above). But quite possibly, such parallel, simultaneous formations could exist in principle.

ESPRIT, gundamentalist, NAFTA, NWO and *to okay*, while a relatively small number are so exotic that it seems unlikely that their patterns will spawn many new formations, for example, *Microsortof* and *Y2.1K* – and, of course, it is precisely this exotic, attention-getting effect that must have been the rationale behind their being coined in the first place.

5.3.4 Style, Pragmatics, Text Linguistics

In terms of their **style** (see also Section 4.2.7), the largest group consists of 61 items labelled as 'colloquial', and of these, 31 are blends[21]. 48 items are labelled as 'technical', and a break-down in terms of word-formation types yields the following figures: 29 acronyms, nine abbreviations, two hybrids (acronym/abbreviation), four blends and four others. Furthermore, of the 48 technical items, only four were coined in the spoken medium, while 44 were coined in the written medium (see also Section 5.3.1 above on medium, and Section 5.1.1 on data selection).

Pragmatics (see also Section 4.2.13): Not surprisingly, in view of the discussion in the previous sections, we find 46 items, which were certainly coined with the aim of catching attention[22] – even though this might not have been the only aim, as naming needs and other aspects like information condensation usually come into play as well. Among these, there are items such as *eggsessive, gundamentalist, metrosexual* and *tax avoision*. The naming function[23] obviously plays a large role, and so does the reverse of the desire to attract attention: euphemism or even obfuscation, for example, in *AAA, Ana, FLIR, Mia, top* and *whizzo*.

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[21] See also Lederer (1994: 107): "Brevity is the soul of slang."
[22] See also Section 4.1.1 above for examples of the attention-getting function of non-morphematic word-formation processes.
[23] See also Downing (1977) and Clark & Clark (1979) for early accounts of the importance of the context in determining the function of neologisms.

28 items appeared in headlines, thus underlining the attention-catching and/or cataphoric function discussed above, and creating cataphoric suspense. In some cases, shortenings are even combined with other features, for example, alliteration, in order to produce the desired headline effect, for example, the abbreviation *BBB* ("BBB is Beautiful"), the clipping *Sécu* ("La Sécu a signé") and the blend *Franglais* ("Fractured Franglais"). Metacomments (which are mostly negative) on non-morphematic word-formation items are common, for example, in the co-texts of *ABB, advertorial, affluenza* and *Besserwessi*.

In the following, a closer look at the **textual functions** (see also Section 4.2.14) of non-morphematic word-formation processes in the final corpus is presented. To this end, several selected items and their co-texts are analysed, especially with a view to establishing whether and how anaphoric and cataphoric reference is provided by the corpus items, and to highlight their contribution towards cohesion and coherence in the texts in which they appeared[24].

The name of the rock band *INXS* is embedded in a text, which makes the reader guess with the help of a word play on the band's name ("The Success of Excess"), thus providing the reader with a resolution to the band's name (should this be necessary). On the other hand, "KU KLUX REDUX" is a headline, which leaves no doubt about the content of the text of the article.

In the following extract, the blend *Clinterngate* – clearly an *ad hoc* formation, coined for effect – summarises the whole complex Clinton scandal, which kept the world glued to their television and computer screens for weeks, by fusing the three major ingredients of the scandal into one catchy word: did President *Clinton* have a sexual relationship with a White House *intern*, and if he did, would this affair do to his presidency what the *Watergate* scandal did to Nixon's?

[24] See also Section 4.1.2 above for an analysis of acronyms and textuality.

Internet leads the way

. . . 'The Internet made this story. And the story made the Internet,' TIME's Michael Kinsley wrote in a special report on the Clinton crisis. 'Clinterngate, or whatever we are going to call it, is to . . . the Internet what the Kennedy assassination was to television news: it's coming of age as a media force.' ... (*Mail & Guardian*, 30 January – 05 February 1998, p. 19)

Thus, this term manages to contextualise the article within the greater framework of American politics and historical events; at the same time, it is a handy and economic label and ensures unambiguous reference – so handy indeed that the journalist uses a quotation from an American news magazine (albeit with a slightly dismissive parenthesis).

In the following passage, the blends *Microsortof* and *mockumentary* provide cohesion and coherence – and, in the case of the former, irony.

Lone Gunman, Two Bill Gateses

Being the world's richest man is like being Elvis, in that there are weirdos out there whose profession is to be you. **STEVE SIRES**, … a **BILL GATES** impersonator who lives near Microsoft's headquarters in Redmond, Washington, first attracted the corporation's interest when he attempted to trademark the name "Microsortof." Later his resemblance landed him a role as Gates in one of the company's corporate films. But now Microsoft and he are on the outs again, after his recent turn in *Nothing So Strange*, an independent mockumentary making its debut this week at the Slamdance Film Festival. Sires, as Gates, gets offed J.F.K.-style by a hidden gunman. "It's very disappointing that a moviemaker would do something like this," said a Microsoft spokesman. Maybe Larry Ellison will produce the sequel. (*Time*, January 14, 2002, p. 48)

There is no need, really, to explain these terms in the text: Bill Gates is known world-wide as chairman of Microsoft, the blend *Microsortof* is transparent (and intended to be, so as to produce the desired ironic effect), and the blend *mockumentary* aptly summarises the genre of the contentious piece. Taken together, the two blends summarise almost the whole story, and would, therefore, have been an excellent alternative to the chosen headline – adding an element of alliteration to make it even more catchy.

An interesting combination of word play and minimalism in advertising is exemplified by an advertisement in the US government's campaign for the trade agreement *NAFTA* (as shown in a report on *NAFTA* negotiations and

politics of the US government in the *BBC1* “News at 9”, broadcast at 9.22 h, on 10 November 1993.). The special effect is created by the quasi-homography of *U.S.* and the pronoun *us*, and this is exploited by producing *U.S.* as text on the screen, and the other (the pronunciation [ʌs]) as its accompanying voice-over, thus playing with the homography in a punning manner.

. . . NAFTA.
Good for Jobs.
Good for U.S. [... gud for 'ʌs]

(_____) (_____)
V V
text on screen spoken text

Imitating the typical colloquial-ironic style of Netspeak, *Time* reports on a libel case which originated in cyberspace (see the following passage). The tone of the article is mimicking the kind of minimalist ‘talk’ which takes place on the Internet, by reproducing (or coining?) the blend *No-K*.

Character Assassination at Warp Speed

Matt Drudge, the Liz Smith of cyberspace, reported in his E-mail dispatch last week that a White House aide is a wife beater. Bad news for the Drudgster: he now says the story, which initially went out to more than 60,000 readers, is untrue. So he retracted it and apologized. O.K.?
No-K., says William McDaniel, the aide's lawyer, who says he's preparing to sue . . . (*Time*, August 25, 1997, p. 48)

The following passage is an example of the kind of metacomments on non-morphematic word-formation processes frequently encountered in the media – ironically enough, as many of these formations originate in journalistic texts, as pointed out earlier in this section:

... You don't have to be a pedant to be amazed at some of the liberties taken with English mostly by people who simply have no understanding of the root of words. Take outercourse, which is intended to be the opposite of intercourse and is used to describe sexual arousal without bodily contact. The anonymous inventor clearly ignored, or had no idea, that inter means between, not into. The opposite of intercourse, as my mother is fond of pointing out, is abstinence. . . . (*The Guardian*, 19 August 1993, p. 11)

Finally, some passages introduce various non-morphematic word-formation processes in their headlines, as attention-getting devices, and to create cataphoric suspense and arouse potential readers' interest. The first one mimicks the (supposedly) typical style used by paparazzi to sell their goods, both by using the colloquial *hey* and *wanna* and by combining them with the clipping *pix* (for *pictures*). Later in the text, further informal forms are used, such as the clipping *photog* (from *photographer* – to distinguish it from *photo* for *photograph*), and the blend *stalkerazzi*, which provides cohesion by combining *stalk* and *paparazzi*, which appeared earlier in the text.

HEY, WANNA BUY SOME PIX?

As the paparazzi run for cover, the press - and the public too - takes a hard look at its share of responsibility for what happened in Paris
. . . There's big money to be made. Two weeks before Diana's death, the GLOBE tabloid ran eight pages of photos of her and Dodi Fayed on their vacation off the island of Sardinia, and boasted in a note to readers of paying $210,000 for them: 'It was a big payday for photog Mario Brenna, who stands to make as much as $3 million worldwide.' . . .
. . . Yet editors of publications that rely on paparazzi are taking a fresh look at how far their intrusive tactics should be allowed to go. Shortly after the accident, Steve Coz . . . publicly vowed not to buy any photos taken at the scene, while claiming that his tabloid had instituted a policy a year ago of not using so-called stalkerazzi pictures. . . (*Time*, September 15, 1997, p. 44)

The next passage is an extract from the Business Supplement of the *Mail & Guardian*, a different journalistic sub-genre from the previous passage. Here, two new acronyms are presented in the headline, and they are duly explained in the text.

Bongos and Quangos take centre stage

A new breed of NGO is gaining influence in South Africa . . .
Funding crises and the end of anti-government work have spawned new definitions in the world of non-governmental organisations. Bongos (business NGOs) and Quangos (quasi-governmental NGOs) have taken the NGO sector by storm over the past five years . . . (*Mail & Guardian Supplement*, 22 – 28 August 1997, p. 2)

The following extract is interesting in that it imitates the obfuscatory terminology with the help of blends and clippings of certain web sites in its headline, and then the text, which is a commentary, introduces those very terms and discusses their obfuscatory nature and the concomitant dangers involved in the

use of these web sites. At the same time, the word *thinspirations* aptly summarises the whole problem by mimicking the innovative word-formation processes which are prevalent in the websites discussed in the article.

'Thinspirations' on the Net . . .

You may be aware that these 'thinspirations' are within a click of your teenage daughter's computer mouse. They form the basis of a new Internet trend: websites that espouse anorexia and other eating disorders as a 'lifestyle choice'. Collectively dubbed 'weborexia', these sites are generally created and run by women under the age of 20. They offer a dreadful glimpse into the mindset of eating disorder sufferers. And they could, experts agree, trigger the disease in vulnerable visitors.
Each site provides enough material to keep any parent awake at night. Using their own cosy terminology ('Ana' is anorexia, 'Mia' bulimia) the creators offer tips on how to starve and binge and how to conceal this from family and friends. . . . The tragedy of all this is possibly summed up best by the case of one American girl who established a 'weborexic' site then died because of her eating disorder . . . Vivian Hanson Meehan, Association for Anorexia Nervosa and Associated disorders (Anad) president, confirms that these sites can indeed be deadly . . . So what can be done? Thanks to campaigns from groups like Anad, portals like Yahoo and MSN now take down these websites wherever they appear. But those creating them are adept at dissemblance. Most now use addresses like Totally in Control or Living on Oxygen to conceal their 'pro-Ana' purpose. . . (*Mail & Guardian*, 02 – 07 August 2002, p. 23)

To conclude the discussion of text-linguistic aspects of non-morphematic word-formation processes, a sub-heading which cleverly combines irony with word play (through the homophony of *Y* and *why*, and through the double meaning of the lexeme *man*, that is, ‘male human being’ and ‘human being’). Thus, the combination of the alliterative headline, together with the suggestive sub-heading, manages, in a matter not unlike the one employed in the passage on *Clinterngate*, to summarise the main points of the article to follow. In addition, the pun in the sub-heading creates cataphoric suspense and a ‘light touch’ to offset the rather demanding subject matter discussed in the article.

Making Men

The answer lies in Y

What makes a man? Biologists have long known that the answer lies not in what but in why. . . (*Time*, July 30, 1990, p. 48)

To conclude, it has become apparent, I hope, how non-morphematic word-formation processes, especially certain rather ‘flashy’ shortenings, are

particularly useful for purposes of textuality, both in headlines and in the text, due to their minimalism and the fact that they can incorporate so many various (and, sometimes, divergent) aspects in one handy term.

5.4 Discussion

After the analysis of the final corpus presented in Section 5.3 above, we are now in a position to discuss the findings in the light of the research questions outlined in Section 1.6 and in relation to the literature discussed in Chapters 3 and 4 above.

To begin with, the relative absence, or paucity of occurrences, of onomatopoeia in the final corpus needs some explanation. The reasons for this are as follows:

- in terms of their productivity in present-day English, shortenings clearly outcompete onomatopoeia; this is partly due to the emerging new variety of Netspeak, and partly to a general trend to produce precise and compact designations for new phenomena;

- as far as the corpus is concerned, the relatively weak representation of onomatopoeia is certainly related to the choice of texts for the compilation of the corpus (reflecting the preferred reading matter of the researcher); had comic strips and cartoons featured more extensively on her bookshelves, there would probably have been more onomatopoeic formations in the corpus; and

- despite the fact that onomatopoeia has a tendency to appear in certain text-types rather than in others, I would have made a stronger effort to include more instances of onomatopoeia in the corpus, had I felt that this would have significantly improved the corpus. However, in terms of their semantics, style, textual functions and so on, onomatopoeia does not seem to yield very much.

On the other hand, **elements** of onomatopoeia do appear to accompany non-morphematic (and, indeed, morphematic) word-formation items in context, especially in headlines (“The Success of Excess” and “KU KLUX REDUX”, as well as “Making Men”), and also in slogans like “Slip! Slop! Slap!”, all of which display alliterative or rhyming features.

Secondly, the analysis has validated the taxonomies proposed in Section 3.22 and has shown that they are helpful in generating a general classification of non-morphematic word-formation processes. Should more detail be required, additional structural criteria can be provided (as was done with the corpus with the entries in the field 'structure'). Furthermore, the analysis has shown that 'going beyond structure' in the analysis of non-morphematic word-formation processes provides insights which would otherwise be lost, and that there are certain tendencies, patterns and co-occurrences between the characteristics of non-morphematic word-formation processes which become evident in an interdisciplinary approach.

Some examples show the preference for eye-catching formations, such as blends, in advertising and journalism (*SMART, absa-lute* and *OpporTOMist*), due to their motivational-semantic (and often semiotic) qualities and unconventional structures. On the other hand, acronyms – descriptively complete, but, at the same time, compact and economical – use their loss of motivation for a variety of purposes: euphemistic or obfuscatory (*FLIR*), and pseudo-scientific (*JAVA, JINI, WAP*). If these are the 'prototypical' uses, there are also exceptions to the rule: obfuscatory clippings (*Ana, Mia*), attention-catching blends incorporating acronyms (*Y2.1K*) and doubly motivated abbreviations (*ABC*).

Finally, we are now in a position to review and critique the interdisciplinary model, or 'multi-level approach', as it was called earlier, especially with a view to simplifying and 'streamlining' it, if at all possible. Clearly, certain of the criteria are interrelated (see also Section 4.2 above), and some even overlap, for example, 'motivation', 'semantics' and 'semiotics', or 'style', 'pragmatics' and 'text linguistics'. This became very apparent during the revision of the corpus. Therefore, I decided to present a joint discussion of these 'clusters' of criteria in Section 5.3 above. On the other hand, certain aspects can only be discussed with a fair amount of speculation, for example, 'lexicalisation' and, in particular,

‘productivity’. Consequently, we need to ask whether it is worth retaining these criteria. It appears useful to regroup the criteria slightly, taking into account the grouping into ‘clusters’ in the discussion in Section 5.3 above. This is proposed at this (relatively late) stage, as I decided to maintain the structure of the database once commenced, but I did re-order the criteria slightly for the analysis (see also Section 5.3 above).

On the basis of the above deliberations, we are now in a position to propose a new, simplified model for the analysis of non-morphematic word-formation processes, grouping together related criteria, while, at the same time, maintaining the interdisciplinary and multi-levelled thrust of the approach outlined in Chapter 4. Visualised in tabular form, the revised model comprises the following levels of analysis:

Structure & Modes of Production	✓ Structural Aspects & Word-Formation Potential ✓ Word Class ✓ Medium & Origin
Cognitive Aspects	✓ Semantic, Semiotic & Motivational Aspects ✓ Lexicalisation & Institutionalisation
Functional Aspects	✓ Stylistic & Sociolinguistic Aspects ✓ Pragmatic & Text-linguistic Aspects

Figure 30: The Revised Multi-Level Approach

This model captures all the relevant aspects of its precursor, but it is considerably more manageable and less unwieldy. It is hoped that it will even prove useful for the analysis of more regular, morphematic word-formation processes.

5.5 Conclusion

With its practical outlook, Chapter 5 (the empirical component of the thesis) complements the discussions in the previous chapters: it presented an account

of the history of the corpus of non-morphematic word-formation processes and related it to similar research. Furthermore, it discussed the characteristics and special features of the corpus, including certain problem areas. Finally, the corpus analysis constitutes an application of both the structural and motivational taxonomies presented in Chapter 3 (Section 3.22) and of the programmatic multi-level approach presented and discussed in Chapter 4.

These mutual applications of the taxonomies, the analytical model and the corpus have validated their respective constructs, albeit that there remains room for improvement (which was accommodated in the ‘revised model’). Accordingly, the subsequent critical review of the approach culminated in the proposal of a modified model, the revised multi-level approach (Figure 30 in Section 5.4) for the analysis of non-morphematic (and morphematic?) word-formation processes.

6. Conclusions, Recommendations and Future Research

6.0 Introduction

Non-morphematic word-formation processes, and here especially the various types of shortenings, play an increasingly important role in modern English – and, similarly, in many other languages. Due to their structural irregularity they have been neglected for a long time, which, however, does not do justice to their frequency and other salient characteristics, especially socio-pragmatic and cognitive-motivational aspects of their use and production. Therefore, an interdisciplinary, multi-level and corpus-based approach was adopted in order to obtain a more adequate description of the various facets of their formation, function and use in modern English. This gave us some insights into the modes of production, the productivity and the conditions for use of non-morphematic word-formation processes. The final chapter summarises the argument and the findings, and relates them to the research questions formulated in Section 1.6 at the beginning of the thesis. It concludes with an outline of possibilities for future research.

6.1 Summary of Findings and Outcomes

As indicated before (see, in particular, Sections 1.6 and 1.7 above), the main aim of this study has been to 'rehabilitate' non-morphematic word-formation processes by re-integrating them into mainstream word-formation research. The most important tool in this endeavour was the proposal of a new, interdisciplinary, multi-level approach – the 'programmatic' part of the thesis (see Chapter 4 above).

In order to achieve this overarching aim, the 'niche' literature on non-morphematic word-formation processes – mostly with a structural and taxonomic slant – was reviewed and critiqued, which resulted in the **first outcome** of the study: the proposal of a **new integrated taxonomy** (Figure 21

in Section 3.22.1), accompanied by a **scale of motivation** (Figure 22 in Section 3.22.2), both relating non-morphematic word-formation processes to morphematic word-formation processes.

Based on the hypothesis that non-morphematic word-formation processes can only be described adequately by taking non-structural aspects into account, such as functional and semantic-motivational levels of language description, Chapter 4 programmatically proposed an **interdisciplinary, multi-level approach** (in the sense of an analytical model) for the description of these word-formation processes and developed a number of criteria for their analysis – the **second outcome** of the present study.

As a **third outcome**, a **corpus of non-morphematic word-formation processes** was compiled (see Sections 5.1 and 5.2 for an account of the process), in order to be in a position to test the taxonomies and the interdisciplinary approach. This led to the mutual application of the corpus to the taxonomies and to the multi-level approach in the **corpus analysis** (Sections 5.3 and 5.4) – the **fourth outcome.**

The corpus analysis showed that there are certain patterns of use and characteristics of non-morphematic word-formation, and that certain characteristics tend to co-occur, for example, blends attract attention and are, therefore, popular in headlines and in advertising, sometimes even coupled with onomatopoetic features. Furthermore, an analysis of several advertising and political texts showed that non-morphematic word-formation processes fulfil different functions, depending on the text types in which they are used: acronyms, in particular, are descriptive, comprehensive and precise in scientific and technical texts (occasionally with an ironic slant), yet, at the same time, they provide handy and compact labels. However, they can also be used (and **ab-**used) for rhetorical purposes, in euphemistic and obfuscatory ways, thus having the opposite effect.

Thus, the corpus and its analysis have validated the taxonomies proposed in Chapter 3 (Section 3.22), and the adoption of an interdisciplinary approach to word-formation, and the non-morphematic word-formation processes have been 'rehabilitated' and given their rightful place within the broader picture of English word-formation as a whole. The corpus analysis culminated, finally, in some modifications to the model. On the basis of the application in the corpus study, the multi-level approach was critiqued, and this reflective process resulted in a modified and a **revised model** which was proposed in Chapter 5 (Figure 30 in Section 5.4).

Generally, it can be concluded that non-morphematic word-formation is typical of modern times and life: non-morphematic word-formation processes are colourful and unconventional, handy and precise, attention-getting and often funny. Some of them are instantly lexicalised and no longer perceived as 'special', while others disappear after a short, and sometimes spectacular, appearance. Thus they mirror, in a way, our fast-lived and hectic lifestyle, in which attention, 'packaging' and efficiency seem to be of utmost importance. No wonder then, that many of the patterns are so productive, and that they are popular with journalists and advertising copy writers, scientists and academics in general, politicians, administrators and technocrats, as they fulfil their speakers' communicative needs – the only reason for language change.

6.2 Relevance to Word-Formation in General

Although non-morphematic word-formation differs in a number of ways from morphematic word-formation – there is no denying that the latter is more straightforward structurally, which might tempt the student of word-formation to stop at that level – the interdisciplinary, multi-level and corpus-based approach has shown that it can yield better results and that it can help us to achieve a more complete 'picture' of word-formation, especially with regard to its

sociolinguistic and textual-pragmatic dimensions, than the traditional and purely structural approach.

Furthermore, the new classifications presented in Section 3.22 provide a fresh look at the place of non-morphematic word-formation processes within the discipline of word-formation, taking into account certain similarities between some of the morphematic and non-morphematic word-formation processes, for example, the (mostly) binary structure of blends and clipped compounds, which allows us to place them in the proximity of compounds.

6.3 Recommendations and Future Research

On the basis of the observations made earlier in this chapter, future research should follow a more integrated, interdisciplinary approach to word-formation, taking into account functional and socio-pragmatic aspects of word-formation – be it morphematic or non-morphematic. It is recommended, therefore, to apply the revised multi-level approach not only to 'irregular' formations, but also to word-formation as a whole. If adopted by other researchers, the proposed multi-level approach, it is hoped, will be refined further by colleagues working in the same and related fields.

An interdisciplinary perspective will be particularly revealing and interesting in view of the rapidly changing 'linguistic landscape' in which the present study is located: Netspeak and the question of the medium, aspects like the 'jargonisation' of computer language, while there is, at the same time, an undeniable trend towards 'debunking' computer-related (former) technical terms (thus 'releasing' them into general usage); and finally the need for clarity and precision pulling in one direction, while the economy of space and time is pulling in the opposite direction, all mixed with the desire for attention and spectacular appearances, and the general need for presentation and 'packaging'.

In this context, the functions of words in communication – imparting and highlighting information, condensing it, categorising it, but also veiling it or even distorting it – are of particular importance, and competent speakers need to be aware of the multiplicity of roles words can play in order to act accordingly on the highly commercialised global stage: More than ever, critical competence is needed in order to sift through the flood of information (and misinformation) language users are overwhelmed by as consumers. On the other hand, those who ‘produce’ information need to be informed about the functional load of words in order to use them responsibly and ethically.

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[1] As has become customary in recent research, there is a need to add a disclaimer to bibliographies which make reference to web sites: it should be noted that the web sites indicated in the text and listed in the bibliography are the ones that were used for this study. Unfortunately, it is impossible to predict how long these web sites will remain active.

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Appendix 1: The Full Database ('Mother Corpus')

The following table lists all 757 items and sources of the full ('mother') database. The full inventories of all the corresponding permissible (and used) values in the respective fields of the database structure are listed as Appendix 2 below (see Figure 28: Format of the Database in Section 5.2.1 above, and Section 5.2.2 for a discussion of the values).

In the left-hand column (ITEM), the following notation was adopted: angles, that is, the symbols < and > , indicate the origin of the item, depending on the directionality of the derivative process; square brackets [ ] indicate ellipses, omitted (implied) material, and/or phonetic transcriptions where appropriate; in some cases, additional explanatory information is provided in round brackets ( ). Where this seemed helpful for the explanation of shortenings, capitalisation was used to indicate which parts of the full form went towards the formation of the new form.

As far as the SOURCES (right-hand column) have been abbreviated, the relevant abbreviations are listed in the List of Abbreviations at the beginning of the thesis. It should be noted that some sources are less complete than others. This is due to the fact that some items were "donated" to me by friends, colleagues and family, and they did not always record the full sources. Despite this shortcoming, those items which are of interest to our discussion were included in the corpus. Furthermore, the date structure of the source was retained, that is for British English (which I have chosen as the default option), the structure is day/month/year, for American sources month/day/year, and for German and French sources the structure is day/month/year, with the month as number.

ITEM	SOURCE
(*^o^*) = 'very happy'	McArthur (2000: 4)
:-(= 'frown'	Time, July 4, 1994, p. 43
:-) = 'joy'	Focus, 06.12.93, p. 154f
:-* = 'oops!'	Clubcard, Spring 2001, p. 94
:-D = 'laughter'	Time, July 4, 1994, p. 43
:-o = 'surprise'	Clubcard, Spring 2001, p. 94
:-X = "My lips are sealed"	Time, July 4, 1994, p. 43
;-) = 'wink'	Time, July 4, 1994, p. 43
@ = 'at'	Audra Himes, yourDictionary.com, 18 July 2002

{*} = 'a hug and a kiss'	Clubcard, Spring 2001, p. 94
{:-) = "I'm wearing a toupee"	Time, July 4, 1994, p. 43
=:-| = "I'm a cyberpunk"	Time, July 4, 1994, p. 43
10derly = 'tenderly'	LINGUIST, Oct. 1996
10Q = 'thank you'	Clubcard, Spring 2001, p. 91
1derful = 'wonderful'	LINGUIST, Oct. 1996
2day = 'today'	LINGUIST, Oct. 1996
2gether = 'together'	LINGUIST, Oct. 1996
2morrow = 'tomorrow'	LINGUIST, Oct. 1996
2sum = 'twosome'	LINGUIST, Oct. 1996
3M = 'Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing' (US company)	English Today 33, letter, p. 61
4 2nite = "[Cocktails] for tonight"	drinks menu in Munich bar
4ws = '4-wheel steering'	Time, Sept. 18, 1989, p. 30ff, advert
88 = 'Heil Hitler' (H = 8th letter in alphabet; secret signal/symbol of US skinheads)	Time, Aug. 9, 1993, p. 36
A.B.Air	Munich 1991 (travel agency in Munich)
A.Be.R. = 'Alternative Bus-Reisen'	Munich 1991 (travel agency in Munich)
A/UX = 'Apple Unix'	Unicum 6/92, p. 38
A/X = 'Armani Exchange' (Armani's second label)	Time, Nov 11, 1991, p. 48f
ABB < ASEA + BBC	Wirtschaftswoche/Karriere Nr. 30, 20.07.90, p. K 3
Abba = 'Arbeit für behinderte, benachteiligte Arbeitslose'	Munich 1990s
ABC = 'A Better Chance'	Time, Oct. 5, 1992, p. 55
ABC = 'Anglo-Bavarian Club' (in Munich)	Munich 1992
ABC-Waffen = 'Atomwaffen, Biologische Waffen, Chemische Waffen'	Focus, 22.11.93, p. 53
abortuary < abortion [clinic] + mortuary	The Guardian, 19 Aug. 1993, p. 11
ABR = 'Amtliches Bayerisches Reisebüro'	Munich 1991
Absa-lute < Absa + absolute	Sawubona, April 1998, p. 124
ABSerienmäßig < ABS + serienmäßig	BMW advert in SZ, 31.07.91
ACDC = 'alternating current, direct current' (metaphor for bisexuality)	name of rock band
ACOSS = 'Agence centrale des organismes de sécurité sociale'	Le canard enchaîné, 14.04.91, p. 4
acronymania < acronym + mania	personal communication
acrophobia < acronym + phobia	Time, Aug. 21, 1989, p. 34
ACT UP = 'AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power'	Time, July 16, 1990, p. 38

Adidas < Adi Dassler < Adolf Dassler	brand name
Adjerv < Adjective + Adverb	Radford, 1988, TG, CUP, p. 141
Adjibute < Adjunct + Attribute	Radford, 1988, TG, CUP, p. 255
ADLAS = 'Arbeitsgemeinschaft Deutscher Landes-Aids-Stiftungen'	SZ, 14.07.92, p. 20
adstrubation = 'arousal by advertising and abortuary'	The Guardian, 19 Aug., 1993, p. 11
adultescent < adult + adolescent	The Word Spy, 01 Nov. 1998
Advecter < Advective + Determiner	Radford, 1988, TG, CUP, p. 142
Advective < Adverb + Adjective	Radford, 1988, TG, CUP, p. 141
advertorial < advertisement + editorial	The Guardian, 19 Aug. 1993, p. 11
AdvoCard < Advokat (G) + card (E)	advert on radio, Germany 1990s
AEG = 'Advanced Engineering from Germany'	UK TV advert, 1992
AEG = 'Auspacken, einschalten, geht nicht'	Zeit, 30.04.93, p. 37
affluenza < affluence + influenza	The Guardian, 19 Aug. 1993, p. 11
AfriCAN [solutions] < African + can	SABC
Afrilex = 'African Association for Lexicography'	
AGF = 'Assurances générales de France'	Le canard enchaîné, 14.11.90, p. 6
AICF = 'Aide internationale contre la faim'	Le canard enchaîné, 17.04.91, p. 4
AIDS = 'Acha Inuiwe Dawa Sina' ("I have no medicine, so let it kill me")	Time, July 23, 1990, p. 52
AIDS = 'Acquired Immunity Deficency Syndrome'	Time, July 2, 1990, p. 42/43
AIDS = 'America ignores drugs and sexuality'	NYC, 1993
AIDS-activist	NYC, 1993
AIDS-free	NYC, 1993
AIM < AOL + Instant Messenger	Internet, 2003
airtel < air + hotel, motel etc	personal communication
AJS = 'Association des jeunes contre le sida'	personal communication
AltX = Alternative stock exchange	Mail&Guardian, 27 June 2003 - 3 July 2003
ALVINN = 'Autonomous Land Vehicle in the Neral Network'	Time, Feb. 20, 1995, p. 16
AMADEUS = 'Airline Marketing And Distribution End-User System'	HelpWare 1, summer 1992, S. 10
AmeriCares < America + CARE ('Cooperative for American Relief Everywhere') + s	Time, Dec. 24, 1990, pp. 2 + 32 ff
AMERIKKKA < America + KKK ('Ku Klux Klan')	Tom McArthur, English Today 1, p. 12
AmFAR = 'American Foundation for AIDS Research'	
AMI = 'Aide médicale internationale'	Le canard enchaîné, 17.04.91, p. 4

Amigau < Amigo + Gauweiler	AZ, 09.09.93, p. 3
Amyable < Amy + amiable	Time, Aug. 17, 1992, p. 59, People, headline
Ana < anorexia	Mail&Guardian, 02 - 07 Aug 2002, p. 23
andropause < andro + menopause	The Word Spy, 29 March 1999
Animania < animal + mania	Time, Jan. 19, 1998, p. 49
AOL = 'America Online'	Internet, 1990s
AOR = 'album-oriented rock' radio station	Time, June 10, 1991, p. 44
apart-eyed < apartheit + -eyed ("No more apart-eyed")	AZ, 22.08.90, p. 17
apps < applications	Time, 4 March 2002
Arri < Arnold + Richter	brand name
ARTE = 'Association relative à la Télévision européenne'	SZ, 30./31.05.92, p. 2
ASPEC = 'Adaptive Spectral Perceptual Entropy Coding'	SZ, 04.06.92, p. 48
Attrunct < Attribute + Adjunct	Radford, 1988, TG, CUP, p. 255
AusAID = 'Australian Agency for International Development'	Mail&Guardian, 10 - 18 July 1998, p. 38
auseinandergeraten < auseinander + aneinandergeraten	SZ, 08./09.05.91, p. 1
Aus-some < Australian + awesome	Time, March 1, 1993, p. 54
Austronaut < Austria + Astronaut	
AUT = 'Anonymer Unverknüpfbarer HIV-Test'	Germany 1993
avoision < avoid + evasion	The Word Spy, 21 May 2003
B.O.S. = 'beat on sight'	Time, Aug. 17, 1992, p. 27
BAH = 'Berliner Aids-Hilfe'	Spiegel 42/1992, p. 131
Baires < Buenos Aires	
Bakerloo < Baker Street + Waterloo	London tube station
Balthus < Balthasar [Klossowski de Rola] + us	Time, Oct. 12, 1992, p. 79
BATF = '[the U.S. Treasury's] Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms'	Time, Aug. 12, 1991, p. 47
BBB = security rating 'good' ("BBB is Beautiful")	Time, Aug. 31, 1992, p. 12
bbl = 'be back later'	chat.msn.co.za/features/chatlingo.asp
BCNU = 'be seeing you'	Sky Briefs, July 2000, p. 10
Beamer < BMW = 'Bayerische Motorenwerke'	personal communication
BEASTLEIGH < beastly + Eastleigh	Daily Express, June 10, 1994, headline, front page
BEE-BOOK = 'Bertelsmann Encyclopedic Electronic Book'	HelpWare 1, summer 1992, p. 10
Bennifer < Ben [Affleck] + Jennifer [Lopez]	Time, Sept. 22, 2003, p. 76

Bergatschow < Berghofer + Gorbatschow	SZ, 09.01.92, p. 3
Besserwessi < Besserwisser + Wessi	SZ, 28.1.91, p. 4; 11.12.91, p. 56
Bestsellertristik < Bestseller + Belletristik	SZ, 31.07./01.08.93, p. 17
BHAG = 'a big, hairy, audacious goal'	The Word Spy, 20 June 2003
Big Baghdaddy < Big Daddy + Baghdad	Time, April 7, 2003, p. 52
Big Bang	Time, Aug. 7, 1989, p. 35
Biko < Biedenkopf	SZ, 18.11.91, p. 1
Billary < Bill + Hillary [Clinton]	SZ, 05.11.92, p. 3
BiNet, BiPac = 'politically active networking groups by and for bisexuals'	Time, Aug. 17, 1992, p. 32
biopreneur < biology + entrepreneur	The Guardian, 19 Aug. 1993, p. 11
blaxploitation < black + exploitation	Time, June 17, 1991, p. 45
Blog < weblog	Brad Ross-MacLeod, yourDictionary.com, 04 Feb.2003
bloo < blue + loo	brand name
Bloomie's < Bloomingdales	English Today 9, Jan. 1987, p. 32
BMW = 'Brandt muß weg'	SZ Magazin, 25.06.93, p. 14
BMW = 'Bring mich Werkstatt'	Zeit, 30.04.93, S. 37
BMWenz < BMW + [Merzedes] Benz	SZ, 11.04.91, S. 1
BMW-Typ = 'Bäcker-Metzger-Wirt' [Typ]	Ratgeber Geld, ARD, 20.12.92, 17:00
BOA = 'BRD ohne Armee'	Germany 1992
Boleswa < Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland	
Bollywood < Bombay + Hollywood	Time, May 3, 1993, p. 69, People
Bongo = 'business NGO'	Mail&Guardian Suppl., 22 - 28 Aug. 1997, p. 2
Bootleg CD boom	Time, July 8, 1991, p. 35
BOWIBIPS = 'Born With Best Income Parents'	ZeitMagazin, 18.12.92, p. 10
brb = 'be right back'	chat.msn.co.za/features/chatlingo.asp
BR*D*DR < BRD + DDR	SZ, 14./15.12.91, p. 1
Brit Lit Crit < British literary critic	Time, May 25, 1992, p. 63
Britpop < British pop [music]	Mail&Guardian, Nov. 14 - 20, 1997, p. 34
broccoflower < broccoli + cauliflower	Good Housekeeping, Oct. 1991
Bs.As. < Buenos Aires	
btw = 'by the way'	chat.msn.co.za/features/chatlingo.asp
budget battle	Time, Feb. 11, 1991, p. 31

Budgetel < budget + hotel/motel	hotel chain, USA
BUND = 'Bund für Umwelt und Naturschutz Deutschlands'	
bungaloft < bungalow + loft	The Word Spy, 29 April 2003
Bunker Buster	Time, April, 4,2003, p. 52
buppie < black + yuppie	SZ Magazin, 04.10.91, p. 11
burbulence < burp + burble + turbulence	The Guardian, 19 Aug. 1993, p. 11
Bürotel < Büro + Hotel	SZ, 09.01.92, p. 48
caffree = caffein free	UK
Cal-Asian [cuisine] < California + Asian [cuisine]	Time, Nov. 18, 1991, p. 52
Calexico < California + Mexico	Time, Nov. 25, 1991, p. 59
CALL = 'Computer Assisted Language Learning'	Handke, 1989, Die Neueren Sprachen 88, p. 21
Cambozola < Camembert + Gorgonzola	German cheese brand name
camcorder < [video] cam [era] + [re] corder	
CANDLES = 'Children of Auschwitz Nazi Deadly Lab Experiments Survivors'	SZ, 09.01.92, p. 3
Cansa = 'Cancer Association of South Africa'	
Carey of Canterbury	Time, Aug. 6, 1990, p. 36
Car-Ton < Carter + Clinton	Time, Oct. 24, 1994, p. 9, Letters
CATERAIR < caterer + air[line]	Heathrow Airport, March 1993
CCC = 'Citizens Crime Commission'	Time, Sept. 17, 1990, p. 37
CD-i = 'Compact Disc Interactive'	Philips advert in Time, Nov 29, 1993, p. 4/5
CD-Rom = 'Compact disc read-only memory'	Time, April 22, 1991, p. 9
CD-Rom joint venture	Time, Aug. 17, 1992, p 37
CeBIT = 'Zentrum Büro Information Telekommunikation'	computer fair, Germany
celeb < celebrity; celeb seeker	Time, April 29, 1991, p. 51
celebutante < celebrity + debutante	The Guardian, 19 Aug. 1993, p. 11
CERTESL = 'Certificate in Teaching English as a Second Language'	Mail&Guardian, 10 - 18 July 1998, p. 43
CFS = 'chronic fatigue syndrome'	
Champagne Charlie	Time, July 24, 1989, p. 60
Charmander < charmer + salamander	Time, Nov. 22, 1999, p. 50ff (PokeMania)
Charmeleon < charming chameleon	Time, Nov. 22, 1999, p. 50ff (PokeMania)
chatty-sassy [interview]	Time, May 6, 1991, p. 65 (about Madonna)
chiraclette < Chirac + chier + raclette (also: caninette)	Sunday Independent, 6 July 2003, p. 13

Chococino < Chocolate + Cappuccino ("Cappuccino-Style Instant Hot Chocolate")	brand name
Choc-O-Lait < chocolate + au lait ("hot chocolate with a smooth, milky taste")	brand name
ChubbChubbs	Time, April 7, 2003, p. 52
chuppies < Chinese yuppies	Time, March 5, 1990, p. 39
C-in-C = 'Commander-in-Chief' [sInk, si:Ini:]	Time, Oct. 15, 1990, p. 32
cinemax < cinema + maximum	advert in Time, 2000
Cinnabon < cinnamon + bon	name of bakery chain, USA
Cites = 'Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora'	Mail&Guardian, 20 - 26 June 1997
Citi < Citicorp < city + corporation [bank]	Time, Aug. 12, 1991, p. 56
Classimo < Massimo + Classico	brand name (Italian champagne)
Cles = 'convention libérale européenne et sociale'	Le canard enchaîné, 14.11.90, p. 5
Clinterngate < Clinton + intern + [Water]gate	Mail&Guardian, 30 Jan - 05 Feb 1998, p. 19
Clintessence < Clint [Eastwood] + quintessence	Time, Aug. 17, 1992, p. 1
CLiPs = 'Cognitive Linguistics in Publications'	
clone-dren < clone (s) + children	Time, Nov. 29, 1993, p. 12
CNN = 'Cable News Network'; 'Chicken Noodles Network'	Time, Jan. 6, 1992, p. 25
Coca-Cola classic	brand name
Coca-Colonization < Coca Cola + colonization	Time, Nov. 29, 1993, p. 74
Cocain Kids	Time, Sept. 18, 1989, p. 38
Co-CEO = 'Co-Chief Executive Officer'	Time, Jan. 4, 1993, p. 52
Co-DA = 'Co-Dependents Anonymous'	Time Out, 9 - 16 March, 1994, p. 31
Codesa = 'Convention for a Democratic South Africa'	
COLAS = 'cost of living allowances'	Time, March 23, 1992, p. 21
commie-killer	Time, Sept. 11, 1989, p. 42
comp. lit. = comparative literature	
Comptroller < company controller	Time, Sept. 24, 1990, p. 50
Comp-U-Card (virtual department store)	Focus, 15.08.94, p. 96
CompuServe < computer + service	Focus, 06.12.93, p. 154f
Computicket < computerised ticket [office]	
Conasida = 'National Council for the Prevention and Control of AIDS (=SIDA)' (in Mexico)	Time, June 3, 1991, p. 52
condomania < condom + mania	Time, March 18, 1991, p. 53
Condomat < Kondom + Automat	Germany 1990s

condomnation < condom + condemnation	Time, March 18, 1991, p. 53
Cons Gold < Consolidated Gold [Fields]	Time, July 17, 1989, p. 40
cookie-cutter [subdivisions]	Time, June 10, p. 27
Cosab = 'Council of South African Banks'	
COSATU, Cosatu = 'Congress of South African Trade Unions'	
Cosaw = 'Congress of South African Writers'	
cosmeceuticals < cosmetics + pharmaceuticals	Brigitte 26/93, 15.12.93, p. 66
Cow = 'Coalition of the Willing'; 'Cost of War'	Dr. Language, yourDictionary.com, 05 April 2003
Cowsteau < cow + Cousteau	Time, Dec. 6, 1993, p. 83, People
CreaTV < Creativ + TV = TV production company, Cologne	SZ, 12.05.93, p. 18
cred < credibility	Time, Dec. 15, 1997, p. 63
Cro-Adria < Croatia + Adria = name of Munich company which imports wine from Croatia + Italy	delivery van, Munich, 1992
Croissan'wich < croissant + sandwich	UK 1993
CrossworlD < crossword [puzzle] + world	English Today
CSG = 'contribution sociale généralisée'	Le canard enchaîné, 14.11.90, p. 2
cu = see you	LINGUIST, Oct. 1996
CUC = 'Comp-U-Card' = virtual department store	Focus, 15.08.94, p. 96
Cugie < Xavier Cugat	Time, Nov. 5, 1990, p. 53, Milestones
D.B.W. < D.B. Wijetunga; 'Doing Bloody Well' (Sri Lanka's President)	Time, June 14, 1993, p. 12
D.I.G.N.I.T.Y. = 'Doing in God's Name Incredible Things' (social + health activit group, Arkansas)	Time, Aug. 26, 1991, p. 40
DASA = 'Deutsche Aerospace AG'	
DAT = 'Digital Audio Tapes'	Time, Sept. 18, 1989, Special Adv. Sect., pp. 30ff
DAWN = 'Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era'	French (1992, 1993: 205)
DBSA = 'Development Bank of Southern Africa'	
decaf < decaffeinated [coffee]	USA
deejay < D.J. < disc jockey	
Delite < delight + lite/light	ice cream brand name
Demo-Crazy < democracy + crazy	Time, March 4, 1991, p. 46, headline
Denglisch < Deutsch + Englisch	Germany, 1990s
DeTeWe = 'Deutsche Telephonwerke'	Time, Aug. 30, 1993, p. 18, advert
devil-opment < devil + development	Time, Oct. 14, 1991, p. 8, Letters
dialectionnaire < dialect + dictionnaire	B5 aktuell, 10.12.91

dinks < 'double income no kids'	
diplospeak < diplomatic language	Time, Sept, 17, 1990, p.11
DJane < DJ + Jane (female discjockey)	AZ, 04./05.02.95, p. 3, headline
DKNY = 'Donna Karan, New York'	brand name
DMokratie < DM + Demokratie [,de'emokra'ti:]	German reunification debate, 1990
docudrama < documentary + drama	Time, Aug. 28, 1989; July 16, 1990, p. 50
DOS = 'Disk Operating System'; 'Denial of Service'	Zeit, 30.04.93, p. 37
Dramödie < Drama + Komödie	SZ, 15.01.93, p. 15, headline
Dramolett < Drama + Kabarett	advert in SZ magazine, 24.-30.11.92, p. 6
Drella < Dracula + Cinderella	Time, June 28, 1993, p. 72
DX = 'Daily Express'	trade name
EARN = 'European Academic and Research Network'	HelpWare 1, summer 1992, p. 19
ECOMOG = 'Economic Community Monitoring Group'	Time, Sept.10, 1990, p. 42
ECOWAS = 'Economic Community of West African States'	Time, Sept.10, 1990, p. 42
ECPAT = 'End Child Prostitution in Asian Tourism'	Time, 21 June 1993, p. 44
edutainment = education + entertainment	Time, March 25, 1991, p. 39
eggsessive < eggs + excessive	Time, May 13, 1991, p. 66
eggsit < eggs + exit	Time, May 13, 1991, p. 66
eggstraordinary < eggs + extraordinary	Time, Sept. 22, 2003, p. 76
elefriends < elephant + friends	
emoticon < emotion + icon	
énarque < ENA + sfx = 'Ecole Nationale d'Administration' + sfx (ENA graduate)	Stéphane Gragnic, Langenscheidt, 17.09.93
Endearmints < endearment + mints	brand name
enonymous < e[lectronic] + anonymous	Mail&Guardian, 18 - 24 Feb 2000, p. 47
Epcot = 'Experimental Prototype Community of Tomorrow'	Time, May 27, 1991, p. 52f + July 29, 1991, p. 46
EPIC = 'Electronic Privacy Information Center'	Mail&Guardian, 18 - 24 Feb 2000, p. 47
epos = 'electric point of sale'	The Guardian, 19 Aug. 1993, p. 11
EPROM = 'Erasable Programmable Read Only Memory'	
EP-X = 'Efficient Personal Experimental'	Time, Nov. 4, 1991, p. 37
Escobargaining < Escobar + bargain	Time, Sept. 21, 1992, p. 17
ESPRIT = 'European Strategic Programme for Research and Development in Information'	Time, Nov. 12, 1990, p. 47
e-tail < e[lectronic] + retail	Time, Dec. 27, 1999

Exeggcute < execute + egg(s) + cute	Time, Nov. 22, 1999, p. 50ff (PokeMania)
Exeggutor < executor + egg(s) + cute	Time, Nov. 22, 1999, p. 50ff (PokeMania)
exercycle < exercise + bicycle	
eyerogenous < eye + erogenous	Munich Eyewear advert, Munich, Oct. 94
Faction < Fact + Fiction (narrative style)	Focus, 14.03.94, S. 121
FAIT = 'Families Against Terror and Intimidation'	Die Presse, 27.04.94, p. 5
FAST = 'Federation Against Software Theft'	Evening Standard
FAST = 'Forecasting and Assessment in Science and Technology'	Thiel, p. 117, 132f, 170, 210
FAT = 'File Allocation Table'	HelpWare 1, summer 1992, p. 64
FATS = 'Female Arbitrageurs Traders and Short Sellers'	Faludi (1991, 1992: 91)
Faxcessory < Filofax + Accessory ("The Filofax Specialist")	trade name
FBI = 'Federal Bureau of Investigation' - Fibbies	Time, Feb. 22, 1993, p. 24
FBI = 'Federal Bureau of Investigation' = 'Fidelity, Bravery, Integrity'	stern 16/1993, 15.04.93, p. 231
FEMALE = 'Formerly Employed Mothers at Loose Ends'	Faludi (1991; 1992: 381)
FIAT = 'Fehler in allen Teilen'; 'Fix it again, Tony'	Zeit, 30.04.93, p. 37
Fists of Fury = film title	Time, Aug. 19, 1991, p. 52, People
FLAME = 'Fight Link-Roads And M25 Expansion'	28./29.01.94, Egham, UK
FLIR = 'forward-looking infrared saystem'	Time, Sept. 11, 1995, p. 26/28
FLOPS = 'floating-point operations per second'	Time, Nov. 13, 1995, pp. 16/17
fluffragette < fluff + suffragette	The Word Spy, 23 Jan. 1998
FOI-able = 'Freedom of Information Act + available'	The Word Spy, 11 March 2003
FORD = 'First on recall day'	Zeit, 30.04.93, p. 37
Franglais < Francais + Anglais	Time, July 9, 90, p. 40; Aug 13, 1990, p. 4 Letter
Frenglish < French + English	Time, July 9, 90, p. 40; Aug 13, 1990, p. 4 Letter
frogurt < frozen yoghurt	brand name
Frusli < fruit + muesli	brand name of cereal bar (UK)
FX ['ef 'eks] < effects [I'fekts]	advert, UK TV 1994
G3 < Godfather Part III (film title)	Time, Dec. 24, 1990, pp 52f
Galz = 'Gays and Lesbians of Zimbabwe'	Mail&Guardian, 22 - 28 Sept. 1995, p. 16
GATB = 'General Aptitude Test Battery'	Time, June 3, 1991, p. 57
Gatorland < alligator + Disneyland	Time, May 27, 1991, pp. 51f
GATT = 'General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade'; GATT chat	Time, Nov. 29, 1993, p. 74

Gayle < gay + language	Sunday Independent, 13 July 2003, p. 18
gender-blender [video]	Time, May 6, 1991, p. 65 (about Madonna)
gender-enders (sex-marked suffixes such as -ess, enne, -ix, -ette)	PC-Dictionary
Genderstroika < gender + Perestroika	Time, Dec. 3, 1990, p. 48
GETNET = 'Gender Education and Training Network'	Mail&Guardian, 10 - 18 July 1998, p. 42
GIFT = 'gamete intra-Fallopian transfer'	Time, Sept. 30, 91, p. 48; Nov. 5, 90, p. 44
ginormous < gigantic + ernormous	Radford, 1988, TG, CUP, p. 138
GLAAD = 'Gay and Lesbian Association for Anti-Discrimination'	Time, Feb. 7, 1994, p. 43
glassesnost < glasses + glasnost	AZ, 22.08.90, p. 17
Glemps = 'greyed leisured elderly moneyed people'	profil 12, 21.03.94, p. 47
Globocop Glob	Time, March 23, 1992, p. 14, headline
go-go: "Now the go-go '80s are the go-slow '90s"	Time, June 8, 1992, p. 41, Business
golfabilia < golf + memorabilia	The Guardian, 19 Aug. 1993, p. 11
Gorbimania < Gorbachev + mania	Time, June 26, 1989, p. 6ff; July 17, 1989, p. ii
gr8 < great	chat.msn.co.za/features/chatlingo.asp
graf < paragraph	Hiassen, 1991, Native Tongue, Ballantine, p. 29, 41
GRUMPS = 'Green, Responsible, Unassuming, Moderate, and Poverty Seeking'	ZeitMagazin, 18.12.92, p. 10
gundamentalist < gun + fundamentalist	Time, Nov. 27, 1995, p. 68
guppies = 'gay urban professionals'	Spiegel 42/1992, p. 123
Gystel < Gysi + Diestel	SZ, 03.07.92, p. 6
hamfurter < hamburger + Frankfurter (sausage)	Time, Nov. 18, 1991, p. 58
handicapable [person] < handicap + capable	USA, 1991, Indian Festival, Wisconsin
Hannibal the Cannibal (character in "The Silence of the Lambs")	Time, Feb. 18, 1991, p. 60
HARIBO, Haribo < Hans Rieger, Bonn	brand name
Harleywood < Harley [Davidson] + Hollywood	stern 37, 09.09.93, p. 96f, headline
Hertie < Hermann Tietz	brand name
himbo< him + bimbo	The Word Spy, 24 May, 2002
HOBS = 'Home-Banking-System' (Bank of Scotland)	HelpWare 1, summer 1992, p. 32
Hocus-pocus	Dr. Language, yourDictionary.com, 12 Nov. 2002
Horsea < horsy + sea	Time, Nov. 22, 1999, p. 50ff (PokeMania)
HP-UX < Hewlett Packard + Unix	Unicum 6/92, p. 38
HUD = 'Department of Housing and Urban Development'	Time, June 26, 1989, p. 22

i18n = internationalization = I + 18 letters + n	computer jargon, personal communication
IBM = 'Ich beuge mich'; 'Ich bezahle mehr'; 'Idioten bauen Maschinen'	Zeit, 30.04.93, p. 37
IBM = 'International Business Machines'	HelpWare 3, winter 92/93, p. 2
IBM = 'Itsy-Bitsy Machine'	personal communication
ic = 'I see'	LINGUIST, Oct. 1996
ICQ = ‘I seek you’	McArthur (2000: 4)
IDASA = 'Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa'	
ILEX = 'Integrated Lexicon with Exceptions'	Bulletin 34, DGfS, June 1992, p. 20
imagineer < imagine + engineer	Time, July 29, 1991, p. 45
imagineering < imagination + engineering	AZ, 30.06.90
IMHO = 'In My Humble Opinion'	Time, July 4, 1994, p. 43
IMO = 'In My Opinion'	Time, July 4, 1994, p. 43
InDOpendent < Independent + Dortmund (DO on number plates)	Unicum 6/91, p. 34
infomercial < information + commercial	
Informix < information + mix	advert, 2000
Infotainment < Information + Entertainment	Spiegel 25/1991, 17.06.91, p. 218
INFOTERRA = 'International Environmental Information System'	REINLES News, Nul, Vol 1, No 1, March 1998
Inglish < Indian English	The Star, 17 March 1995
INSPASS = 'Immigration and Naturalization Service Passenger Accelerated Service System'	Time, June 14, 1993, p. 6
INTELLECT = 'INTELligent Lisp'	Handke, 1989, Die Neueren Sprachen 88, 30
INTELTEXT = 'INTELligent TEXT'	Handke, 1989, Die Neueren Sprachen 88, 32
InteracTV	Time, March 26, 2001, Digital Supplement
intrapreneur < intra + entrepreneur	The Guardian, Aug. 19, 1993, p. 11
INXS = 'in excess' (pop group)	Time, Dec. 17, 1990, p. 58
IPO = 'initial public offerings'	Time, Nov. 8, 1993, p. 3, 71, headlines
Iranscam	Time, Nov. 5, 1990, p. 52
IVF = 'in-vitro fertilization'	Time, Sept. 30, 1991, p. 48
J & J = 'Johnson & Johnson'	Time, June 10, 1991, p. 30
Jacko < [Michael] Jackson	Time, Aug. 10, 1992, p. 63
JAMA = 'Journal of the American Medical Association'	Time, March 8, 1993, p. 50
Jantel < Jacke + Mantel	Brigitte 18/91, p. 209
Japlish < Japanese + English	Time, July 9, 1990, p. 40; Aug. 13, 1990, p. 4

JES [jes] = 'Junkies, Ex-User und Substituierte'	SZ, 06./07.07.1991, p. 19
JESSI = 'Joint European Submicron Silicon Initiative'	Time, Nov. 12, 1990, p. 47
JITOL = 'Just In Time Open Learning'	Focus, 24.01.94, p. 106f
k < okay	chat.msn.co.za/features/chatlingo.asp
K = 'one thousand', 'one kilometre'	
KaDeWe = 'Kaufhaus des Westens', Berlin	Berlin 1960ies
Kagee < KG = 'Kommandierender General'	SZ, 08.10.91, p. 3
kair < kare/care + hair	brand name
Kermitterand < Kermit + Mittérand	Time, June 24, 1991, p. 65, People
KeyOsk < key + kiosk	Bloemfontein Key Cutter's (1997)
kidflation < kid + inflation ("inflation that affects toys and children's clothes")	The Guardian, 19 Aug. 1993, p. 11
KidS = 'Kommunikation in der Schule'	Wunderlich (1976: 325)
KIDS = 'Kreativität in der Schule'	DDS, April 1993, p. 6, headline
kidult < kid + adult ("a piece of entertainment ... for children and adults")	The Guardian, 19 Aug. 1993, p. 11
killboard < kill + billboard	Time, Jan 27, 1992, p. 50
Kitz = 'Kindertageszentren'	SZ, 24.06.92, p. 17
Kondompteur < Kondom + Dompteur	Spiegel, Sept. 1992
Kongfrontation < [King] Kong + confrontation	Time, May 27, 1991, p. 50, box
KONVENS = 'KONferenz VErarbeitung Natürlicher Sprache'	Bulletin 34, DGfS, June 1992, p. 72
Koseln = 'Kooperieren von Schülern, Eltern und Lehrern'	SZ, 11.12.92, p. 1
KRAG = 'Kent Rail Action Group'	Evening Standard
KU KLUX REDUX < Ku Klux [Klan] + redux	Time, July 3, 1989, p. 35, headline
KWIC = 'Key Word In Context'	personal communication
KWOC = 'Key Word Out of Context'	personal communication
l8r < later	Clubcard, Spring 2001, p. 91
La Libé < La Libération (newspaper)	Le canard enchaîné, 14.11.90, p. 1
la manif ("Paris-manif: plan anti-casseurs") < manifestation	Le canard enchaîné, 14.11.90, p. 1
la Sécu < la Sécurité Sociale	Le canard enchaîné, 14.04.91, p. 4
LACKtuell < lack + aktuell	SZ, 11.04.91, advert
lad mag < lad + magazine	The Word Spy, 10 March 2003
LAG = 'Legal Action Group'	Evening Standard
Langtag = 'Language Plan Task Group'	Mail&Guardian, 28 June - 04 July 1996, p.11

LASU = 'Linguistics Association of SADC Universities'	LASU Conference Proceedings, Harare 1987
LCN = 'Lesotho Council of Non-Governmental Organisations'	Lesnet, Jan 1998
le déca < le café décafféiné	France
le Gestapiste < Gestapo + -iste (Gestapo = 'Geheime Staatspolizei')	France 1992
Le Nouvel Obs < Le Nouvel Observateur (newspaper)	Le canard enchaîné, 14.11.90, p. 5
le petit déj < le petit déjeuner	France 1994
le(s) Noraf(s) < le(s) Nord-Africain(s)	France 1994
lefty < left-handed person	Time, April 15, 1991, p. 65
LEINET = 'Lesotho Environmental Information Network'	REINLES News, Vol 1, No 1, March 1998
les écolos < les écologistes	Le canard enchaîné, 14.11.90, p. 1
Les Miz < Les Misérables ([lez mIz] vs [le: mi:ze:rabl])	Time, Sept. 2, 1991, p. 67
Let U.B.U. (advertising slogan, USA)	Time, Aug. 28, 1989, p. 23
Lexikalauer < Lexikon/lexikalisch[e] + Kalauer	SZ, 25./26.04.92, headline
lezzies < lesbians	The Guardian, 18 Dec. 1993, p. 8
LiMiD = 'Vereinigung Liberaler Männer in Deutschland'	SZ, 27.01.92, p. 5
LINK = 'Let's Increase Neurofibrosis Knowledge'	Evening Standard
LINKAGE = 'Link Into Kent Action Groups Executive'	Evening Standard
Lisp = 'List Processing Language'	Handke, 1989, Die Neueren Sprachen 88, p. 24
LO < hello	LINGUIST, Oct. 1996
lo cal < low [in] calories	
Lo-CALL < local + low [cost] + [phone] call	BT-advert, GB, 1993
Löger < Löwe + Tigerin	AZ, 29.09.89
LOL = 'Laughing Out Loud'	Time, July 4, 1994, p. 43
loner < lone rangers	Time, June 26, 1989, cover story
Los Diego < Los Angeles + San Diego	Time, June 10, 1991, p. 27
LSD = 'low sexual desire'	Focus, 16.05.94, p. 184
Luppies = 'Lesbian urban professionals'	stern 37, 09.09.93, p. 38
Luxese < Luxus + Askese ("Mal Luxus, mal Askese = Luxese")	SZ, 27.03.92, p. 1
luxmobile < luxury automobile	Time, Sept. 17, 1990, p. 45
LVMH = 'Moet Hennessy-Louis Vuitton'	Time, May 7, 1990, p. 50, trade name
LW2 = 'Leathal Weapon 2'	Time, July 24, 1989, p. 59
LxC = 'Languages Across the Curriculum'	personal e-mail, NY, USA

M.a.C. = 'Menschen am Computer'	advert, 1991
M-19 = 'the April 19th Movement'	Time, Sept. 4, 1989, p. 16
MacDo = 'La Génération MacDo' ('the MacDonald's generation')	Time, Dec. 21, 1992, p. 56
MACHOS = 'Massive Compact Halo Objects'	Time, Jan. 18, 1993, p. 34f
MAD = 'mutual assured destruction'	Time, Sept. 18, 1989, p. 12
Mad Mex[ican]	Time, March 8, 1993, p. 56
MADD < 'Mothers Against Drunk Driving'	personal communication
MAGIC = 'Mothers Against Gangs in Communities' (in article on drug dealers in US)	Time, Sept. 18, 1989, p. 37
MAH = 'Merzedes AG Holding'	
MAN = 'male as norm'	Hellinger (1990: 116)
mango-bango (skidding accidents caused by smashed mangoes)	Time, Nov. 12, 1990, p. 1, Traveler's Advisory
Mani < Armani (Armani's second label)	Time, Nov. 11, 1991, p. 48f
Map = 'Musik-Aids-Prävention'	SZ, 26.11.92, p. 58
Map-TV = 'Mémoires - Archives - Programmes TV'	SZ, 20.08.92, p. 31
Masa = 'Medical Association of South Africa'	
master mole (on Guillaume)	Time, Apr. 2, 1990, p. 16
Mautobahn < Maut + Autobahn	Spiegel advert in SZ, 15.02.93
McBBQ [mäk,bi:bi:'kju:] < McDonald's [hamburger] + barbeque [sauce]	McDonald's TV advert Oct./Nov. 1993, UK
MCC = 'Micro Compact Car' [company]	Time, Oct. 14, 1996
Me2U = 'Me to you'	MTN (RSA) Brochure, Dec 2002
medicide < medical suicide	Time, Feb 1, 1993, p. 17
Medunsa = 'Medical University of South Africa'	
Mello Yello (soft drink brand name)	Time, May 30, 1994, p. 44
Menemies < Menem + enemies	Time, April 8, 1991, p. 35
merchandising moxie	Time, Aug. 26, 1991, p. 51, "Tennis Racket"
merger-manic	Time, Nov. 26, 1990, p. 46
metaphtonymy < metapher + metonymy	personal communication
Metastasi < Metastase + Stasi	SZ, 27.02.92, p. 1
metrosexual < metropolis + hetero-/homosexual	The Word Spy, 04 Sept. 2002
Mia < bulimia	Mail&Guardian, 02 - 07 Aug. 2002, p. 23
Miamamerican < Miami + American	Time, Aug. 19, 1991, p. 47
Microsortof < Microsoft + sort of	Time, Jan. 14, 2002, p. 48

midrats < midnight rations	Time, Nov. 24, 1997, p. 25
mightymouth	Time, July 24, 1989, p. 37
Milkie(s) = 'Modest Introverted Luxury Keeper(s)' + -ie	AZ, 14.10.91, p. 9; 13.08.91, p. 7
MIPS = 'millions of instructions per second'	Time, Nov. 13, 1995, pp. 16/17
MISHAP = 'Missiles High-Speed Assembly Program'	Time, July 28, 1961, p. 39
Moab = 'Massive Ordnance Air Blast'; 'Mother Of All Bombs'	Dr. Language, yourDictionary.com, 31 March 2003
mockumentary < mock + documentary	Time, Jan. 14, 2002, p. 48
model-minority myth	Time, March 25, 1991, p. 59
modem < modulator + demodulator	
money marketplace	Time, Aug. 7, 1989, p. 35
Mooreover < [Suzanne] Moore + moreover	column in The Guardian, 10 June 1994, p. 5
Morph < metamorphosis	Time, July 8, 1991, p. 43, box
MOTest [group] < MOT ('Ministry of Transport') + test [group]	UK 1993
MOTOS = 'Member of the Opposite Sex'	Time, July 4, 1994, p. 43
MOTSS = 'Member of the Same Sex'	Time, July 4, 1994, p. 43
MoVal = 'Moreno Valley' (name of California "boom town")	Time, Nov. 18, 1991, p. 51
movie-marketable [Madonna]	Time, May 6, 1991, p. 65
MOW = 'Movies of the Week'	SZ, 06.07.92, p. 18
MS-DOS: MS ('Microsoft') + DOS ('Disk-Operating System')	name of computer operating system
MSNBC < MSN ("MicroSoft Network') + NBC ('National Broadcasting Corporation')	Internet, 1990s
MST = 'Magical Science Theatre'	Time, Oct. 24, 1994, pp. 76 - 79
MSTies [mIsti:z] < MST + -ies	Time, Oct. 24, 1994, pp. 76 - 79
MUD = 'Multi-User Dungeon'	Time, Sept. 13, 1993, p. 61
MUDder(s) < MUD + -er(s)	Time, Sept. 13, 1993, p. 61
Muppets < marionette + puppet	Time, May 28, 1990, p. 53
mux < multiplexer	Time, Nov. 13, 1995, pp. 16/17
N.A.A.C.P. = 'National Association for the Advancement of Colored People' [en-double-Asi:pi:]	Time, Feb. 13, 1995, p. 32
N.A.A.C.P. Image Awards	Time, Feb. 22, 1993, p. 54
N.W.A. = 'Niggers With Attitude'	Time, May 7, 1990, pp. 46ff
NACOSS = 'National Approval Council for Security Systems'	Good Housekeeping, May 1991, p. 172
NADEL = 'National Association of Democratic Lawyers'	Mail&Guardian, 10 - 18 July 1998, p. 37
NAFO = 'Northwest Atlantic Fishing Organization'	Time, Aug. 7, 1989, p. 39

NAFTA = 'North American Free Trade Agreement'	US advert in BBC1 News, 10 Nov. 1993
namby-pamby	Tannen, D. (1990), You Just Don't Understand, N.Y.
NASA = 'Natal Adult Basic Education Support Agency'	Mail&Guardian, 10 - 18 July 1998, p. 41
Nazty < Nazi + nasty	Focus, 18.04.94, p. 120f
NC-17 [rating] = 'no children, 17 or older' (former 'X' [rating])	Time, Jan. 27, 1992, p. 54; Oct. 8, 1990, p. 43
Netiquette < [Inter]net + etiquette	Time, Dec. 06, 1993, p. 62
netizen < [Inter]net + citizen	Internet, 1999
netrepreneur < [Inter]net + entrepreneur	Internet, 1999
New P.N.G. PM	Time, Aug. 3, 1992, p. 16, headline
NGO = 'non-governmental organisation'	Mail&Guardian Suppl., 22 - 28 Aug 1997, p. 2
NIABY = 'not in anyone's backyard'	Time, Aug. 13, 1990, p. 35
NIMBY = 'not in my backyard'	Time, Aug. 13, 1990, p. 35
Nitty-gritty ("Nitty-gritty Untouchables")	Time, June 26, 1989, p. 49
NOC = 'nonofficial cover' [nok]	Time, Feb. 20, 1995, p. 22f
No-K. = 'not OK'	Time, Aug. 25, 1997, p. 48
noncoms < noncombatants	Time, Feb. 4, 1991, pp. 22/31
Nora < ignorant	Sunday Independent, 13 July 2003, p. 18
now-nowism ("America's tendency to spend frivolously today rather than invest sensibly …")	Time, Apr. 8, 1991, p. 48
NRJ < Energy (radio station)	Munich, 1994
Nuyorican < New York[er] + [Puerto] Rican	Time, Dec. 16, 1991, p. 51
NWO = 'New World Order'	Time, Apr. 1, 1991, p. 21
NYCE = 'New York Currency Exchange'	NYC, USA, 1991
NYSE = 'New York Stock Exchange'	NYC, USA, 1991
O&Y = 'Olympia & York' (company name)	Time, June 8, 1992, p. 41, Business
Oatso Easy < oats + it's so easy	trade name, RSA, 1990s
ODed < overdid	Time, Aug. 28, 1989, p.
OD-ing < overdoing	Stephen Fry, 1991, The Liar, London, p. 24
Oh, Kay < okay < O.K. (name of musical)	Time, Nov .12, 1990, p. 65
Ok	Audra Himes, yourDictionary.com, 06 June 2002
OK soda	Time, May 30,1994, p. 44 - 46
okey-dokey, okay-dokay < okay < O.K.	
OK-ness < OK + -ness	Time, May 30,1994, p. 44 - 46

Omov = 'one member, one vote'	SZ, 10.09.93, p. 3
OpporTOMist < opportunist + [Uncle] Tom	Time, Sept. 16, 1991, p. 36
ops < operations; director of ops	"Sneakers" (film title), US 1993
orature < oral + literature	The Guardian, 19 Aug. 1993, p. 11
Ossi < Ostdeutsche/r	former GDR, 1990s
Ostalgie < Ost + Nostalgie	SZ, 02.09.93, p. 6
outercourse < out + intercourse	The Guardian, 19 Aug. 1993, p. 11
OWLS = 'Oxford English Dictionary Word and Language Service'	COD8, sleeve (with pictogram)
P&ORTSMOUTH < P&O + Portsmouth	advert for P&O Ferries in UK, 1994
p.r. windfall < public relations windfall	Time, Aug. 6, 1990, p. 16
Pädotainment < Pädagogik + Entertainment	AZ, 08./09.12.1990, p. 36
PAL = 'permissive action links'	French (1992, 1993: 162)
palimony [suit] < pal + alimony	personal communication
Pan Am execs < Pan-American Airline executives	Time, July 16, 1990, p. 50
PANSALB = 'Pan South African Language Board'	Mail&Guardian, 28 June - 4 July 1996
parka-and-pants [outfits]	Time, Feb. 4, 1991, p. 51, Business Notes
Parks to the People [program]	Time, April 2, 1990, p. 36, box
PC = 'patriotically correct'	Time, Feb. 3, 1992, p. 46
PC = 'Police Constable'	
PC = 'politically correct'	Time, April 1, 1991, p. 64
PDA = 'personal digital assistant'	Time, Aug. 17, 1992, p. 36
PED XING < pedestrian crossing	
PenPoint (clipboard computer)	Time, Jan. 28, 1991, p. 49
perc < perchloroethylene = PCE	Time, Nov. 30, 1992, p. 24
PEROT-NOIA < Perot + paranoia	Time, Nov. 9, 1992, p. 24, headline
PETA = 'People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals'	Time, Feb. 18, 1994, p. 51, People
photog < photographer	Time, Sept. 15, 1997, p. 44
PIN number = 'Personal Identification Number' number	
pix < pics < pictures	Time, Feb. 1, 1993, p. 48/49, headline
pixel < picture element	
PLAN = 'Prevent Los Angelization Now'	Time, June 10, 1991, p. 27
plunget < plunge + plummet	Time, Jan. 20, 1997, p. 21

PokeMania < Pokemon + Mania	Time, Nov. 22, 1999, p. 50ff
pol < politician	Time, July 30, 1990, pp. 11ff, 13
pong < poetry + song	Time, Dec. 16, 1991, p. 51
POWA = 'People Opposed to Women Abuse'	Drum magazine, October 1995, p. 148
PPF = 'Putting People First' (Clinton's economic programme during his presidential campaign)	Time, Jan. 4, 1993, p. 21
ppl < people	chat.msn.co.za/features/chatlingo.asp
prepped < prepared	Time, Jan. 12, 1998, p. 48
Pretoriastroika < Pretoria + Perestroika	Time, Oct. 22, 1990, p. 26, headline
Prez < President	Time, Oct. 3 + 24, 1994, p. 30 + p. 62, headlines
priviligentsia < privilege + intelligentsia	The Guardian, 19 Aug. 1993, p. 11
PROMETHEUS = 'Progr. for European Traffic with Highest Efficiency + Unprecedented Safety'	HelpWare 4, spring 1993, p. 9
Purex = 'Plutonium-Uranium-Recovery by Extraction'	personal communication
Putt-Putt Golf Courses (club name; headline: "Putt Paradise")	Time, Sept. 11, 1989, p. 41
putt-putting Trabants	Time, Nov. 26, 1990, p. 27
PWAs = 'People With AIDS'	Time Out, 8 - 15 Dec. 1993, p. 154
QBO = 'quasi-biennial oscillation'	Time, July 3, 1989, p. 49
Qualiflyer < qualify/ier + fly/ier	advert in Time, Nov 16, 1992 [Swissair + Austrian Air]
QUANGO, quango = 'Quasi-Autonomous Non-Governmental Organisation'	Mail&Guardian Suppl., 22 - 28 Aug 1997, p. 2
RADAR = 'Royal Association for Disability & Rehabilitation'	The Daily Telegraph, 12 May 1994, p. 4
ragtag ("ragtag rat-pack journalism")	Time, Sept. 10, 1990, p. 56
RaHoWa! = 'Racial Holy War!' (slogan by American skinheads)	Time, Aug. 9, 1993, p. 36
RAID = 'Research, Assistance, Intervention, Dissuasion'	Time, May 24, 1993, p. 28
RAN-TAN-PLAN	Le canard enchaîné, 14.11.90, p. 1, headline
Rapidash < rapid + dash	Time, Nov. 22, 1999, p. 50ff (PokeMania)
Razzmatazz ("Orlando's Razzmatazz")	Time, June 24, 1991, p. 9, Letters
RDS = 'Radio Data System'	Time, Sept 18, 1989, Special Adv. Section, p. 30ff
Ready, Steady ... San FrancisGO	Virgin billboard, London-Heathrow, June 1994
REINLES = 'Renewable Energy Information Network in Lesotho'	REINLES News, Vol. 1, No.1, March 1998
RIEGEROS < Rieger [Pelze] + rigoros	advert in AZ, 04./05.02.95, headline
Right to Read program (Pat Nixon)	Time, April 2, 1990, p. 36, box
rockumentary < rock [music] + documentary	The Guardian, 19 Aug. 1993, p. 11
Romeow < Romeo + miaow	Time, Sept. 24, 1990, p. 72

ROTFL = 'Rolling on the Floor Laughing'	Time, July 4, 1994, p. 43
ROV = 'remotely operated vehicle'	Time, Dec. 17, 1994, p. 43
royoil [royalties] < royal + oil [royalties]	Time, Dec. 19, 1994, p. 76, People
RTFM = 'Read the Fucking Manual'	Time, July 4, 1994, p. 43
Ruthanasia > Richardson + euthanasia	Mail&Guardian, 12 - 18 Dec. 1997, p. 16
S.t.i.f.f. = 'Styling in first fashion'	AZ, 14./15./16.08.92
SAD = 'seasonal affective disorder'	personal communication
SADTU = 'South African Democratic Teachers' Union'	
Safa = 'South African Football Association'	
SAIA = 'South African Insurance Association'	
Sailis = 'South African Institute for Librarianship and Information Science'	
Sale-Abration < sale + celebration	shoe shop advert campaign, Washington, USA, 1990
SANDF = 'South African National Defence Force'	
SANGOCO = 'South African National NGO Coalition'	
SANPAD = 'South Africa-Netherlands Research Programme on Alternatives in Development'	Mail&Guardian, 10 - 18 July 1998, p. 35
Sapa = 'South African Press Agency'	
SAPS = 'South African Police Service'	
SAREIN = 'Southern African Renewable Energy Information Network'	REINLES News, Vol. 1, No. 1, March 1998
Sarfu = 'South African Rugby Football Union'	
Sasa = 'South African Sugar Association'	
Sasco = 'South African Students' Congress'	
SAUTE = 'Swiss Association of University Teachers of English'	
Sauvenay < Sauvignon blanc + Chardonnay	Bellingham white wine blend
saxpatvote < South African + expat[riate] + vote	Mail&Guardian, 17 - 23 Oct. 03, p. 11
saxuality < saxophone + sexuality	Time, Oct. 7, 1991, p. 67
schizo sibs < schizophrenic siblings	Time, Aug. 31, 1992, p. 51
SchreIBMaschine	HelpWare 3, winter 92/93, p. 2, advert
Scorpions < Special Operations	RSA, 2000
SCR = 'Soweto Community Radio'	Mail&Guardian, 19 - 25 Jan. 1996, B5
Scud Stud	Time, April 7, 2003, p. 52
Sdoos < SDUs = 'self-defence units'	Mail&Guardian, 22 - 28 Sept. 1995, p. 10
Seadra < sea + dragon	Time, Nov. 22, 1999, p. 50ff (PokeMania)

securocrat < secur[ity] + o + -crat	Time, Sept. 10, 1990, p. 44
Seifsa = 'Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of South Africa'	
SenSATionen < Sensation + SAT 1 (SAT 1 = TV channel)	SZ, 20./21.02.93, p. 148
SERMS = 'selective estrogen response modulators'	Time, Dec. 15, 1997, p. 53
sexiled < sex + exiled	Time, Sept. 5, 1994, p. 55, People, headline
SHARE = 'The Foundation for the Self Healing AIDS Related Experiment'	personal communication
SHARP = 'SkinHeads Against Racial Prejudice'	Time, Aug. 9, 1993, p. 36
shocks < shock absorbers	
Shoetique < shoe + boutique ("A Chic Shoetique")	name of shoe shop
Showkolade < Show + Schokolade	SZ, 25,08.93, p. 14
Shuffle Shambles	Time, Aug. 7, 1989, p. 8, headline
Sicko Jacko, Wacko Jacko (Michael Jackson)	Time, Sept. 6, 1993, p. 22
SimEarth < Simulation + Earth	Time, Dec. 24, 1990, p. 50
Sinatra Seven ('Group of Seven' who followed the Sinatra Doctrine "I did it my way")	Time, July 23, 1990, p. 10
Singlish < Singapore + English	
SINIX < Siemens + Unix	UNICUM 6/92, p. 38
sk8er < 'skater'	2002, music scene, Internet
SKIPPIES = 'School Kids with Income and Purchasing Power'	ZeitMagazin, 18.12.92, p. 10; AZ, 30.8.90, p. 4
slambang ("rueful musings on human nature rather than slambang confrontations or surprises")	Time, Sept. 18, 1989, p. 41
SLIP! SLOP! SLAP! ('Slip on a shirt. Slop on some sunscreen. Slap on a hat.")	Time, July 30, 1990, p. 52
sly Di	Time, Jan. 25, 1993, p. 55
SMART = 'Swatch, Mercedes & art'	Time, Oct. 14, 1996
SMS = 'Short Message Service'	1990s, cell phone technology
snackwich < snack + sandwich	trade name, London 1992
Snafu = 'situation normal, all fouled up'	Dr. Language, yourDictionary.com, 19 June 2002
snail-mail	Time, Nov. 13, 1995, pp. 16/17
snool < snivel + drool?	Dr. Language, yourDictionary.com, 24 Oct. 2002
sonar = 'sound navigation and ranging'	Time, March 5, 1990, p. 54, box
Soul II Soul (name of pop group	Time, Aug. 13, 1990, p. 43
Sowetan < Soweto/SoWeTo ('South-West Townships') + -an	newspaper
SPDS < SPD + PDS (political parties)	Focus, 01.08.94, p. 29
Spoos < SPUs = ' self-protection units'	Mail&Guardian, 22 - 28 Sept. 1995, p. 10

spork < spoon + fork	personal communication
SRAM(s) = 'Static random-access-memory chip(s)'	Time, Nov. 12, 1990, p. 47
SSAWS = 'Spring, Summer, Autumn, Winter Snow' (indoor ski slope)	Time, Aug. 2, 1993, p. 43
SSS = 'Simplified Spelling Society'	English Today 33, letter, p. 61
stalkerazzi < stalk + paparazzi	Time, Sept. 15, 1997, p. 44
standpoint of view < standpoint + point of view	J. Coates, 1986, Women, men..., Ldn, p. 113
Stormin' Norman (General Norman Schwarzkopf)	Time, May 13, 1991, p. 46; Feb. 4, 1991, p. 20ff
stutter step (metaphor for "output pause")	Time, Aug. 07, 1989, p. 33
suisside < Suisse + suicide	Time, Aug. 12, 1991, p. 18
SUV = 'sport-utility vehicle'	Time, Jan.19, 1998, p. 45
Swatch < Swiss + watch	brand name
SWATCHISSIMO < (Swiss + watch) + [brav]-issimo	celebrating 10 years of SWATCH
T/PIX = 'Toshiba Unix'	Unicum 6/92, p. 38
T2 [ti: tu:] < Terminator 2	Time, July 8, 1991, p. 42/43
Taiex < Tai[wan/pei] [Stock] Ex[change] [Index]	Time, Sept. 24, 1990, p. 52
tax avoision < tax avoidance + [tax] evasion	Mail&Guardian, 14 - 20 June 1996, B2
TCK = 'Third Culture Kids'	Time, March 1, 1993, p. 7, Letters
Teasy < Tea + easy	brand name of instant tea, 1994
techie types < technology + type(s)	Time, Aug. 12, 1991, p. 57
techies < technics/technicians	Time, Sept. 28, 1992, p. 3, 67
temptational < temptation + sensational	personal communication
TESSA = 'Tax Exempt Special Savings Account'	Good Housekeeping, May 1991, p. 172
TeSWeST = 'Textstruktur/Weltstruktur-Theorie'	Beaugrande/Dressler (1981: 27)
TGV = 'Train à grande vitesse'; Texas TGV	Time, June 10, 1991, p. 33
The Beaver < Lord Beaverbrook	Time, Aug. 26, 1991, p. 52
the burbs < the suburbs	Paretzky, S., 1988, Blood Shot, New York, p. 68
the 'Butcher of Bagdad' (Saddam Hussein)	Time, Feb. 4, 1991, p. 21
The WELL = 'The Whole Earth 'Lectronic Link' (virtual community of cyberpunks)	Time, March 1, 1991, p. 49
thinspirations < thin + inspiration/aspirations	Mail&Guardian, 02 - 07 Aug. 2002, p. 23
THRO = 'Throw the Hypocritical Rascals Out!' (Ross Perot's campaign slogan)	Time, July 13, 1992, p. 34
tip-top tap numbers (on tap dancing)	Time, Nov. 12, 1990, p. 65
TKTS [kiosk] < tickets [kiosk] (Times Square, New York)	Time, March 9, 1992, p. 4

to celeb < celeb	The Word Spy, 11 April 2003
to criss-cross < criss-cross	Time, March 19, 1990, p. 44
to DHL < DHL	
to e-mail < e-mail ('electronic mail')	personal e-mail communication 1996
to epos < epos ('electric point of sale')	The Guardian, 19 Aug. 1993, p. 11
to lase < laser ('light amplification through stimulated emission of radiation')	
to okay < okay < o.k. < O.K.	Time, July 10, 1989, p. 33
to R.S.V.P.; R.S.V.P.ed < répondez, s'il-vous-plaît	Time, Aug. 6, 1990, p. 16; Aug. 26, 1991, p. 50
to reverb < (to) reverberate	Time, Nov. 29, 1993, p. 81
to temp < temp	Time, March 1, 1993, p. 53; April 19, 1993, p. 56f
to TKO < technical KO ('knock-out')	Time, April 22, 1991, p. 51
tofurkey < tofu + turkey	The Word Spy, 14 Dec. 1999
toons, 'toons < cartoons	Time, Sept. 21, 1992, pp. 50f
top = 'termination of pregnancy'	Mail&Guardian, 14 - 20 Nov. 1997, p. 6
touron < tourist + moron	The Word Spy, 26 March 2003
toy-boy	Time, Feb. 18, 1991, p. 59
Traforma-SA = 'Transformation Forum of Africa-SA'	Mail&Guardian, 8 - 14 May 1998, p. 3
triple-A = AAA [triple-A] = 'anti-aircraft artillery'	Time, Sept. 11, 1995, pp. 26/28
truste < trust + e[lectronic]	Mail&Guardian, 18 - 24 Feb. 2000, p. 47
T-shaped ("having skills and knowledge that are both deep and broad")	The Word Spy, 08 Oct. 2003
T-shirt-able (can be printed as a slogan or logo on a T-shirt)	The Word Spy, 10 July 2003
tunnel tigers (workers on the Chunnel project)	Time, Nov. 12, 1990, p. 15
turducken < turkey + duck + en	The Word Spy, 04 April 2003
TW3 = 'that was the week that was' (3 times 'tw'; TV programme)	personal communication
tx = 'thanks'	chat.msn.co.za/features/chatlingo.asp
ty = 'thank you'	chat.msn.co.za/features/chatlingo.asp
type T personality (thrill-seeking personality)	The Word Spy, 03 April 2003
U2 [ju: tu:] (pop group)	Time, Aug. 13, 1990, p. 43
Uh-Oh (title of book)	Time, Aug. 26, 1991, p. 52
umpspeak < umpire + speak	Time, July 17, 1989, p. 49, People
un-PC = 'politically incorrect'	Time Out, 4 - 11 May 1994, p. 24
unpresidented < unprecedented + president	Time, Nov. 27, 2000, title page

UNPROFOR = 'United Nations Protection Force'	SZ, 30.03.92, p. 2
unzusammenhangslos < unzusammenhängend + zusammenhangslos	personal communication
USAID = 'U.S. Agency for International Development'	Time, Aug. 21, 1989, p. 22
V2 (Versace's second label)	Time, Nov. 11, 1991, p. 48f
VAG, V.A.G. = VW-Audi + AG (Volkswagen-Audi + Aktiengesellschaft); V.A.G.leasing	
veejay < video jockey	Time, July 20, 1992, p. 56
Venusaur < Venus dinosaur	Time, Nov. 22, 1999, p. 50ff (PokeMania)
video-vérité [program] (US TV show based on real-life homicide detectives in Baltimore)	Time, Feb. 15, 1993, p. 59
view[z] = 'VIenna English Working paperS'	name of linguistics journal
VoS = 'Voice of Soweto'	Mail&Guardian, 19 - 25 Jan. 1996, B5
WAP = 'wireless access protocol'	advert, 2000
wax sax < wax saxophone	Time, Feb 1, 1993, p. 11, picture
weborexia < web + anorexia	Mail&Guardian, 02 - 07 Aug. 2002, p. 23
weensy wisdom	Time, Aug 26, 1991, p. 52
Wessi < Westdeutsche/r	former GDR, 1990s
WHAT! = 'Westminster HIV & AIDS team'	Time Out, 18 - 25 May 1994, p. 13
whitemare < white + nightmare	Time, May 3, 1993, p. 54
whizzo < WSO ('weapons system officer')	Time, Sept. 11, 1995, p. 26/28
whoosh ("whooshing down manicured slopes...")	Time, Feb. 4, 1991, p. 51, Business Notes
Wimp [way] = 'windows, icons, menus and point-and-click'	Mail&Guardian, 30 Jan. - 05 Feb. 1998, p. 21
WIMPS = 'Weakly Interacting Massive Particles'	Time, Jan. 18, 1993, p. 34f
WMC = 'White Male Candidate'	Time, Sept. 10, 1990, p. 50
wopsie < WPC ('Woman Police Constable')	personal communication
WORM = 'Write Once Read Many times'	HelpWare 1, summer 1992, p. 64
Wossi < Wessi + Ossi	SZ, 11.11.91, p. 1
X-Cavators < Excavators	advert in Time, Apr. 30, 1990, p. 38
XS ['eks 'es] < excess [Ik'ses]	perfume name
XT = 'Extended Technology'	computer generation
XTC ['eks 'ti 'si] < exstacy ['ekstIsi]	Cosmopolitan RSA 14/8, Oct. 1997, p. 201, advert
Y < YMCA ('Young Men's Christian Association'); pl. Ys	
Y = 'Y chromosome'	Time, July 30, p. 1990, p. 48
Y2.1K [compliant] < Year 2000 + 2.1 [compliant]	Time 2000, advert

Y-CHOPS = 'Young Community Home-Owning Parents'	Time, Nov. 18, 1991, p. 51
Yenaggedon < Yen + Armaggedon	Time, Aug. 23, 1993, p. 6, Week, headline
Yiffies = 'Young Individualistic Freedom-Minded Few'	AZ, 14.10.91, p. 9
YSL = 'Yves Saint Laurent'	Time, July 17, 1989, p. 40
yummies = 'young upwardly mobile Marxists' + ies	Time, June 21, 1993, p. 50
yuppies < 'young urban/upwardly mobile professional people' + ies	
yuppification < yuppie + -ification	
yw = 'you're welcome'	chat.msn.co.za/features/chatlingo.asp
YYY: code for 'alcoholic'	SZ, 19./20.05.93, p. 6
ZIFT = 'zygote intra-Fallopian transfer'	Time, Sept. 30, 91, p. 48; 5 Nov. 1990, p. 44
ZipLip < zip + lip(s)	Mail&Guardian, 18-24 Feb. 2000, p. 47
Zooropa < Zoo + Europa ("... U2's Zooropa tour ...")	Time, Aug. 23, 1993, p. 51, People

Appendix 2: Permissible Values in the Full Database

Below are the full inventories of all the permissible (and used) values in the respective fields of the database structure (see Figure 28: Format of the Database in Section 5.2.1 above). These values apply to the full ('mother') database, which is listed as Appendix 1 above. For a discussion of the values see Section 5.2.2.

ITEM
Example + 'full form'

SOURCE
Source in which ITEM was found

WF TYPE
abbr
acro
acro/abbr
allit
backformation
blend
clipped cpd
clipping
conversion
cpd
ellipsis
emoticon
imit
phrase
prefix
reduplication
rhyme
sound symbolism
suffix
symbol

SUBTYPE
abbr
ablaut
acro
acro/blend
allit
allit + rhyme
allit, ablaut
back
back + fore
clipped cpd
comb form + fin spl
cont abbr
cont abbr, acro
cont ablaut
cont acro
cont acros
cont allit, clipping
cont allit, rhyme
cont allit, rhyme, ellipsis
cont blend
cont blend, allit
cont clipped cpd
cont clipping
cont clipping, rhyme
cont number
cont rhyme + allit
cont sound symbolism
cont symbol
contamination
ellipsis
ellipsis + fin spl
fin spl + fin spl
fin spl + word
fore
graphic
imit
ini spl + abbr
ini spl + acro
ini spl + comb form
ini spl + ellipsis
ini spl + fin spl
ini spl + ini spl
ini spl + phr
ini spl + word
metaphor
mid
mid + end
mid + fin spl
numbers
permutation
phonet, telescope
phrase
prefix
pseudo-acro
redupl
rhyme
rhyme + rhythm
suffix
syllable
syllable + letter
syllable + phrase
syllables
symbol
telescope
telescope, cont abbr
telescope, cont imit
word + fin spl
word + ini spl
word + phrase
word + spl

STRUCTURE
+ i
+ i, analogy
+ ie, allit
+ ies
+ o
+ o, rhyme

+ us
+ y
+ y/ie, spelling
< 1 cpd
< 1 name
< 1 word
< 1 word, graphic
< 2 clippings
< 2 inis, phoneticised
< 3 constituents
< abbr + abbr, graphic
< clipped cpd
< cpd
< enumeration
< enumeration, spelling
< F name, pron, spelling
< name
< name + ie
< name + last name
< name + o
< name, graphic
< name, inis, spelling, ampersand
< name, overlap
< name, permutation
< name, re-interpretation
< name, spelling
< phrase
< phrase + n
< phrase, 1 ini (+ word) x 2
< phrase, 2 inis < 1 word
< phrase, address
< phrase, all inis
< phrase, allit
< phrase, allit < number
< phrase, analogy
< phrase, cont abbr
< phrase, cont abbr + number
< phrase, cont name
< phrase, ellipsis
< phrase, intentional
< phrase, name
< phrase, not all inis
< phrase, not only inis
< phrase, phoneticised
< phrase, plural
< phrase, pron
< phrase, slogan
< phrase, spelling
< phrase, syllable + inis, spelling

< phrase, word + inis
< plural, spelling
< pseudo-homonyms
1 letter
2 ini spl + fin spl
2 ini spl + fin spl, overlap
2 inis < 1 cpd
2 inis, homonym
2 letters for 1 word
2 words
3 constituents
3 ini spl, rhyme, graphic
abbr + abbr
abbr = phoneticised
abbr, phoneticised, spelling
acro < conv < clipped cpd
allit
allit in full form
allit, ablaut
allit, overlap, cont name
allit, plural
allit, spelling
analogy
analogy, homonym
analogy: e-mail
analogy: KWIC
analogy: motel
analogy: NATO
analogy: radar
analogy: Yuppies
analogy: Yuppies < phrase
article, pron < phrase
capitalisation, overlap
code
cont 2 names
cont abbr
cont abbr + abbr, contradictory terms
cont abbr + name + abbr, spelling
cont abbr < phrase
cont abbr, graphic
cont abbr, graphic, analogy
cont abbr, names
cont abbr, pron, spelling, graphic
cont abbr, spelling
cont abbr, spelling pron
cont acro
cont acro (= name)
cont acro < phrase, homonymy VPC
cont acro, analogy

cont acro, graphic
cont acro, pron
cont acro, spelling
cont acro, syllable + inis, graphic
cont blend
cont blend < name
cont blend, names
cont blend, names, word
cont clipping
cont clipping < phrase
cont clipping, graphic
cont name
cont name < phrase
cont name, cont abbr, cont acro
cont name, graphic
cont name, graphic, overlap
cont name/abbr
cont name/abbr, spelling
cont number
cont number, spelling, graphic
cont reduplication
cont syllable
cont syllable acro
cont syllable, analogy: SAREIN
cont syllable, overlap
cont syllables
cont syllables, not all inis
cont symbol
contamination
contradictory terms
dm < base
dm = abbr
dm = last ini
dm = spelling
dt = abbr, spelling
dt = acro
E word + Russ spl
ellipsis
ellipsis < name
ellipsis, metonymy
end-clipping
enumeration, pron, spelling
fin spl + word
fin spl = abbr
G + E
graphic
graphic, cont name
graphic, cont name, cont abbr
graphic, cont name, cont acro

graphic, ironic, phonetic
graphic, N + name
graphic, overlap
graphic, overlap, cont name
graphic, overlap, cont names
graphic, phonetic, spelling
graphic, phoneticised
graphic, pron, spelling
graphic, written, cont name/acro
homonym
homonym: 1 const
homonym: name
homophony: cidre
in allit cpd
in allit phrase, graphic
in cpd
in phrase
inflected
ini + number
ini + number of missing letters + letter
ini + number, spelling pron
ini spl + fin spl
ini spl + word
ini spl + word, graphic
ini spl = abbr
ini spl = name, overlap
inis + s
metaphor
name
name + name
name + onomatopoeia, imit
name + word, graphic
name, overlap
names
netcronym
not all inis
not all inis, < phrase
not all inis, not only inis
not only inis
number
number, graphic
numbers for letters
overlap
overlap + comb form
overlap, cont acro + abbr
overlap, cont name, comb form
overlap, cont name, spelling
overlap, cont names
overlap, cpd + phrase

overlap, fin spl: permutation
overlap, graphic
overlap, sfx
overlap, sound symbolic
overlap, spelling
overlap, spelling, cont names
overlap, written
permutation
phonaestheme
phonetic
phoneticised
phoneticised abbr + name
phoneticised, analogy
phoneticised, homonymised
phoneticised, spelling
phoneticised, spelling pron
phrase
playful
plural
plural, cont name
plural, spelling
pron
pron, abbr = full form, graphic
pron, spelling
pseudo-abbr, cf ABR
pseudo-abbr, graphic
pseudo-cpd, cont abbr, spelling
pseudo-plural
pseudo-reduplication
punctuation marks
quasi-homonym
reductive blend: loss of ini
re-interpretation

re-interpretation, analogy
re-interpretation, analogy, homonym
re-interpretation, phrase
re-interpretation, spelling
rhyme, spelling
spelling
spelling pron
spelling, 2 words
spelling, analogy
spelling, cont abbr
spelling, cont abbr, graphic
spelling, cont names
spelling, graphic
spelling, homonymy/clipping
spelling, name
spelling, pron
spelling, written
spelling: hyphen, plural
spl + word
stress, pron
syllable
syllable + inis
syllable + inis, spelling
symbol
symbol + 2 inis
symbol, spelling
vowel repetition
vs photo
word + fin spl
word + spl
written

MOTIVATION
allit
allit, rhyme
graphic
iconic
iconic, symbol
imit
loss of mot
loss of mot, homonymy
loss of mot, homonymy, obfusc
loss of mot, homonymy, triple
loss of mot, homophony
loss of mot, homophony, triple
loss of mot, partial homophony
loss of mot, phonetic, allit

loss of mot, pseudo-homonymy
loss of mot, pseudo-homophony
loss of mot, symbol
loss of mot, symbol, obfusc
mot
mot, allit
mot, allit, rhyme
mot, analogy
mot, antonymy
mot, graphic
mot, graphic, iconic
mot, homonymy
mot, homophony
mot, iconic
mot, imit

mot, irony
mot, partial homonymy
mot, phonetic
mot, play
mot, play, allit
mot, playful
mot, pseudo-homonymy
mot, pseudo-homophony
mot, redupl
mot, rhyme
mot, symbol

partial
partial, euph
phonetic
re-interpretation
symbol
transparent
transparent, allit
triple

WORD CLASS			
A	N	N<A	V
A, adv	N, A	name	V<A
adv	N, V	phrase	V<N
	N+A=A	prp	

WF BASIS		
	analogy, cpd	prfx
acro	blend	redupl
acro, cpd	conv	sfx
analogy	conv, sfx	sfx, analogy
analogy, acro, cpd	cpd	
	cpd, sfx	

ORIGIN			
Afr	E, G	GDR	RSA
Austr	Ex-GDR	I	Sp
Can	F	India	UK
E	F, E	Jap	US
E, F	F, US	Ls	Zim
	G	NZ	

MEDIUM			
	e	oral	writ

STYLE			
advert	coll, play	law	tech
baby	coll, tech	media	tech, joc
coll	derog	name	
coll, joc	infml	neutr	
	joc	sl	

INTERNATIONALISM	
	no
	yes

SEMANTICS		
admin	architecture	economics, technology
admin, name	business	edu
admin, traffic	business, IT	edu, IT
advert	coll	edu, lx
advert, name	ecology	edu, tech
advert, tech	economics	food
	economics, politics	general

geography
inst
internat economics
internat org
internat org, ecology
internat org, politics
internat org, science
internat politics
Internet
Internet, SMS
irony
IT
IT, business
IT, irony
law
lit
lx

lx, IT
lx, name
media
media, advert
media, irony
media, lit
media, sports
media, tech
medical
military
military, politics
military, tech
name
name, advert
name, comics
name, economics
name, edu

name, irony
name, media
org
org, medical
org, society
politics
religion
science
society
society, obfusc
sports
tech
tech, traffic
traffic
travel

SEMIOTICS
blend
blend, graphic

blend, phonetic
graphic
iconic
phonetic

phonetic, graphic
symbol

LEXICALISATION

ad hoc
effect

inst
inst?

lex

PRODUCTIVITY

analogy
prod

unprod

PRAGMATICS
attention
attention, condensation
attention, condensation, context
attention, condensation, context, euphemism
attention, condensation, context, naming
attention, condensation, euphemism
attention, condensation, irony, naming
attention, condensation, naming
attention, context
attention, context, euphemism
attention, context, naming
attention, irony
attention, irony, naming
attention, naming
children, naming
condensation
condensation, context
condensation, context, euphemism, naming

condensation, context, irony
condensation, context, irony, naming
condensation, context, naming
condensation, euphemism, irony, naming
condensation, euphemism, naming
condensation, irony
condensation, irony, naming
condensation, naming
contamination
context
context, euphemism
context, euphemism, naming
context, irony
context, irony, naming
context, naming
euphemism, naming
irony
irony, naming
naming

TEXT LINGUISTICS
advert
advert, attention
advert, economy
advert, economy, name
attention
attention, economy
attention, economy, headline
attention, economy, journalism
attention, economy, name
attention, headline, journalism
attention, irony, journalism
attention, journalism
attention, journalism, text-type
attention, name
attention, text-type
caption
economy
economy, headline
economy, headline, journalism
economy, irony, journalism
economy, irony, name
economy, journalism
economy, name
economy, name, headline
economy, name, obfuscation
economy, name, text-type
economy, obfuscation
economy, pronominalisation
economy, text-type
headline
headline, journalism
headline, journalism, text-type
irony, journalism
journalism
name
slogan
text-type
title

OTHER LG
Afr
E < F
E < G
E vs G
E, F, G
Ex-GDR
F < E
F < G
F, E
G
G < E
G, E
G, E vs F
G, F, E
G, F, Russ
GDR
I, G
Jap, E
Sp
Swiss

NOTES
Full-text co-text where available

Appendix 3: The Final Corpus

For ease of reference, the following table lists all the ITEMS of the final corpus in alphabetical form. For the complete final corpus, including the values entered into the descriptive fields, the reader is referred to Appendix 4.

ITEM
88 = 'Heil Hitler' (H = 8th letter in alphabet; secret signal/symbol of US skinheads)
ABB < ASEA + BBC
ABC = 'A Better Chance' [program]
ACOSS = 'Agence centrale des organismes de sécurité sociale'
adultescent < adult + adolescent
advertorial < advertisement + editorial
affluenza < affluence + influenza
AIDS = 'Acha Inuiwe Dawa Sina' ("I have no medicine, so let it kill me")
AIDS = 'Acquired Immunity Deficency Syndrome'
ALVINN = 'Autonomous Land Vehicle in the Neral Network'
Ana < anorexia
Animania < animal + mania
apps < applications
BBB = security rating 'good'
Bennifer < Ben [Affleck] + Jennifer [Lopez]
Besserwessi < Besserwisser + Wessi
BHAG = 'a big, hairy, audacious goal'
Big Baghdaddy < Big Daddy + Baghdad
Blog < weblog
Bollywood < Bombay + Hollywood
Bongo = 'business NGO'
broccoflower < broccoli + cauliflower
budget battle
Bunker Buster
burbulence < burp + burble + turbulence
Car-Ton < Carter + Clinton
CD-Rom joint venture
celebutante < celebrity + debutante
chiraclette < Chirac + chier + raclette (also: caninette)
ChubbChubbs
cinemax < cinema + maximum
Cites = 'Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora'
Clinterngate < Clinton + intern + [Water]gate
Clintessence < Clint [Eastwood] + quintessence
clone-dren < clone (s) + children
CNN = 'Cable News Network'; 'Chicken Noodles Network'
Coca-Colonization < Coca Cola + colonization
Cow = 'Coalition of the Willing'; 'Cost of War'
Cowsteau < cow + Cousteau
D.B.W. < D.B. Wijetunga; 'Doing Bloody Well' (Sri Lanka's President)
Demo-Crazy < democracy + crazy
eggsessive < eggs + excessive

eggstraordinary < eggs + extraordinary
Epcot = 'Experimental Prototype Community of Tomorrow'
EP-X = 'Efficient Personal Experimental'
ESPRIT = 'European Strategic Programme for Research and Development in Information‘
FBI = 'Federal Bureau of Investigation' - Fibbies
FLIR = 'forward-looking infrared system'
fluffragette < fluff + suffragette
FOI-able = 'Freedom of Information Act + available'
Franglais < Francais + Anglais
Frenglish < French + English
Globocop Glob
gundamentalist < gun + fundamentalist
himbo< him + bimbo
Imagineer < imagine + engineer
Inglish < Indian English
INSPASS = 'Immigration and Naturalization Service Passenger Accelerated Service System'
InteracTV
intrapreneur < intra + entrepreneur
INXS = 'in excess' (pop group)
IPO = 'initial public offerings'
killboard < kill + billboard
Kongfrontation < [King] Kong + confrontation
KU KLUX REDUX < Ku Klux [Klan] + redux
lad mag < lad + magazine
LEINET = 'Lesotho Environmental Information Network'
Lo-CALL < local + low [cost] + [phone] call
Los Diego < Los Angeles + San Diego
mango-bango (skidding accidents caused by smashed mangoes)
metrosexual < metropolis + hetero-/homosexual
Mia < bulimia
Miamamerican < Miami + American
Microsortof < Microsoft + sort of
midrats < midnight rations
Moab = 'Massive Ordnance Air Blast'; 'Mother Of All Bombs’
mockumentary < mock + documentary
model-minority myth
MST = 'Magical Science Theatre'
MSTies [mIsti:z] < MST + -ies
MUD = 'Multi-User Dungeon'
Muppets < marionette + puppet
NAFTA = 'North American Free Trade Agreement'
NC-17 [rating] = 'no children, 17 or older' (former 'X' [rating])
Netiquette < [Inter]net + etiquette
New P.N.G. PM
NGO = 'non-governmental organisation'
NIMBY = 'not in my backyard'
NOC = 'nonofficial cover' [nok]
No-K. = 'not OK'
Nuyorican < New York[er] + [Puerto] Rican
NWO = 'New World Order'
OK soda

OK-ness < OK + -ness
OpporTOMist < opportunist + [Uncle] Tom
outercourse < out + intercourse
Parks to the People [program]
PC = 'patriotically correct'
photog < photographer
pix < pics < pictures
PLAN = 'Prevent Los Angelization Now'
plunget < plunge + plummet
PokeMania < Pokemon + Mania
pong < poetry + song
QBO = 'quasi-biennial oscillation'
Qualiflyer < qualify/ier + fly/ier
QUANGO, quango = 'Quasi-Autonomous Non-Governmental Organisation'
ragtag ("ragtag, rat-pack journalism")
Romeow < Romeo + miaow
ROV = 'remotely operated vehicle'
royoil [royalties] < royal + oil [royalties]
Ruthanasia > Richardson + euthanasia
SAREIN = 'Southern African Renewable Energy Information Network'
SCR = 'Soweto Community Radio'
Scud Stud
Sdoos < SDUs = 'self-defence units'
Seadra < sea + dragon
SERMS = 'selective estrogen response modulators'
sexiled < sex + exiled
SHARP = 'SkinHeads Against Racial Prejudice'
Sicko Jacko, Wacko Jacko (Michael Jackson)
SimEarth < Simulation + Earth
SLIP! SLOP! SLAP! ('Slip on a shirt. Slop on some sunscreen. Slap on a hat.")
SMART = 'Swatch, Mercedes & art'
Spoos < SPUs = 'self-protection units'
stalkerazzi < stalk + paparazzi
Stormin' Norman (General Norman Schwarzkopf)
suisside < Suisse + suicide
SUV = 'sport-utility vehicle'
T2 [ti: tu:] < Terminator 2
tax avoision < tax avoidance + [tax] evasion
TCK = 'Third Culture Kids'
thinspirations < thin + inspiration/aspirations
to celeb < celeb
to e < to e-mail < electronic mail
to okay < okay < o.k. < O.K.
to R.S.V.P.; R.S.V.P.ed < répondez, s'il-vous-plaît
to temp < temp
to TKO < technical KO ('knock-out')
tofurkey < tofu + turkey
top = 'termination of pregnancy'
touron < tourist + moron
triple-A = AAA [triple-A] = 'anti-aircraft artillery'
T-shaped ("having skills and knowledge that are both deep and broad")

T-shirt-able (can be printed as a slogan or logo on a T-shirt)
turducken < turkey + duck + en
type T personality (thrill-seeking personality)
un-PC = 'politically incorrect'
VoS = 'Voice of Soweto'
WAP = 'wireless access protocol'
wax sax < wax saxophone
weborexia < web + anorexia
WHAT! = 'Westminster HIV & AIDS team'
whizzo < WSO ('weapons system officer')
whoosh ("whooshing down manicured slopes...")
Wimp [way] = 'windows, icons, menus and point-and-click'
WMC = 'White Male Candidate'
XS ['eks 'es] < excess [Ik'ses]
Y = 'Y chromosome'
Y2.1K [compliant] < Year 2000 + 2.1 [compliant]
Y-CHOPS = 'Young Community Home-Owning Parents'
Yenaggedon < Yen + Armaggedon
yummies = 'young upwardly mobile Marxists' + ies

Appendix 4: The Complete Final Corpus

This appendix presents the complete records of the final corpus (see Sections 5.1 and 5.2 for the genesis of the corpus), including co-texts and additional observations and notes. It should be noted, however, that *Microsoft ACCESS 2000* does not offer the full range of typographical features that are commonly available in word processors.

As noted in Section 5.1.1, the main purpose of the corpus is explanatory, and its analysis (see Section 5.3) is qualitative rather than quantitative, focussing, in particular, on motivational-semantic, functional and textual aspects. This is reflected in the structure and the make-up of the corpus.

In order to enable the analysis of textual functions, for instance, *AIDS* has two entries ('records'), and each entry is accompanied by its own co-text, while *CNN* and *PC* only have one record each, as their co-texts contrast the 'original' full forms with their re-interpretations (directly in the case of *PC*, and indirectly in the case of *CNN*).

Similarly, *MST* and *MSTies* are accorded independent records, because the former is an abbreviation, which is turned into an acronym through suffixation. This is indicated in the phonetic transcription in the ITEM field in the case of the latter. The situation is different with *MUD* and *MUDders*, and *Muppet* and *Muppeteer*, which are more 'straightforward' suffixations of an acronym and a blend respectively, and which could, therefore, be accommodated in one record.