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Diplomová práce

Neologisms in British Newspapers

Neologismy v britském tisku

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Prohlášení

Prohlašuji, že jsem diplomovou práci na téma Neologisms in British Newspapers vypracoval samostatně pouze s použitím pramenů uvedených v seznamu citované literatury.

Prohlašuji, že v souladu s § 47b zákona č. 111/1998 Sb. v platném znění souhlasím se zveřejněním své diplomové práce, a to v nezkrácené podobě elektronickou cestou ve veřejně přístupné části databáze STAG provozované Jihočeskou univerzitou v Českých Budějovicích na jejích internetových stránkách, a to se zachováním mého autorského práva k odevzdanému textu této kvalifikační práce. Souhlasím dále s tím, aby toutéž elektronickou cestou byly v souladu s uvedeným ustanovením zákona č. 111/1998 Sb. zveřejněny posudky školitele a oponentů práce i záznam o průběhu a výsledku obhajoby kvalifikační práce. Rovněž souhlasím s porovnáním textu mé kvalifikační práce s databází kvalifikačních prací Theses.cz provozovanou Národním registrem vysokoškolských kvalifikačních prací a systémem na odhalování plagiátů.

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ABSTRACT

This diploma thesis analyses various ways of creating neologisms in present-day English. This is a highly contemporary issue to be traced in both written and spoken language. Nevertheless, this piece of work deals only with printed newspaper articles. Firstly, language of newspapers is described. Then, problems which are closely connected to the definition of a neologism are introduced. These expressions are further described in terms of means of lexical growth. Special attention is paid to productive word-formation processes. The thesis is focused chiefly on the amount of neologisms formed by individual processes of lexical word-formation. It draws a distinction between tabloids and quality newspapers. Also various spheres of human activities have been taken into account when classifying the new words. The frequency of the occurrence of neologisms is summarized at the end of the work.

ANOTACE

Tato diplomová práce se zabývá různými způsoby tvoření neologismů v současné angličtině. Jedná se o velice současnou problematiku, kterou je možno sledovat v psaném i mluveném jazyce. Tato práce se nicméně soustředí jen na tištěné novinové články. Na začátku teoretické části je popsán jazyk na bázi žurnalistického stylu a uvedeny problémy, které vyvstávají s definicí neologismu. Ty jsou dále popsány z hlediska způsobů lexikální obnovy jazyka, přičemž zvláštní pozornost je věnována slovotvorným procesům. Diplomová práce je především zaměřena na počet a poměr neologismů vytvořených posledně jmenovaným způsobem. V tomto ohledu porovnává bulvární a seriózní deníky i různé sféry lidské činnosti. Četnost výskytu jednotlivých neologismů je shrnuta v závěru práce.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Neologisms are an inseparable part of our everyday contact with language. Such words are easily found in both speech and texts. It is also a very interesting area of language study which deserves special attention and for its topicality should be noticed by language teachers as well. Just consider how many times you have come upon an entirely new expression which you have not heard before and thus been blissfully unaware of its meaning. In this respect, even experienced language users are sometimes at the same level as beginners.

Neologisms illustrate that language is a dynamic structure, which I would like to prove mainly on its ability to reflect the current situation. Language serves not only to describe the already-known facts but it is also capable of giving new additional meanings to existing words and inventing new word forms. Its usage in concrete situations even influences people's thoughts, attitudes, opinions, behaviour, etc.

In the theoretical part, I am going to describe the basic characteristics of newspaper language, which is supposed to be an extremely fruitful source of neologisms. It is essential to be aware of the difference between tabloids and broadsheets in terms of lexical usage, content and stylistics.

Next, I am going to define neologisms and point out problems closely related to this seemingly unproblematic issue. Quite a lot of space has been devoted to means of vocabulary growth and particularly productive word-formation processes as they form the core of this diploma thesis. They are mostly accompanied by examples from my corpus.

In the research section, I am going to demonstrate the frequency of the occurrence of neologisms within two British dailies and show in which sphere of human activities they tend to be the most productive. The comparison of productivity will be further concentrated on in terms of individual word-formation processes.

The last thing I would like to mention is the concept of this work, in other words, I intended to describe not only the linguistic reality of neologisms, but also to imply some sociolinguistic dimensions of these omnipresent phenomena and their impacts. The reason for this is my basic persuasion that language goes hand in hand with society.

2. THE LANGUAGE OF NEWSPAPERS

There is no other way than to admit that newspapers are an omnipresent phenomenon. To prove the point, this chapter will be devoted to a brief characteristic of newspapers, in other words, I would like to highlight the features that make them so crucially important.

Since the 17th century, when the first British newspaper[1] appeared, there have been a lot of changes in structure, style of writing, and, of course, language. This chapter will deal with the way newspapers are written, specifications of their language, and journalistic style. There will be drawn a sharp distinction between so-called *tabloids* and *broadsheets*. Last but not least, some attention will be paid to extralinguistic features of newspapers.

2.1 Characteristics of the newspaper language

The language of newspapers is somewhat specific. This is caused by several reasons. One of them is that newspapers have always been written to be read, which means to be sold. Conboy (2010: 1) will be cited in support of the statement: *"the language of newspapers has always encapsulated what would sell to audiences"*.

Obviously, the language of newspapers has not only been formed by desire to make money. Cotter (2010: 27) points out that characteristics of newspaper language *"are embodied in stylistic consistency, rhetorical accessibility, and brevity as well as appropriate story structure"*. He emphasizes that journalists work with a set of tendencies rather than rules and parameters. Among others, the most important tendencies are deadline and access to sources.

The term *journalese* is synonymous with a style of language typically used in newspapers. This term is to be found in Crystal's work (2004). He points out its key features:

- explicit time and place, facts and figures (e.g. in London yesterday; 12 victims)
- the source of the text is given (e.g. Reuters; the PM said...)
- the very first paragraph both begins and summarizes the story
- the participants are categorized (e.g. Irish singer Bono Vox)

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[1] The first British newspaper is believed to be *Worcester Postman* that started life in 1690, regularly published since 1709 as *Worcester Journal*.

- a vital importance of a headline

I am a supporter of the Crystal's analysis mainly because he presents practical data and not only theoretical constructs.

Headlines have been intentionally put at the end of the above list as I want to pay a special attention to this phenomenon. A good headline has the power to sell the article. It catches the reader's attention and tells him if the article is worth reading or not. Headlines are limited in space, which is the reason why abbreviations (cf. Crystal 2004) and complex words (cf. Bauer 2002) are frequently used. Headline writers usually select words with strong connotations (cf. Reah 2002) in order to sound more dramatic and vivid. Grammatical words such as determiners and auxiliary verbs are usually left out. Simple verb tenses are used instead of progressive ones and infinitives refer to the future. Next, headlines are rarely written by the reporter who wrote the news story. All these factors make headlines ambiguous, confusing or difficult to understand. On the other hand, these are simple tricks to force people read the articles. To sum up, I wanted to show that headlines are a crucially important part of newspapers, however, we should bear in mind that they are "*radically different from the rest of newspaper reporting language*" (Crystal and Davy 1992: 180).

I should now like to address the question of word order. Word order in reporting news is sometimes non-standard. The position of the subject undergoes a shift from a subject-verb position to a verb-subject one, i.e. so-called distinctive subject position. A perfect example of this is *Said Mr Cameron*. Adverbials that occur frequently in newspapers tend to be put either at the beginning of a clause or at its very end. This evokes a strongly emphatic function (cf. ibid. 182).

So far, we have been dealing with the description of lexical choice and syntactic structures. However, there is one more thing to be mentioned – trends within the news reporting. Mair (2006) posits three basic concepts:

- colloquiallization
- democratization
- technologization (or informalization)

The first concept is connected with the usage of informal vocabulary in newspapers. Democratization is specified as a part of an egalitarian social climate in

which nearly everybody has the access to newspapers and the aim of the press is to provide understandable information. Its result can be seen in a decrease in the usage of passive constructions. Technologization refers to the fact that technology is at progress and needs to be reflected in language. Fairclough (1992) does not distinguish between the three types and reduces the problems to the *shift towards conversation.*

To conclude, I have to state again that newspaper language is a very complex issue. We have seen that it has its specific restrictions and limitations as well as possibilities and opportunities. It has to serve to a number of readers with a wide range of interests and needs which are not easy to fulfil. In spite of this, journalists have developed a certain way that makes it easier. It will be discussed below.

2.2 Journalistic style

First of all, I shall formulate a general definition of style. From my point of view based on an analysis of newspapers, I dare say that it is a set of patterns including language usage, expressive means and emotional colouring. It can be seen as a choice of lexical features that influence or function in a social context. Style as such is crucially dependent on several factors like the age of an author, their education, experience, occupation, etc. It differs in the reason why the text is written, i.e. in its purpose, level of in/formality, contextual situation, and form.

Nevertheless, it is virtually impossible to find a clear definition of journalistic style. I share an opinion of Crystal and Davy (1992: 173): "*a newspaper is always eclectic, from the stylistic point of view*". It is not the only problem we have to face. The style varies both within a particular newspaper and while we are to compare two or more kinds of newspapers. A newspaper is written by a number of authors, so that there must logically be a little incoherence in terms of style. The range they cover is wide – from politics, business and environment to sport, health and leisure. As will appear later in this thesis, newspapers are addressed to specific groups of readers and they have to adjust their style in order to satisfy the needs of their readership. Roughly speaking, we can distinguish between the Guardian, the Independent or the Daily Express according to their unique journalistic style.

Turning to the question of functions of journalistic style, Reah (2002) perceives two possible opinions. The first argument illustrates that the main function is to tell a story. Conversely, the latter demonstrates the importance of providing information. This clash is significant for forming the style used. Personally, I think that the truth lies

somewhere in between. I will once more use an example of the role of the first paragraph. The first paragraph of an article provides information and, at the same time, all the remaining paragraphs tell a story, which is derived from my empirical study.

Mair (2006: 188) focuses on an effect of journalistic style. He claims that "*the intended stylistic effect is to make texts appear more dramatic, interesting, and accessible and presumably, also to involve the reader emotionally*". He also makes an observation that the aim of present-day journalistic style is to maximize information density, but to avoid stylistic formality in order to remain readable. Reah (2002) agrees and adds that newspapers are constructed to arouse readers' curiosity. I heartily accept both opinions.

Cotter (2010) makes several points connected to the story structure. The way each element is ordered and an organization of them is considered prominent. He describes the so-called *inverted pyramid* structure (cf. Singer 2010), in which the most important details come first and the others follow.

Cotter agrees with Singer in one more aspect, i.e. in the *neutral authority principle*. Singer (2010: 93) says that "*the reporter is idealized as an observer of events but not a participant or a commentator on them*".

Cotter (2010) confirms and includes a role of a writer who should give the reader simplified but sufficient background information to make the issue understandable. "*Be truthful, be brief and clear, be relevant*" (ibid. 137) as well as avoidance of sexist and racist language are his ideal patterns of journalistic style that have a lot to do with journalistic ethics.

He is surprisingly the only author I have analyzed who deals with clichés. He even speaks about a prodigious display of clichés in newspapers. Cotter sees journalistic style as highly conservative, which justifies, for example, in the use of the abovementioned clichés.

Mair (2006) opposes and supports his own statement with examples of lexical innovations such as a wide range of neologisms. I think that this dispute is to a certain extent unfounded because journalistic style combines a set of patterns like clichés or rigid structures of articles with highly creative and innovative language.

The following points will complete the issue of lexical and syntactic specifications of the journalistic style which have been already discussed in the previous subchapter. Reah (2002) accounts for the principles of lexical cohesion within newspapers:

- direct repetition, i.e. an item is used more than once (e.g. the MP... said, the MP said)
- a frequent use of synonyms
- a number of antonyms
- specific to general reference, i.e. where the same thing is referred to, but the first reference is more detailed (e.g. the first reference *English football star David Beckham*, the second reference *David Beckham*, the third one *he*)

As for the lexical repetition and specific reference, there is a parallel to be found in Crystal and Davy's work (1992). However, they concentrate mainly on punctuation. "*Commas are absent from many places where they would normally be expected*" (ibid. 178). On the other hand, inverted commas and dashes are often present, which gives a greater independence of a phrase. The most noteworthy features are, according to the two linguists, the presence of very complex pre- and post-modification, coining of new words and dominance of the simple past tense.

Pegulescu (2012) is highly topical when she comes up with the description of the way news reporting has been influenced by the social media[2]. Cotter (2010) records the same observance. They both speak about a liberal conversation ignoring standard grammatical rules. With this last point I would like to conclude this brief overview of a complex issue of journalistic style.

2.3 Broadsheets vs. tabloids

Regarding newspapers, we must not forget to distinguish between two prevailing types of them. This subchapter is, therefore, devoted to a comparison of British quality papers[3] and tabloids in terms of content, formality, interpretation of information, and graphic design.

Among others, the most popular British tabloids are the Sun, Sunday Times, and the Daily Mirror. Reah (2010) adds another category – *middle-range tabloids*, e.g. the Daily Express and the Daily Mail but for the purpose of this diploma thesis they will be considered as tabloids. Broadsheet newspapers are represented by the Independent, the Times, the Guardian, the Telegraph, etc.

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[2] Facebook, YouTube and Twitter became widely popular in the last several years.
[3] Quality newspapers are also called broadsheets according to their format. Tabloids are informally referred to as *red top* newspapers, whose name is in red at the top of the front page.

One of the most characteristic features is the difference in content. **Table 1** (cf. Reah 2010) gives us a quick overview. The below chart clearly demonstrates that news reporting is the dominant part of the Guardian but advertising forms the greatest single item in the Sun.

Table 1

Paper	Sun	Guardian
No. of pages	60	26
Pages of news	16.5 (28 %)	12 (46 %)
Pages of advertising	26 (43 %)	8 (31 %)
Sport and entertainment	17.5 (29 %)	6 (23 %)

In a more detailed analysis, Reah (2010) points out that broadsheets contain more news overall and a lot more overseas news. He further emphasizes that broadsheets use more passive structures, work with a higher level of formality and are written almost only in declarative sentences. On the contrary, prevailing voice in tabloids is active, sentence type is often exclamatory to present incredible facts, and informal vocabulary and constructions serve to a speech-like effect.

Crystal and Davy (1992) confirm all the above ideas as verifiable facts and widen the scope of this issue. They go into detail while comparing the length of paragraphs and conclude that tabloids are divided into shorter paragraphs than broadsheets. Tabloids favour alliteration especially in headlines, e.g. depressing downpour, humble human. Contracted forms are also more likely to occur in tabloids. Similarly, they depict characteristics of broadsheets as a presence of more discussion, greater use of postmodification and technical terms. Both types of newspapers utilize different kinds of word-formation processes; however, I shall return to this point later.

One of the most remarkable dissimilarities between the two discussed dailies is the aspect of interpreting information and its choice. **Figure 1** has been taken from the Daily Express, 7th of November 2012 – the day when results of American presidential election became known. At first sight, it is not dealing with Obama's re-election; it seems to be talking about a celebrity and about the European Union. There is only a minute headline, *US*

Figure 1

Figure 2

Election Night Latest, which tells us about the most important event of the day. The Daily Express as well as other tabloids usually display a famous person on the front page and use a big font in headlines. Large number of photographs and pictures is inevitable for this type of newspaper. The problem is that tabloids frequently distract readers' attention from key issues and offer them inferior consumerist values. On the contrary, **Figure 2** illustrates the way the so-called quality newspapers function. It is obvious what kind of information the Guardian is interested in. The proportion of the text within the two front pages is clearly seen and do not need further commentaries. Figure 2 has been taken from the Guardian, 7th of November 2012.

Apart from my practical comparison, the author who describes tabloids theoretically is Conboy (2010). He enumerates several features of tabloids, namely:

- better visual accessibility
- populism
- parody and political trivialization
- sexualisation
- conversationalization
- mockery
- sensationalization

In other words, tabloids are colourful with a plenty of pictures, their writers are acquainted with what kind of information and opinions their readers require. Tabloids make political decisions less serious and there are no taboos on sexuality. Their aim is to shock and they tend to fulfil pages with scandals and distort facts.

At the same time, Conboy brings a concept of a *tabloid century* and *tabloidization*. He emphasizes that quality newspapers during the 20th century had to adapt in order to remain profitable. Broadsheets have been orientated towards the news values of tabloids. This decline of broadsheets resulted primarily in worsened objectivity of information and appropriate language usage.

2.4 The way the media are influential

Besides the linguistic and other general features of newspapers, I would like to make a small contribution to sociolinguistic dimensions because, I my opinion, there are a number of significant aspects that newspaper readers should be aware of.

The way we try to look like, most of the consumerist values we accept, stereotypes according to which people tend to behave and think as well as the latest fashion trends – all this comes from the media. Mainstream is synonymous with philosophy and world view. We absorb information without classifying them as true or nonsense, which results in total chaos.

Bolinger (1980: 163) adopts an extreme point of view: "*in today's society, the Second Coming will come and go unnoticed, if it is kept away from the media*". However, he points out how powerful a role the media play.

I agree with a moderate statement: "*newspapers are mirroring society*" (Conboy 2010: 4) which describes the reality as interplay between the readers and writers. The two groups influence each other. Readers demand a certain type of information and if the writers comply, they make a profit and both sides are satisfied.

Reah (2002) also approves of Conboy's ideas. In support of such arguments, he gives an example of attacks by dogs on adults and children. The more violent the attacks were, the more copies were sold.

Reah claims that newspapers groups do market research in order to be familiar with the profile of their readership. The companies look for the data concerning age and social class. In spite of the fact that there is definitely no clear profile of a *Times* reader or a *Daily Mirror* reader, the papers write as though such a person exist.

All the ideas above are marginal to Singer (2010) who considers shifts in meaning as a major issue in the reader-writer interaction. To be more specific, he finds out that the construction of meaning is somewhat *fluid*, i.e. opaque, more open, less transparent and ambiguous. According to him, this is the reason why we do not understand what newspapers try to tell us.

To conclude, this subchapter has been intended as my reflection to complete the question of newspapers. Newspapers have been discussed in Chapter II because they have been the source of neologisms I selected.

I would to borrow Cotter's words (2010: 187) in order not to break continuity of sections 2.4 and 3. "*News language reflects the social status quo; at the same time, it operates independently of it*", which is the case of neologisms.

3. NEOLOGISMS

The previous chapter has been devoted to general features of newspapers, which has been the source of neologisms for the purposes of this study. Chapter III discusses the topic of neologisms, in other words, it speaks about the main theme of this thesis. The list of excerpted neologisms is enclosed in Appendix.

To combine two Greek words *neo* and *logos* and thus make a definition of a neologism as a "new word" might be quite misleading and surely not sufficient for us. In this respect, I have decided to distinguish between four basic concepts.

3.1 Basic concepts

The four following terms will be presented in order to make a clearer distinction between a word, lexeme, neologism and nonce-formation. There are many definitions and neither of them is perfectly valid nor the only possible and acceptable. Each linguist defines and works with their own theory. Some of them are more or less original but if compared, they help us to understand the picture better.

3.1.1 Word

A word is seemingly an easy notion to define. Nonetheless, even professional linguists admit that it is not so. Bauer (2002) acknowledges problems closely connected to this issue. In accordance to Bauer, Peprník (2006) points out that a word is language specific, i.e. there can be a one-word term, for instance, in Latin and an equivalent two or three-word term in English for the very same notion. Peprník's definition (2006: 8) of a word is quite simple but exact to some degree: *"word is a combination of sounds, or its representation in writing, that symbolizes and communicates a meaning"*.

Crystal (2002b: 366) does not disagree with Peprník, when he describes the word as *"the smallest unit of grammar which can stand alone as a complete utterance"*. He distinguishes between *orthographic* words, i.e. items in the written language and *phonological* words, which are the corresponding units of speech.

However, Quirk et al. (2006) do not work with the term word, as such, but include these units in *lexical items*. They believe to be more precise because there are special cases such as idioms which function as a single item but are composed of several words.

Huddleston and Pullum (2003) emphasize that words have to be defined from a certain point of view. They mention two major concepts – *lexical* and *syntactic* words.

For example, have/has/had/having are syntactically different words but lexically they are the same – they are forms of the same lexeme. In my diploma thesis, I shall be dealing with words from the lexical point of view.

They further differentiate *established* from *potential* words. Established words really exist, are familiar to native speakers, could be found in a dictionary, and are recognized as a part of vocabulary of a given language. Conversely, potential words do not exist but might be possibly formed as they conform to word-formation rules, e.g. policeability.

As I have noticed, to formulate a definition of a word that would satisfy everybody is impossible. I dare say I accept the Crystal's (2004) formulation because a word is meaningful, isolable and can operate as a complete utterance.

3.1.2 Lexeme

The question of another abstract unit, a lexeme, has already been touched upon. The term is introduced here chiefly to avoid ambiguity, when discussing the lexicon. A lexeme is the smallest distinctive unit in the vocabulary of a language and may consist either of a single word (e.g. dog) or more than one word (e.g. take off, be raining cats and dogs), subsuming especially phrasal verbs and idioms (cf. Crystal 2002b).

In his later study, Crystal (2004: 118) proposes a plausible explanation: *"a lexeme is a unit of lexical meaning, which exists regardless of any inflectional endings it may have or the number of words it may contain"*. A similar view is shared by Bauer (2002) and Peprník (2006).

In conclusion, the simple reason why I have briefly discussed and hopefully draw a comparison of a word and a lexeme is that we will use these terms in the next chapters.

3.1.3 Neologism

First of all, we have to specify what will be understood under the term "new". As there is no clear answer to the question of neologisms which would delimit the time boundaries, I have decided to consider words to be new if they are not older than 20 years. The "oldest" neologism I have found within British newspapers has been used in the Guardian, 24th of January 1994. The latest one appeared in the same newspaper, 18th of February 2013. In 99 percent of cases, the excerpted neologisms occurred between

2000 and 2012. All the neologisms of my list have to fulfil a condition that they are still used in present-day English.

"*The most salient type of neologism is a word which is new in its form and which refers to a concept which is new*" (Mair 2006: 38). This would be a perfect example if it worked in all cases. But it means that the new concept should be either borrowed from another language or formed according to the rules of word-formation processes. I admit that this reality is different, but not always. Also, a change or transfer of meaning of an already established word is believed to function as a neologism (cf. Čermák 2010, Peprník 2006). In case of conversion, i.e. a change in a word class, which will be discussed in detail in the course of time, a new form of a word is not created either.

It has to be borne in mind that a neologism is predominantly a relative concept. It has to be specified within a certain period of time so that we can speak about neologisms in the 16th century, for instance. Of course, there were a number of words that were new, which was influenced mainly by the discovery of America and a human need to name things, animals, medicine, etc. that had not been previously known in Europe. But from a synchronic point of view, all these terms are now old. The factor of time[4] is a key to treating neologisms.

Time differentiation is considered to be essential by Plag (2005). He further mentions a concept of a *hapax legomenon*, i.e. a word that has been invented for a single occasion by an author of a text. He tests a hypothesis that there is a large proportion of neologisms among hapax legomena. His conclusions are supported by Peprník (2006).

Moreover, Peprník comments on other features of neologisms which are to be noticed. Neologisms are nearly always of an anonymous origin and tend to appear at first in informal style, we can say in tabloids as there is a high frequency in the occurrence of neologisms in newspapers.

In addition, Crystal (2004) confirms the above statements as reasonable. However, he often uses a term *coinage* (cf. Crystal 2002b) as synonymous with neologism. I think that neologisms are predominantly a matter of creativity and fashion and that is why they are to be found in newspapers. It might also be a reasonable explanation why they sometimes tend not to be understandable without a context even for native speakers.

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[4] The opposite of a neologism is an *archaism*, i.e. an unfashionable word which is not commonly used.

A neologism remains new until speakers begin to use it automatically without thinking. However, it is never possible to give a prediction which neologism will become commonly used, i.e. survives, and which will die out.

So far, I have not mentioned a reason why neologisms are created, i.e. why they enter and abandon the linguistic reality. The reasons seem to be quite logical. Filipec and Čermák (1985) conclude that the primarily motives are to describe and name a new reality, e.g. to reflect new innovations and progress of science, culture as well as changes in technology, political situation, social trends, etc. Language serves people as an orientation point. Such reasons could be referred to as *extralinguistic*. Accordingly, *intralinguistic* reasons would be connected with the need of a given language to minimize problems such as polysemy or homonymy.

I appreciate the way Ayto[5] summarizes the abovementioned points:
Every year that passes throws up new ideas, experiences, and inventions for which no name has hitherto existed, and since names are indispensable cogs in the machinery of communication, our natural human propensity for coining them soon plugs most gaps.
(Ayto 2007: 1)

Neologisms are an omnipresent phenomenon. Instead of a conclusion, I would like to disprove Adams's (1973) statement that British journalists are rather conservative. As will become obvious in the course of this diploma thesis, I have found more than 500 neologisms in British newspapers within a year and a half. If Adams's claim had proved to be true, it would have not been possible to make such an observation of mine. Thanks to the rapid progress in computing[6], science and technology which has been made in past 20 years I do not consider English vocabulary to be conservative. Maybe this was relevant in the 1970s but certainly not any more as English has become a lingua franca in many parts of the world.

3.1.4 Nonce formation

Last but not least, I would like to write a few lines about the so-called nonce formation, which is no marginal concept. A nonce formation could be referred to as a new word coined by a speaker on the spur of the moment when required by some immediate circumstances (cf. Bauer 2002). It is very likely to happen when we are

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[5] This Ayto's work has been published twice under different titles. The original was published in 2006 as *Movers and Shakers*, the later issue *A Century of New Words* in 2007. However, the two books are absolutely identical.
[6] Areas that are highly productive in creating neologisms will be dealt with in the practical part.

talking about a thing or situation but there is no word available to describe what we have just seen or imagined. In such cases, we accidentally invent a new word which is suitable just for the single occasion. It would be unusual for a nonce formation to spread any (or much) further. If it were, it would be more precisely called a neologism (cf. Crystal 2002b).

Herbst (2010: 118) points out that *"numerically, nonce formations may well be a much more important phenomenon of language use than it is often given credit for"*. In addition to these arguments, we have to stress that there is no study which would deal with nonce formations, even though they are very common, particularly in newspaper headlines, where they have a similar function as neologisms – to catch the reader's attention, to shock or provoke.

Nonce formations occur in a high number in literary texts. Among others, well-known inventors of new words were James Joyce and Lewis Carroll (cf. Crystal 2004).

For me, as for a non-native speaker of English, it is impossible to give an adequate example of a nonce formation. I shall, therefore, borrow instances from Quirk et al. (2006). Words like guidanceless (analogous with parentless), snow-cream (ice-cream), or coolth (warmth) cover the need very well.

3.2 Lexicalization and institutionalization

At this point, we shall draw the last distinction between neologisms and nonce formations. Thus, I would like to briefly characterize the process of establishing words. As nonce formations are very ephemeral, they hardly ever become accepted as regular lexical items, i.e. they may never become institutionalized (cf. Peprník 2006). Peprník does not distinguish between the two terms, i.e. he uses lexicalization and institutionalization interchangeably. However, I think that there is a notable difference which should be taken into account.

As for institutionalization, Bauer (2002), who rejects the hypotheses of the previous linguist, describes it as a matter of acceptability among speakers. In other words, when the nonce formation becomes familiar and its meaning starts to be transparent, then, the word has been institutionalized. Whether such a process is successful or not, ultimately depends on the attitude to the word shared by society. Lexicalization is the final stage which the word has to undergo in order to be listed in a standard dictionary. In this case, we speak rather about a neologism.

The second author who demonstrates convincingly that there is continuity between the two processes is Mair (2006). He regards institutionalization chiefly as a matter of frequency (cf. Plag 2005).

Unlike non-lexicalized words, the already lexicalized ones tend to have somewhat specialized meaning. Huddleston and Pullum (2003) give an example of *blackmail*. If the word was not lexicalized, a speaker could easily imagine a kind of mail painted in black but less probably a crime. On the other hand, the right meaning of a non-lexicalized word can be based simply on guessing and speculations.

This leads to the point that is commented on by Maxwell (2006). People seldom think that a word which is not to be found in a dictionary is proper. I agree entirely with Maxwell who claims that the fact that dictionary editors are careful in choosing words they will include must be taken into consideration. "*A word usually has to prove its worth over several years and across a range of different sources*" (ibid. 2). This results in a paradoxical feature of any dictionary of neologisms, i.e. by the time the dictionary is published the neologisms need not be necessarily up-to-date. Such an opinion is confirmed by Čermák (2010).

3.3 Centre and periphery theory

The process of lexicalization can be also viewed as a shift from the periphery of vocabulary to its centre. The vocabulary is an unstable system (cf. Peprník 2006). Words at the periphery, i.e. elements limited in frequency, e.g. slang expressions, professionalisms, taboo words, archaisms, and naturally neologisms are constantly competing with the centre which contains lexical items of the greatest stability and frequency, i.e. words that are essential for everyday communication such as basic verbs and nouns rather than adjectives. This is the core of our vocabulary, hence the term centre. The concept of the centre is now undoubtedly useful for lexicographers and language learners. For instance, both leading British universities, Oxford and Cambridge, have incorporated lists of the most frequent words in their advanced learner's dictionaries. These registers (Oxford 3000™, Cambridge Essential Words) include the most common, frequent and familiar words. The choice has been made more or less on the basis of the centre. I think that this tool is very practical, particularly for someone who needs to acquire basic knowledge of English quickly.

A neologism enters the linguistic reality as a part of the periphery but there is a fifty-fifty chance to change its status and move nearer to the centre. In the last decade,

this applies to words related to computing and modern media technologies. For instance, one of the most remarkable shifts took place in the case of the word *diskette* which has already "travelled" in both directions. It naturally appeared at the periphery but very soon became a stable part of the centre. Diskettes have been gradually replaced by CDs, DVDs, USB drives, etc. as the improvement in IT is never-ending and people usually do not need them any more. From this, it follows that diskettes survive now on the extreme periphery.

The centre and periphery theory has – as everything – its weak points. There are neither strict boundaries nor conditions which would serve to clearly mark the difference between the two groups. Similarly, speakers would not often agree on which group a certain word belong to. This is influenced mainly by the fact that teenagers' vocabulary sharply contrasts with the vocabulary of an 80-year-old person.

It has to be noticed that the centre-periphery theory does not apply only within a particular language. The centre of English, for instance, influences the centre or at least periphery of other languages (cf. Phillipson 2003). This is closely wedded to the spread of the English language and globalization as such. The Internet, a CD, www and a lot more words have an English origin.

3.4 Neologizing and its social context

In spite of the fact that the constant evolution of new words and new uses of old words is often viewed as a reassuring sign of vitality and creativity (cf. Yule 2010), it also has unforeseeable consequences for the public. Leaving aside rather conservative users of language who complain bitterly about the misuse of already existing words or inappropriate language of newspapers containing a large proportion of neologisms, making up new words brings even more complicated problems.

Most of the breaking events have been, without a shadow of doubt, accompanied by a lexical reflection and development. Mair (2006) gives an example of the rise of capitalism which enhanced the vocabulary in adding new financial meanings to words (e.g. *credit, purchase, debt*). I assume that the Industrial Revolution with its new inventions, World War II with expressions like *Gestapo, SS, gas chamber, concentration camp, Nazism*, etc. or a series of terrorist attacks on New York and Washington (e.g. *al-Queda, axis of evil, jihad, Ground Zero*) could be treated alike.

Every day newspapers come up with new words and shocking expressions we have to cope with. To illustrate this point, I have chosen a picture (see **Figure 3**) which

was published in the Daily Mail, 17th of November 2011, not as an item of advertising but as an issue of a heated debate. As for the serious newspapers, the Guardian printed a photo of Barrack Obama kissing Venezuelan socialist leader Hugo Chavez as a parallel case. The Daily Mail and the Guardian

Figure 3

headlines began likewise: *Benetton tears down UNhate ads after Vatican legal threat*. The point is that the newly formed word *unhate* would be unproblematic if standing alone, i.e. without the context. The presence of the picture of Pope Benedict XVI kissing an Egyptian imam unleashed a wave of emotions. But joining a word with a picture in order to evoke deep feelings is a common strategy of newspapers and commercialism. It would be interesting to find out how much money Benetton has made by this campaign. One thing is sure – people started to pronounce the word *unhate* more frequently, which is the social impact of neologisms in practice.

To summarize this chapter as a whole, my intentions were to distinguish between basic lexicological concepts whose definitions will be worked with in the course of the diploma thesis. I briefly outlined processes and theories that incorporate the concepts discussed. Finally, some attention has been paid to practical problems of neologisms, which should serve as a demonstration of my argument that neologisms are not purely a matter of linguistics.

4. MEANS OF VOCABULARY GROWTH

In Chapter III we have defined the term neologism. These new words enter the lexicon of a given language and simultaneously extend it in quantity. From now on, this chapter will present an overview of several possibilities the English language has for the creation of new words.

Let us begin with the means speakers have. They can take over new words from different languages, i.e. borrow and integrate them into their tongue. Examples will be provided later. Vocabulary also grows by using lexical material of speaker's own language. There are two alternatives. The first one is to combine two or more existing words (in case of compounds and blends), add or delete morphemes (e.g. derivation), which results in creating entirely new word forms. The second alternative means to modify not the form but the meaning, i.e. to give a new, additional sense to established words. We speak then about the so-called semantic shift.

Speakers can also invent words without making use of the already enumerated techniques (cf. Herbst 2010), e.g. the word *google*. This phenomenon of word manufacture will be discussed in detail later. To sum up, there are three feasible ways:

- borrowing
- changes in meaning
- word-formation processes (including word manufacture)

4.1 Borrowing

"English is a vacuum-cleaner of a language. It sucks words in from any language it makes contact with" (Crystal 2007: 59).

I have chosen this quotation as I believe it serves as an excellent introduction to the topic. The substance of borrowing has been already described. English has always come into contact with other languages. Consequently, there are many loan words in present-day English. During the development of English the strongest influences were Latin, French, and Old Norse, for instance. English vocabulary was Latinized under Roman occupation, after the arrival of Christianity and during the Renaissance period. Words like bishop, church, or purple have been adopted. French words dominated the English lexicon after the Norman Conquest. It enhanced English in expressions, e.g. beef, parliament, village, etc. Scandinavian influence is now to be seen in words sky,

window, they, etc. However, a detailed description of the historical development of English vocabulary is a complex issue which is beyond the scope of this thesis and, therefore, was touched upon only briefly.

Apart from these major sources of borrowed vocabulary, there are some minor but not unimportant ones. In fact, almost any language one can imagine has lent English its own expressions. Even Chinese, Peruvian, Czech, Malay or Icelandic. I have also excerpted a few neologisms which are not of a native origin, e.g. *l'dope* (French), *galactico, zumba* (Spanish), *jihad* and *sharia* (Arabic), *Pokémon* (Japanese) or *wunderbar* (German).

Bauer (1994) claims that there is a decrease in loans, though I cannot approve or disapprove of this statement of his as I have not selected much data concerning such changes. However, its probability should be taken in consideration.

Loan words have heavily outnumbered the native Anglo-Saxon word stock. Despite the fact, the native vocabulary dominates everyday conversation and provides nearly all the most frequently used words in English (cf. Crystal 2004).

It would not be fair to depict English only as an *"insatiable borrower"* (Crystal 2004: 126). I would like to underline the well-known fact that as English spreads, it gives its words to various languages. It is demonstrated in **Table 2** (cf. Crystal 2002a). All the words in this chart could be easily found in Czech as well as in other languages without any translation provided. The spelling is standard English; Czech for example would respell some words in accordance with its grammar. The selected data contains six most common areas of human interest.

Table 2

Sport: baseball, comeback, football, jockey, offside, photo-finish, semi-final, volleyball, snowboard
Tourism, transport, etc.: camping, jeep, motel, parking, picnic, runway, scooter, stewardess, stop (sign), tanker, taxi
Politics, commerce: big business, boom, briefing, dollar, marketing, senator, top secret
Culture, entertainment: cowboy, group, happy ending, heavy metal, hi-fi, jazz, juke-box, Miss World (etc.), musical, night-club, ping-pong, pop, rock, soul, striptease, top, Western
People and behaviour: AIDS, baby-sitter, callgirl, cool, crazy, gangster, jogging, mob, reporter, sex-appeal, sexy, smart, teenager
Consumer society: aspirin, bar, best-seller, bulldozer, camera, Coca Cola, cocktail, drive-in, film, hamburger, ketchup, kingsize, Kleenex, Levis, LP, make-up, sandwich, science fiction, Scrabble, snackbar, supermarket, thriller, WC, weekend
And of course: OK

Borrowing takes place in both directions, i.e. into and from English. I hope that the chart has made it obvious.

A special case of borrowings is the so-called *calque*. Calques or loan-translations (cf. Yule 2010) are words directly and part-by-part translated from a foreign language. The English word *superman* is believed to be a loan-translation of the Nietzsche's concept of *Übermensch*. Similar examples could be found especially in an English-German interaction, e.g. rainforest – Regenwald, loan word – Lehnwort, etc. Such kind of interactions could be traced back to the Old English period, which is related to the Germanic roots of English. To give an example of a present-day calque is quite challenging but I have found (in the Guardian, 7th of June 2008) Saddam Hussein's metaphorical expression *umm al-ma'arik* which is used as an exact English translation *mother-of-all-battles* denoting the most destructive battle.

To conclude this subchapter in a few words, I would like to highlight one of the most distinctive features of language. As we have seen, historic events have had its impacts on language usage, i.e. on the amount of borrowed words in this case. It is the development of society that brings neologisms and it is neologisms that enable human to reflect whatever progress.

4.2 Changes of meaning

The principal reason why I mention the changes of meaning among other means of restoring the lexicon is an existing hypothesis that most of the newly coined words arise in the area of semantic alterations. Čermák (2010) makes an important point when he stresses that there is no complex research to substantiate or refute such conclusions. Although these changes are quite difficult to notice, speculations about their frequent occurrence do not rest on shaky ground. During the whole development of the English language, semantic changes have taken place persistently, which implies that altering the meanings of existing words has never been stopped. That is why I consider this process as a remarkably fruitful source of neologisms, even nowadays. Peprník (2006: 25) supports this argument by saying *"meanings are generally subject to change"*.

There is, in addition, one further point to make. If we speak about meaning, it should be realized that the presence of context is inevitable in order to make the meaning transparent. Peprník (2006) points out necessary components of the meaning we should know in order to understand what the sense of a word stands for. They are as follows:

- denotation (i.e. the actual object or idea to which the word refers)
- connotation (i.e. an implied meaning; its associations, stylistic value)
- inner structure (i.e. the ability of the word to be productive in word-formation)
- collocability (i.e. a tendency of words to come up together in a collocation)
- paradigmatic relations (e.g. synonymy, antonymy)
- distribution and frequency

Being acquainted with the list above, there is no other way than to continue with making a division of the semantic changes into the following subtypes.

4.2.1 Widening

There is nothing unexpected hidden behind the expression widening of meaning. It simply means that the sense of a certain word becomes more general, hence the truly synonymous terms *generalization* or *extension* preferred by some linguists.

Crystal (2007) explains this phenomenon clearly and concisely by illustrating an example of well-known words *office* and *novice*. He highlights their originally restricted usage in the field of religious practice. Nevertheless, these words are only occasionally

used in their earliest meanings and hardly anyone would associate them with church nowadays. Such complementation of the original word sense is a fairly typical property of widening.

As for Mair (2006: 39), he is mainly interested in the recent development of the verbs of communication, *"many of which have assumed additional senses in the context of computer-mediated communication"*. This striking illustration is accompanied by the examples of words like *mail* or *chat*.

Widening results in either *homonymy*[7] or *polysemy* (cf. Katamba 1994). The latter will be briefly touched upon later. Katamba further mentions that personal names often undergo the process of widening. Commercial products and scientific principles are usually named after their inventors, e.g. Ford represents a sort of a car and correspondingly, Celsius denotes the degrees in which temperature is measured.

In accordance with Peprník (2006) we can differentiate between several categories of generalization. It is no good making a long list of them all, but at least three shifts are worth mentioning. Only instances without etymological descriptions will be provided.

- shift from a particular species to the animal in general (with the classical example of dog)
- shift from a small object to a large one (e.g. box, pipe)
- shift from lexical to grammatical meaning (in case of verbs do, have, will, etc.)

Regarding my personal research on newspapers, I have isolated a few words whose meaning has been recently extended. For a more detailed analysis, see **Table 3** on the following page.

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[7] A homonym is a word spelt or pronounced like another word but having a different meaning. E.g. *can* with two basic meanings "to be able" or "a type of a metal container".

Table 3

Word	Original meaning	Extended meaning
Galileo	an Italian astronomer	a European navigation system
outing	a trip or excursion	naming people as homosexuals in public
surf	to ride on waves	to use the Internet
Jedi	a character in Star Wars	a member of an official religion
viper	a poisonous snake	a marihuana smoker

I cannot but conclude that widening of meaning is quite a productive source of vocabulary growth which should not be left out, especially because of its topicality, when addressing the matter of neologisms.

4.2.2 Narrowing

Semantic narrowing or *specialization* of meaning is the converse of the previous process. Unsurprisingly, the range of meanings becomes restricted. Both words *fowl* and *hound* epitomize the semantic narrowing (cf. Peprník 2006). The fowl is now a domestic bird that is kept for meat and eggs; however, it originally denoted any bird. The hound used to stand for any hunting dog, but in today's English it occurs only in composites such as greyhound, foxhound or wolfhound, i.e. it refers to a special dog breed. Interestingly, the earlier states are frequently preserved in German (Hund, Vogel), which corresponds with the already discussed topic involving calques (see part 4.2).

At this point, I dare not leave aside two trends some linguists subsume under the semantic narrowing (cf. Peprník 2006) because they often accompany it. From this, it follows that it seems to be a rational decision to count them among, although I respect that there is a slight difference[8] between narrowing and the two concepts we are going to deal with. So, let us focus on *amelioration* and *deterioration*.

When a word develops a better or more positive sense, we speak about amelioration. *Lean, revolutionary, knight, nice* (cf. Crystal 2007), etc. are all words that have become more approving. In contrast, deterioration, also called pejoration, is the very opposite process when a word takes on a negative sense and thus becomes

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[8] Narrowing as well as widening are primarily shifts in semantic scope, i.e. in the range or quantity of meanings, whereas amelioration and deterioration are more likely matters of semantic modification, i.e. qualitative changes.

disapproving. As examples of deterioration serve words *villain, lewd, cunning, odd, reek* (cf. ibid. 153). Deterioration is supposed to happen more often than amelioration. Peprník (2006) adds a marked point that especially ethic terms tend to change in evaluation to the worse.

4.2.3 Branching

As I have noted above, there is only limited space to present a quick overview of this process with which the word becomes polysemous. For the purposes of this diploma thesis, meaning relations such as synonymy, antonymy or polysemy will be taken into account only minimally. Nonetheless, let me, by way of illustration, give three classic instances of branching. I have consulted this issue with Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary in which I have found 20 meanings of the entry *head* from its basic sense of a part of the body to a slang sexual expression. The entry *box* has 14 meanings at its disposal and 12 are to be isolated in case of *board*.

The main conclusion to be drawn from the data presented in this subchapter is that changes of meaning have been a productive source of neologisms during the development of the English language as such. But I shall not pursue this matter any further.

4.3 Transfer of meaning

Turning to the question of transfer of meaning, I would like to underline the condition that has to be fulfilled for a semantic transfer to be realized and that is a certain degree of similarity between two denotations. For instance, there is an identical position of the neck in the case of neck of a body and neck of a bottle (cf. Peprník 2006). If there is a new usage pattern of an existing word to be traced which has been made in this way, we fully accept it as a neologism.

4.3.1 Metaphor

While figurative metaphorical expressions are believed to be a vital component of particularly poetic language, they constitute, nevertheless, an imposing part of newspaper wording. Habitually used in headlines, metaphors force people read the articles as they are usually not easily comprehensible if staying alone without any context provided.

Falling into a category of the transfer of meaning, the metaphor indicates a change based on exterior qualities. Peprník (2006) describes it as a shortened simile. The resemblance involves (cf. ibid. 44-45):

- shape (mouth of a river, tooth of a saw)
- location (heel of a shoe, foot of a mountain)
- function (leg of a chair, head of a state)
- colour (steel grey, canary yellow)
- extent (heaps of money, drop of water)

All the above examples have become conventional lexical items. Katamba (1994) refers to such metaphors as *dead*, i.e. these expressions are widely used mainly because speakers are acquainted with their meanings.

Conversely, not every metaphor needs necessarily to be lexicalized. The creative play with language of newspaper writers, which has been briefly dealt with, applies in specific areas of human interest. *"The sources of metaphor are often areas or activities in society which figure prominently in public consciousness"* (Hickey 2006: 10). As a consequence, metaphors are prolific in sport, politics, fashion, lifestyle, IT, etc. To illustrate the point, I would like to present a chart of selected metaphors of my own based on the data from the Guardian and the Daily Mail. The brief overview of metaphorical expressions is set out in **Table 4**.

Table 4

Area	Metaphor	Meaning
Sport	*tartan army*	Scottish national rugby team
	gym rat	a person who exercises a lot
IT	*cookie*	a file needed for a network connection
	explorer worm	a type of virus spreading across the Internet
Politics	*Great Satan*	dictatorships, e.g. Iran, North Korea
	chicken run	abandonment of an MP seat

To complete the question of metaphors, we have to draw a little attention to *synesthesia*. It is a type of metaphor by which one sense modality is characterized in

terms of another one (cf. Filipec and Čermák 1985), e.g. sharp taste, sweet smell, rough voice, quiet colour.

4.3.2 Metonymy

The latter type of semantic transfer is metonymy. In this figure of speech the name of an attribute is used instead of the thing itself (cf. Peprník 2006), e.g. the White House refers to the US president or the crown to monarchy. Filipec and Čermák (1985) are of the opinion that an absence of *tertium comparationis*[9] in case of metonymy clarifies the sharp contrast with metaphor.

Peprník (2006), who deals with the problem rather practically, distinguishes between several patterns of metonymy. There is no use listing them all but some illustration is unavoidable if we are to mark the difference between metonymy and metaphor. The selected patterns are transfers, namely from:

- condition to its bearer (e.g. authority, youth)
- material to product (e.g. silk, oil)
- product to person (e.g. chair, house)
- place to person (e.g. Downing Street)

Another case is the so-called contextual metonymy with classical examples of *to read Shakespeare* or *it was his Waterloo* (cf. ibid. 54).

As for the occurrence of metonymy in newspapers, one can easily come across a wide range of them. Nonetheless, as I have not done any research on frequency of semantic neologisms formed by metonymy, I dare not say how productive this process tends to be in journalistic style or in present-day English as a whole.

4.3.3 Synecdoche

Although I consider the suggestion that synecdoche is a type of metonymy (cf. Filipec and Čermák 1985) to be well-founded, I decided to deal with the phenomena in a separate subchapter. The reason is to make the overview visually more accessible and less chaotic.

A workable definition is that the synecdoche is a figure of speech by which a part is used to mean the whole (e.g. England used instead of the UK), the whole to mean a

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[9] The quality which two compared entities have in common.

part (e.g. Reading defeated Leeds), the species used instead of the genus (e.g. the cat referring to the cheetah) and the other way round (cf. Peprník 2006).

Our entire discussion on semantic change leads to the conclusion that the English lexicon is exposed to the pressure of trends and fashion in public discourse. *"This can be clearly seen in the renaming found in public life"* (Hickey 2006: 10).

As it has been stated above, semantic neologisms have been probably the most frequent ones during the development of the English language. However, this thesis has been aimed particularly at tracing neologisms within word-formation processes so that this chapter serves as a kind of a transition point, even though the topic itself would deserve more space.

5. WORD-FORMATION PROCESSES

In the previous discussion, we have been dealing with two processes of lexical restoring, namely, borrowing and changes of meaning. To complete this issue we cannot leave aside the third means, which is word-formation. Even if borrowing played a front-and-centre role in constituting English vocabulary in the past as it has multiplied its size several times and despite the fact that semantic change is supposed to be an extremely productive source of neologisms, the question of word-formation processes is such a complex issue that it merits an extra chapter. The disproportionate length of the following more or less detailed analysis has been planned intentionally for an apparent reason, which is to meet a fundamental requirement of my diploma thesis.

Nevertheless, I would like to underline that the primary objective of this chapter is not to provide an exhaustive survey of types of word-formation in English because it has already been done, for instance, by Huddleston and Pullum (2003), Quirk et al. (2006) or Marchand (1969). I would prefer to speak about presenting an outline which should serve to illustrate the variety of patterns which exists in present-day English.

5.1 Basic concepts

Let us begin by explaining a few theoretical aspects of word-formation. Firstly, we shall give a clear definition of the phenomenon. Plag's (2005: 13) interpretation *"the ways in which new complex words are built on the basis of other words or morphemes"* might be generally accepted. Word-formation itself is, however, sometimes referred to as derivation[10] (cf. Quirk et al. 2006), lexeme formation (cf. Lipka 2002) or lexical word-formation (cf. Huddleston and Pullum 2003). The last mentioned concept is vitally important to be taken into account as it excludes all formations of words by inflectional[11] processes.

Secondly, we must not omit the problem that is closely connected with the topic of our discussion. Word-formation is *"an area in which grammar and lexicology share a common ground"* (Quirk et al. 2006: 1517). There are regularities, for example, in word order in case of grammar and similar ones are to be found in the structures of words, i.e. its components (mainly affixes) cannot occur in an arbitrary sequence. Other

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[10] Although derivation is very often used by linguists (in our case see 5.3.2) to mean particular formation by the addition of affixes, Quirk works with this term differently.

[11] Inflectional categories include eight morphemes used to indicate aspects of grammatical function.

correspondences could be traced and will be touched upon several times in the course of the chapter.

Next, word-formation is a remarkably fruitful source of neologisms. It is not usual for it to be responsible for creating words we have never encountered before. In spite of this, speakers are able to understand the newly coined forms. Nonetheless, there are rules within the word-formation which allow us to decompose the word, isolate its constituents and deduce its meaning on the basis of the meaning of the parts (cf. Plag 2005). For me, this is the major significance of word-formation. Not only does it produce new words, it also enables us to see how the new lexical items work practically.

Lastly, the fact that word-formation is every so often subject to fashion rather than necessity (cf. Katamba 1994) and the Bauer's (2002) claim that word-formation can always be avoided should be borne in mind. I am fully aware that such statements do not serve as the best examples which would motivate us to continue with the study of word-formation but at least they need to be considered.

5.1.1 Creativity

The notion of creativity seems not to be routinely mentioned in literature dealing with word-formation. But I am convinced of the need to distinguish between creativity and productivity. The two terms are often used interchangeably, which, in my opinion, leads to confusion.

Lipka (2002) stresses a distinction between the analytic and synthetic aspect of word-formation. While the first dimension is viewed from the perspective of the reader who encounters existing complex lexemes, the latter one illustrates the viewpoint of the speaker who creatively produces a new lexeme. Thus, we shall follow the synthetic aspect if speaking about creativity.

According to Bauer (2002: 63), who gives a credible explanation of the phenomenon, creativity is *"the native speaker's ability to extend the language system in a motivated, but unpredictable way"*. The main reason why I share his opinion is the emphasis on the lack of the rule-governed innovation. On the other hand, this unpredictability results in the impossibility of making any generalizations about creativity, which I think is the compelling justification why so many linguists do not work with the concept of creativity.

Conversely, Renouf (2007) even claims that there are some rules of creativity. She demonstrates them by analogy with the word destruction, among others:

- difference of one phoneme (d<u>i</u>straction)
- same initial letter (<u>d</u>istraction)
- same prefix or same suffix (<u>de</u>ception, obstruc<u>tion</u>)
- shared semantics (discomfort, terror)

I implore the abovementioned points are rather tendencies than perfectly valid rules. They might be applicable when we are up to create a new word analogously on the basis of an already existing lexical item but certainly not when we make up an entirely new word. In this respect, I cannot but incline to agree with Bauer.

If it is not clearly evident that creativity gives rise to a large amount of neologisms and nonce-formations, it is at least deducible. That is why some space has been devoted to the issue.

5.1.2 Productivity

The second prolific source of neologisms is productivity, i.e. the central property of language which allows native speakers to produce a huge quantity of words (cf. Bauer 2002). We could simplify the matter by saying the greater the number of neologisms, the higher the productivity.

Speaking about this concept, we shall focus namely on the productivity of word-formation processes and affixes. In case of word-formation, this is a matter of how readily words can be formed by a given process. Similarly, if an affix is productive, it means that it is available for the coinage of new complex words (cf. Huddleston and Pullum 2003).

Next, we need also to consider the degree of productivity, i.e. frequency of occurrence of individual processes, respectively affixes. It is the way by which productivity is usually measured. However, we will work with broad categories such as high or low productivity rather than to quantify them according to Plag (2005) who makes a long list of premodifiers used with the concept of productivity, e.g. quasi-, dormant, marginally, semi-, fully, quite, immensely, etc. The far most productive affixes are *-ness* and *-ize* (cf. ibid. 53). As for the word-formation processes, their degree of productivity will become obvious later in this chapter.

Hickey (2006) points out another important feature of the productivity of affixes. If an affix is not productive, it does not mean that it is a permanent state. Remember the discussion about fashionable trends within word-formation. Once unproductive, an affix

can more or less easily regain its productivity. Some of the affixes even retained a certain degree of productivity to these days, e.g. *de-* (detox, deselect).

5.2 "Minor" word-formation processes

We are finally getting to the core of this diploma thesis which comprises various patterns of English word-formation. In part 5.2 we will present six "minor" and in the latter subchapter 5.3 four "major" ways in which new words are formed. I have put the expressions minor and major into quotation marks as I have intended to imply that they do not necessarily need to be labelled so.

I will also try to consider if Crystal's (2004) and Bauer's (2002) terms of *unusual*, respectively *unpredictable structures* which both refer to the minor word-formation processes are amply justified or not.

The last point I would like to mention is the fact that the lists of presented examples are by no means exhaustive.

5.2.1 Blending

I decided to begin our overview of various patterns by blending, which is a word-formation process characterized by combining two or rarely more (cf. Plag 2005) words into one. Unlike compounding it deletes material from one or both words and the remaining parts, the so-called blends, are then put together to constitute one single lexical item. From this point of view, we could agree with Katamba (1994) who sees blending as a hybrid. Although blending shares some properties of compounding[12], acronyms (cf. Bauer 2002), or even non-affixational derivation (cf. Plag 2005), we will treat it as an individual phenomenon in this separate chapter.

Bauer (2002) counts blending among unpredictable structures, whereas Plag (2005) claims the reverse. On the basis of his research, he is convinced that there is a degree of regularity within the way blending is formed and he rejects the Bauer's position. He suggests a simple blending rule AB + CD → AD (cf. ibid. 123) which demonstrates that the first part of the first word is always combined with the second part of the second element. As for the expression "always", it refers to 94 – 96 % of all cases of blending. The rest are exceptions (that prove the rule). I also tried to count the frequency of the "regular" blends based on my corpus of 103 neologisms formed by this

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[12] In the semantic respect, blends very often resemble especially copulative compounds as their both parts are semantically related. Thus, the classical example of *brunch* stands for both breakfast and lunch.

procedure and the results reach some 74 %. Even though I am well aware that my selected data is too small to display any tendencies, nevertheless, it seems to be somewhat in favour of Plag's judgements.

Even the boundaries where speakers cut the words are not, according to him, arbitrary but they are ever constrained by prosody, namely syllable structure.

Typically, the resulting word of the blending process is no longer than the longer of the two parts from which it is formed, but Huddleston and Pullum (2003) have successfully found several exceptions, e.g. *musicassette*, *sexploitation* or *glastnostalgia*. These blends are nearly so long as their constituents.

Not an unimportant point is that some blends serve as models for the formation of new words of the same kind. Hence, *chocaholic* is formed on the model of *workaholic* and, similarly, *Thatchernomics* has been modelled on the pattern of *Reaganomics* (cf. ibid. 1637).

At this point, as I have already provided some instances of blending, I think it is appropriate to display my own examples. **Table 5** presents seven neologisms I have found among many others in British newspapers.

Table 5

Neologism	Meaning	Source
Merkozy	Sarkozy and Merkel's alliance	Guardian 12/5/11
chocotherapy	therapy by chocolate	Guardian 8/13/05
flirtberrying	to flirt via BlackBerry™ mobile phones	Daily Mail 4/3/12
babelicious	an extremely attractive girl (babe + delicious)	Guardian 7/16/12
piloxing	a fitness program combining Pilates and box	Daily Mail 4/28/12
Yahooligans	hackers attacking Yahoo® search engine	Guardian 3/9/06
scare-saurus[13]	a frighteningly looking elderly person (dinosaur)	Daily Mail 11/30/12

Let us turn back to the theoretical issues. Hickey (2006) and Crystal (2004) are mainly interested in the meaning of blends. They both agree on the transparency of neologisms which come into existence by blending. In addition, they regard the second

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[13] In this blend, the original Latin word *dinosaurus* has been used leaving the English form *dinosaur* standing aside, which fascinates me.

element of the blend as the one that bears the more important piece of information for the meaning. Thus, for instance, the word *screenager* denotes a kind of a teenager but surely not a screen. The understandable structure of blends is also the key for potential acceptance by language users.

This brings me to the next area of our discussion in which I would like to address the question of productivity of blending. I have already tried to imply that blending is a very productive word-formation process and correspondingly a remarkably fruitful source of neologisms. A famous English writer Lewis Carroll was known for his penchant for inventing new words by blending. *Portmanteau words* are synonymous to blending and are associated with Lewis Carroll who certainly did not realize that his made-up term would one day become widely used in the science of linguistics (cf. Crystal 2007).

Blending seems to gain its popularity in the 1980s, being increasingly used in advertising (cf. Crystal 2004). This supports Lehrer (2007: 115): *"blends have been considered marginal. However, in the last few decades they have become increasingly common"*. **Figure 4** (taken from the Daily Mail, 13th of November 2012) confirms another Lehrer's observations, i.e. that the commonest places for occurrence of blends are advertisements, product names and newspapers headlines (cf. ibid. 128). The word *Breastapo* epitomizes it. Thanks to spreading in newspapers and magazines blending has become an extremely fashionable word-formation process. When Crystal (2004) refers to blending as plainly fashionable, it is not, therefore, sufficient nowadays. A detailed analysis will be provided in chapter VI.

Figure 4

However, we can draw preliminary conclusions that blending is by no means a minor word-formation process in present-day English. Not anymore. From this, it follows that I dare refuse the abovementioned Bauer's stances on contemporary minority and unpredictability of blending. It might have been perfectly valid in past centuries but certainly not in the last three decades. On the other hand, I accept that from the point of view of the historical development of the English language, blending remains still a marginal procedure. Because of this I have included it in the subchapter dealing with minor lexical formation.

5.2.2 Clipping

The reduction of the length of words that is noticeable in blending is even more apparent in clipping (cf. Yule 2010). This process takes place when a word of at least two syllables is shortened, thus, sometimes called shortening or truncation. It is the second quantitative change we are going to deal with.

As we will begin to describe clipping in a theoretical way, we shall borrow Huddleston and Pullum's (2003) terminological expressions, namely:

- the *original* – the word that has been used as the source of clipping
- the *surplus* – the cut-away phonological material
- the *residue* – the new clipped base

The residue is usually mono or disyllabic, e.g. *ad*, *mob*, *pen*, *deli* or *phone*, no matter how long the original was (cf. Plag 2005).

The usage of clippings is often restricted to informal style, colloquial speech, professionalisms or slang (cf. Quirk et al. 2006). On the contrary, Adams (1973) suggests a basic fact that clipped words like *lunch*, *pram* and *movie* seem to be used much more frequently than the originals they have come from.

Clipped forms can also change, replace or widen their primary meanings. Consider particularly the word *fan* nowadays denoting a sport devotee, a fanatic, or a kind or hairdryer (cf. Huddleston and Pullum 2003).

Turning to the classification of the words formed by clipping, we shall distinguish between two types – *plain clipping* which consists of just the residue and *embellished clipping* which is composed of the residue followed by a suffix.

Concerning the first type, we can further differentiate between three kinds of plain clippings on the basis from where the surplus has been removed (cf. ibid. 1635).

- *back* or *word-final clippings*, e.g. coke (← coc<u>aine</u>), deb (← de<u>butante</u>), doc (← doc<u>tor</u>)
- *foreclippings*, e.g. bus (← <u>omni</u>bus), cello (← <u>violon</u>cello), chute (← <u>para</u>chute)
- *ambiclippings* with classical examples of flu (← <u>in</u>flu<u>enza</u>) and fridge (← <u>re</u>frig<u>erator</u>)

By far the most common type is the back-clipping (cf. Katamba 1994). Contrastingly, there are very few examples of ambiclippings to be found, in other words, this formation is rather rare.

If we had gone through the abovementioned examples carefully, we must have noticed that in some cases there might be a little modification of a phoneme. It is apparent chiefly from the instances of coke and fridge. Other classical examples which are easily traced could be bike (← bicycle) or pram (← perambulator).

The latter type, embellished clipping, also technically known as hypocorisms, adds a suffix at the end of the shortened word. This is a fairly typical practice of Australian English. Although often informal, they appear in newspapers and magazines. The prevailing suffixes are *-ie* (barbie, frenchie), *-o* (doggo, rego), *-er* (rugger, soccer) or *-ers* (swimmers, preggers). As this change concerns diminutive suffixes, it is frequently subsumed under derivation. However, I am convinced that their forms are more heavily influenced by clipping, which is the reason why I treat them in this subchapter and not in the section 5.3.2 on derivation.

As it is self-evident from the synonymous name *familiarity markers* (cf. Quirk et al. 2006), embellished forms express a degree of familiarity. But I take the view that nearly every shortening have a positive denotation. In addition, Yule (2010: 56) highlights a striking point that *"there must be something about educational environments that encourages clipping"*. To prove his point, we shall take into account words like *exam*, *math*, *prof*, *typo*, *lab*, *chem*, etc. It would be interesting to study the attitudes of pupils and students and find out how many of them are really fond of Chemistry, Mathematics or examinations.

Instead of a conclusion stating clipping is a productive word-formation process, consider how many shortened neologisms are likely to be created. Nearly 100 % of all cases of clipping involve nouns. Currently available are examples of *Becks* (Beckham), *Sarko* (Sarkozy), *abs* (abdominals), *blog* (weblog) or *Cam* (Cameron). Detailed analysis will be provided in the practical part.

5.2.3 Acronyms

Acronyms are orthographically-based, and as such differ significantly from most other word-formation processes (cf. Bauer 2002). Together with abbreviations, which will be discussed in the following subchapter, they are two main types of *initialisms*. Nevertheless, they diverge from abbreviations in the way they are pronounced. In

respect to pronunciation, they behave like ordinary words. They have somehow preserved their phonological value, thus words like AIDS /eɪdz/, laser /leɪzə/, TEFL /tefəl/ are pronounced in this expected manner.

Acronyms are frequently formed on the basis of proper names, especially in case of organizations (cf. Jackson 1991), e.g. UNESCO (the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) or NATO (the North Atlantic Treaty Organization).

Quirk et al. (2006) claim that there is a kind of acronymic convenience, i.e. acronyms are at times carefully coined to be easily remembered. To illustrate the point, I have found an example of RICE in the health section of the Guardian. RICE covers the whole healing process a person has to undergo when suffers from a minor sport injury like sprained ankle. The instructions are simple – rest, ice, compression, elevation.

At the same time, Plag (2005) perceives that this is often done purely for marketing reasons, where the acronym is associated with the referent, e.g. CARE (Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere).

Another specific feature of acronyms is whether they are written with lower-case or upper-case letters. The upper-case type is recognizable by its written form but the problems come up when the lower-case letters are used. These acronyms are unidentifiable in the text or utterance and speakers might be blissfully unaware of using an acronym, e.g. *scuba* or *radar*.

Acronyms seem to be quite productive in current English. They enjoyed widespread popularity all through the 20th century, many of them originating during the two world wars (cf. Adams 1973). Moreover, acronyms are also considered to be *"a direct response to the communicative habitat of the twentieth century"* (Mair 2006: 38), i.e. they help us to make manageable the vast amount of scientific terminology we have to face. Among innumerable examples, I have chosen the word SARS denoting severe acute respiratory syndrome.

Last but not least, I would like to close the issue with rather socioliguistic dimensions of acronyms, i.e. by pointing out that the use of them can be taken as a marker of social identity (cf. Plag 2005). Members of a certain group, but not outsiders, know what they are talking about when using an acronymic word. No-one else is familiar with them.

5.2.4 Abbreviations

The next word-formation process I would like to comment on is abbreviation. Abbreviations are similar in nature to blends as they also are composed of remaining parts of different words. Like clipping and blending, they also affect loss of material. However, not prosodic but rather orthographic boundaries (cf. Plag 2005) play a prominent role in case of abbreviations.

Although some linguists use synonymous terms such as *alphabetisms* when referring to abbreviated forms or even subsume them under the category of initialisms, I have decided to stick to the usage of abbreviations in order not to interchange the terminology. For the purposes of transparency, I see it as sufficient to treat this process in accordance with Huddleston and Pullum (2003).

Abbreviations are pronounced as sequences of letters, e.g. DNA /diː en eɪ/ or UN /juː en/. They are normally written as the previous examples, nonetheless, occasionally, they could be spelt like ordinary words, as in *deejay*. Abbreviations of Latin phrases are written with low-case letters. Hence, the following written forms of *e.g.*, *i.e.*, *ps.*, *etc.* and so on.

For someone maybe unexpectedly, abbreviations as well as other bases can enter into other word-formation processes, for instance the word ZPG-er standing for a supporter of the zero population growth movement (cf. ibid. 1633).

Abbreviations are very fashionable nowadays. The popularity could be traced back over 170 years (cf. Crystal 2004). They come and go in waves and thanks to the rapid progress in science and technology, abbreviations have flooded not only the English language. I am totally convinced that there is hardly anyone in the western civilized world who has never heard words such as *SMS*, *MP3*, *www* or *GM*.

In summary, this word-formation process was the last one that concerned quantitative changes. Of course, among the "minor" ones as backformation will be dealt with in subchapter 5.3.4. There is no use presenting numbers based on my corpus, yet. For the final outcomes, see part 6.2.

5.2.5 Reduplicatives

Again, I shall begin by an explanation why I treat this process separately in this subchapter. Reduplicatives share some qualities with compounds, hence the Huddleston and Pullum's (2003) terminology of phonologically motivated compounds. Even though I admit that they consist of two bases, one or both parts may not exist on their own, i.e.

independently. From this point of view, they do not fulfil the basic conditions of compounds. There is no free-standing word like wishy, tock, or criss. The only possible way for their existence is in the reduplicatives *wishy-washy*, *tick-tock* and *criss-cross*. Katamba (1994) uses the first example when referring to the whole group, i.e. so-called *wishy-washy words* in Katamba's case.

What is more, if reduplicatives were normal, regular compounds, the right-hand base would be the head. However, very often the only meaningful element stands at the left-hand side, e.g. *fuzzy-wuzzy* or *super-duper* (cf. Huddleston and Pullum 2003).

There are two main types of reduplicatives to be found: *rhyme-motivate*d and *ablaut-motivated*. In the case of the first one, the two words are put together simply because they rhyme, e.g. *clap-trap*, *teeny-weeny* or *walkie-talkie*. In the latter type, a vowel alteration takes place. We can illustrate it on instances of *ch<u>i</u>tch<u>a</u>t*, *z<u>i</u>gz<u>a</u>g* or *p<u>i</u>ng-p<u>o</u>ng*. The /ɪ/ sound seems to be changed in quality by far the most frequently, Marchand (1969) specifies that the most common patters are /ɪ/ → /æ/ and /ɪ/ → /ɒ/.

Quirk et al. (2006) identify four basic uses of reduplicatives, namely:

- to imitate sounds, e.g. bow-wow, clip-clop
- to describe movements, e.g. seesaw, flip-flop
- to disparage by suggesting nonsense, instability or vacillation, e.g. hocus-pocus, dilly-dally
- to intensify, e.g. tip-top, mumbo-jumbo

Concerning productivity of this word-formation process, reduplication is less marginal than one would expect (cf. Hickey 2006). In contemporary English, occurrence of reduplicatives like Tony's cronies, yummy mummy, zero hero or dream team is very usual. To find out whether our speculations prove correct or not, consult part 6.2.

5.2.6 Word manufacture

"The invention of words in this sense seems to be a relatively rare phenomenon, in English at least, but it does happen" (Herbst 2010: 99). This supports Lass (1987) who regards manufacture as not a preferred strategy in forming new words. The rarity appears to be the cause why not much space is usually devoted to this issue in various studies dealing with lexical word-formation. For instance, Huddleston and Pullum

(2003) have written only seven lines about manufacture in otherwise an exhaustive survey.

Seemingly, this could mislead us to conclude that there is nothing to discuss. However, I would like to highlight some interesting points. First of all, we shall specify what we are actually speaking about. Word manufacture is an arbitrarily creative word-formation process based on the principle *creatio ex nihilo* (cf. Bauer 2002). In other words, any morphological, phonological or orthographic motivation is absent.

Manufacture is also sometimes called *coinage* (cf. Yule 2010). Crystal (2002b), on the other hand, uses the term coinage to denote any neologism as we have already seen in part 3.1.3. My personal preference belongs to the usage of word manufacture as it emphasizes the speaker's creativity and by no rules governed inventiveness.

From a structural point of view, the result of word manufacture is a simple base, i.e. it does not consist of any other smaller morphological units (cf. Huddleston and Pullum 2003). Also, the relation between meaning and form, if ever, happens rather accidentally.

Examples of manufacture are well-known words as *nylon*, or more recent expressions like *spam*, *Viagra* or *Google*. From the last two instances, it is apparent that this process is productive in making up new trade names.

Google is an omnipresent phenomenon which deserves mentioning. Kilgarriff (2010) points out that this expression has successfully entered the lexicon of at least nineteen languages from nine language families. It is no more but obvious that google is also a fascinating case in point as for the process of borrowing. In addition, it will be touched upon once more when we will be examining conversion.

To summarize subchapter 5.2 as a whole, we have theoretically described six word-formation processes. I tried to provide some more or less classical examples as well as illustrate the topicality of given processes on the neologisms based on my corpus.

In the introduction to this part, I have claimed that we would consider if Crystal's (2004) and Bauer's (2002) notions of unusual, respectively unpredictable structures were misleading or not. The conclusion drawn is that blending and quantitative changes, i.e. clipping, acronyms and abbreviations, do not fit the terminology of the two linguists. In this respect, I share the Plag's (2005) opinion on regularity and presence of rules within these processes. But as for reduplicatives and word manufacture, the reverse is true.

Next, from the historical point of view, we can refer to all these processes as to proportionally minor ones. Nevertheless, blending and abbreviation are extremely productive at present, or at least very popular and fashionable.

We have also addressed the problems closely related to the question of neologisms. Let us consider the words piloxing or Merkozy, for instance. The first one will in all probability be replaced by another fitness program and will go out of fashion. The latter is moving towards the periphery even quicker because there is nothing such as the former political alliance any more for an apparent reason that Nicolas Sarkozy has not been re-elected. This is the way how language seems to work, i.e. it reflects all social needs. No matter if it is to create or stop using a word.

5.3 "Major" word-formation processes

In this chapter, we are going to deal with the last four word-formation processes, i.e. compounding, derivation, conversion and backformation. During the historical development of the English language, they were of a significant importance. Therefore, the term major is used in the heading. It appears logical as virtually any lexeme can be given an affix, be made a compound of, or change its word class (cf. Crystal 2004). Especially compounding and derivation remained extremely productive in these days, which I dare support on the basis of the results of my research.

Nevertheless, on the whole, it would be probably better to regard these processes as traditional because not all of them have kept their former productivity. Let us turn to the individual concepts in order to be able to make our own judgements.

5.3.1 Compounding

"Compounding is an ancient word-formation strategy, dating back to Proto-Indo-European[14]" (Lass 1987: 200). Moreover, it has flourished during many centuries and remained highly productive to the present time for the simple reason that compounds are, according to Bolinger (1980), the easiest of all new words to create. Accordingly, it gives rise to a number of neologisms and particularly nonce-formations (cf. Katamba 1994).

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[14] The ancient language on which all Indo-European languages are thought to be based. Although there are no written records of Proto-Indo-European, linguists have tried to construct it from the evidence of modern languages.

A compound consists of usually not more than two *lexical bases* functioning both grammatically and semantically as a single item (cf. Quirk et al. 2006). I prefer the term base to *stem* used e.g. by Crystal (2004). The stem is actually a part of a word-form without any inflectional affixes and in this respect, it should be viewed as a matter of inflectional morphology. On the contrary, the base represents any form to which any affixes can be added. The process of compounding can be easily entered by a word-form that contains a base with an inflectional or derivational affix. Consider, for instance, words like bee<u>s</u>wax, sword<u>s</u>man (inflectional) or theatre-go<u>er</u> and factory work<u>er</u> (derivational). I think the examples offer a possible explanation of why I would be careful when using the two terms in order to avoid mixing them up.

As being composed of free forms, there is another problem with compounds. In other words, their components show the same kind of relationship that is also found in sentences. Hence, they are sometimes thought to be on the borderline between syntax and word-formation (cf. Adams 1973).

Generally speaking, this problem arises typically in cases where the first element is an adjective and the second one is a noun. However, it is possible to differentiate between the syntactic and lexical matters. Let us consider, say, classical examples of [a] *blackbird* and *greenhouse* versus [b] *black bird* and *green house*. There is a relatively sharp contrast. Firstly, from an orthographic point of view, it is obvious at first sight that the words in [a] are written together, i.e. as one word, whereas as for [b], they are written as a sequence. Turning to pronunciation, those in [a] are pronounced with the primary stress on the first component while items in [b] have the main stress on the second. Finally, words in [b] typically allow a wide range of modification, e.g. *an unusually bright green house* (cf. Huddleston and Pullum 2003). Contrastingly, those in [a] exclude modification of the first element. We cannot make a construction like **a really blackbird*. It would be illogical. I am fully aware that it is perfectly possible to find examples which would not fit the above criteria and the boundary between syntax and morphology would be best described as unclear. From this point of view, I agree with Plag (2005) who regards compounding as both the most productive and controversial type of word-formation. For our purposes, this should be taken into account but not the way that would complicate this issue.

The next important feature of compounds is their often hyponimic nature. Even though both parts of a compound are in principal equally open, they tend to be in a relation where the first component modifies the second one (cf. Quirk et al. 2006).

Marchand (1969) suggests a general rule of this semantic relation, i.e. AB is a kind of B. It means that if we take the word *toothache* it does not denote a type of tooth but it stands for a kind of ache. Ache is the component B or the so-called head. The head bears the core meaning while the element A plays just the role of a *modifier* or *dependent* in case of Huddleston and Pullum (2003). Similarly, a doghouse is a type of a house or a wall-flower is a kind of a flower but not conversely. Compounds formed by this pattern are usually called *endocentric*, the ones that fail the test of hyponymy are referred to as *exocentric* with examples of glow-worm, hotshot, sunset, etc.

Apart from the semantic relations we have just discussed, there is another viewpoint according to which compounds are usually classified. I mean the syntactic point of view. The vast majority of compounds are *subordinative* (cf. ibid. 1646), in which the head and the modifier are recognizable, e.g. pillow-case, dark-haired or bathroom. However, there are also compounds whose both components are of the very same status. These are called *coordinative*. I think that the terminology used clearly illustrates that we have something to do with syntax. In coordinative compounds, none of the two components is subordinate to or dependent on the other. Thus, bitter-sweet is both bitter and sweet and the same in case of secretary-treasurer. Between the parts of a coordinative compound, the conjunction *and* can be imagined if we hesitate to categorize the compound.

We have already touched upon the issue of classification of compounds. Nonetheless, it was intended rather as an introduction to the problems we have to face. I also tried to imply that there is nothing like the only possible way according to which compounds shall be treated. But the following linguistic "mainstream" seems to tend to classify them by the function they have in the sentence (cf. Bauer 2002), i.e. as nouns, adjectives, verbs, etc. The disadvantage of this system is in the large amount of words that underwent conversion. This makes it sometimes difficult to decide to which class the elements belong. Despite the fact, our overview will be based mainly on Huddleston and Pullum (2003) as they have somehow succeeded in making this complicated issue quite transparent, accessible and comprehensible.

5.3.1.1 Compound nouns

This is the broadest category into which the largest proportion of compounds falls. Compound nouns can be further divided into two main subcategories, i.e. *verb-centred* and *noun-centred*, according to their heads. Not surprisingly, a noun is the final base in

the noun-centred compound nouns, whereas a verbal element is the central one in the verb-centred. It can be identical with the verb itself, e.g. life-guard, derived by suffixation, e.g. busdriver or formed by conversion of originally verbal base, e.g. handshake.

At this point, I consider it as appropriate to provide an overview (see **Figure 5**) of further subtypes of compound nouns. I think it is useless to deal with the single categories individually. Thus, only two special cases will be described in more details bellow.

Figure 5
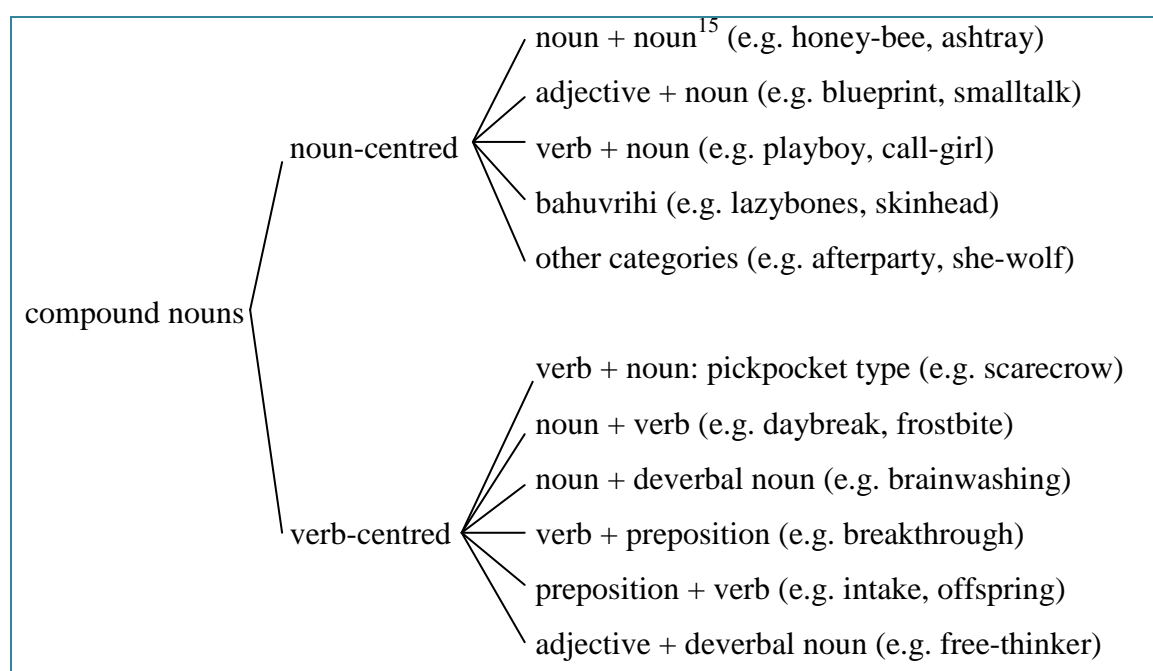
Let us briefly comment on the promised unusual cases that occur in the chart. First of all, the so-called *bahuvrihi*[16] compounds. This type of compounds denotes the entity characterized by having the indicated features, thus a skinhead is someone who has a hairless head and a lazybones is someone who is very lazy. Other examples could be redskin, birdbrain, butterfingers or paleface. As their meaning is rather figurative, they are sometimes labelled as *idiomatic* because a speaker has to be familiar with their denotation. In English, there is only a small number of bahuvrihi compounds and they mostly refer to people in a derogatory way.

While bahuvrihi compounds kept their productivity to the present day, the next pattern we are going to discuss is not productive any more. It is the so-called *pickpocket*

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[15] This process is by far the most productive kind of word-formation (cf. Huddleston and Pullum 2003).
[16] This term has been taken from Sanskrit, with the meaning "having much rice".

type. It is very similar to the previous category in the manner it denotes the person or thing that carries out the action, thus a scarecrow is something that scares crows away and a pickpocket is a person who steals from pockets (cf. ibid. 1652). However, it is composed of different parts of speech. This is the reason why we distinguish between the two types and do not regard them as synonymous.

5.3.1.2 Compound adjectives

Similarly to the previous type, adjectival compounds are also classified here on the basis of its central element. There are two main categories that are worth mentioning, i.e. *adjective-centred*, e.g. cholesterol-free, ice-cold or self-confident, and *verb-centred* compound adjectives with examples of fun-loving, breath-taking, clean-shaven, home-made, etc.

Speaking about the adjective-centred compound adjectives, we should be aware of the fact that an adjective is usually the second component and a noun is the first one, e.g. headstrong, foot-loose. However, unlike compound nouns, we can generally say that there is no contrast between a compound and a syntactic structure (cf. ibid. 1656). There are, therefore, no problems we had to face in part 5.3.1.1 in case of blackbird and greenhouse.

These compounds mostly indicate either intensification or measure terms. The nominal component here serves as an intensifier or as an indicator of extent. Intensifying can be clearly demonstrated on instances of feather-light, snow-white, rock-hard, etc. If something is feather-light, it is light as a feather and further explanations would be too obvious to be necessary. Measure terms are easily illustrated by compounds ankle-deep, week-long or shoulder high.

The second type concerns verb-centred compound adjectives. They are very productive and cover particularly patterns of gerund-participle and past-participle as heads. Illustrations have been already provided in the first paragraph of this subchapter. Moreover, many adjectives of this kind are fully gradable.

5.3.1.3 Compound verbs

There are not so many compound verbs in English as there are compound nouns or compound adjectives (cf. ibid. 1660). Interestingly, they are usually not formed by the process of compounding but more likely by backformation or conversion. There are three means of backformation from which compound verbs have resulted, i.e. by

deletion of endings *-er* (ghostwriter → ghostwrite), *-ing* (job-sharing → job-share) and *-ed* (hen-pecked → hen-peck). Conversion is also predominantly typical of noun compounds, e.g. (a) blacklist → (to) blacklist.

Someone may claim that phrasal verbs such as sit up, drive in, look at, care for and others, are also rightful members of the compound verbs group. Although Adams (1973) admits that they can be possibly considered as semi-compounds, Bauer (2002: 206) rejects this hypothesis firmly by saying *"it is arguable that these are not strictly compounds at all"*. The weak point of Bauer's denial is that he does not come up with any evidence which would support his statement. For me, it remains quite puzzling whether to count phrasal verbs among pure compounds or not. I would tend to agree with Bauer if he gave reasons to his opinion. But without any supportive arguments, this unproved view could be easily regarded as untenable. Nevertheless, it is at least important to notice that phrasal verbs can be categorized in this way.

5.3.1.4 Neo-classical compounds

The very last category of compounds is in one respect extraordinary. It is *"word-formation according to Latin and Greek, rather than English models"* (Quirk et al. 2006: 1522). A neo-classical compound is either one or both components are combining forms. The combining forms are usually of Greek or Latin origin as it follows from the citation of Quirk. They are extremely productive in modern English word-formation, especially in the natural sciences, and this is why we speak about *neo*-classical compounds (cf. Huddleston and Pullum 2003, Bauer 2002).

Combining forms are not dissimilar to affixes mainly because they do not occur as separate bases (cf. Quirk et al. 2006). We can distinguish between two types of combining forms, i.e. ICFs standing for *initial combining forms*, e.g. psych(o)-, hydr(o), geo-, pseud(o)-, etc., and FCFs denoting *final combining forms*, e.g. -pathy, -(o)crat, -(o)phobe and so on. In this respect, they still resemble rather affixes. However, there are some grounds for subsuming them under the category of bases.

First of all, some neo-classical compounds are composed of two bound combining forms and nothing more. It is unthinkable to form the structure affix plus affix alike. In the second place, in spite of the relative rareness of free combining forms, they are not impossible. Some cases can serve as bases to which affixes can be added, e.g. aquatic, anaemia (cf. Huddleston and Pullum 2003). Moreover, from a semantic point of view,

the meanings of combining forms are more transparent and specific than those of affixes.

Another common property of neo-classical compounds is that they often have an infixed vowel -o- at the boundary between the bases (cf. ibid. 1662). Anthropology, theocracy, phonograph, etc. serve as illustrations of this particular instance.

To conclude the problematic issue of compounding, we have to point out that we went through the most productive and complex issue of English word-formation. The claim that it is a fruitful source of neologisms will be proved by the data of my corpus.

5.3.2 Derivation

The focus in this section is on derivation, sometimes labelled as affixation (cf. Lass 1987, Quirk et al. 2006), which is according to Yule (2010) the core of English word-formation.

Derivation is the process of forming a new base by the addition of a bound form, the affix (cf. Adams 1973). From time to time it happens that one affix replaces another one, e.g. critic<u>ise</u> → critic<u>ism</u>. By the term affix we understand prefixes, suffixes and infixes. Prefixes occur in front of a base and suffixes at the end.

However, morphologists generally agree that in English there are no infixes, i.e. morphemes incorporated inside another word, and should be excluded from word-formation as such. Although there is no system of them, I am in favour of Plag (2005: 104) who highlights the fact that *"structurally it is a completely regular process and as such must be a part of our linguistic competence"*. Also, we can support such idea from the semantic point of view as the derived word created by infixation expresses strongly the speaker's attitude. Let me illustrate it on classical examples of abso<u>goddam</u>lutely, Minne<u>bloody</u>sota, un<u>fucking</u>believable or kanga<u>bloody</u>roo. Unfortunately, I have not been successful in finding an infix without a hint of vulgarity.

Considering derivation as a whole, there is one further point to make and it is the number of formal issues which arise, namely morphophonological and spelling alterations and syntactic effects which, similarly as for treating compounds, result in the classification of individual prefixes and suffixes.

Turning to the first problematic area, i.e. morphophonological alteration, it includes another three changes (cf. Huddleston and Pullum 2003):

- shifts in stress patterns

- vowel alterations

- consonant alterations

With respect to stress, there are three major classes of English suffixes. The ones that are unstressed, and do not influence the stress patterns of their bases, are called *stress-neutral*, e.g. -ness, -dom, -er, -hood, -ish. *Stress-reducing* is the term used for suffixes that carry primary stress in derivatives and reduce all stresses in the base, e.g. -ese, -esque, -ee. Finally, the last group is *stress-attracting*. These suffixes do not bear stress but they affect its placement, they attract the primary stress to the closest left-hand syllable (cf. Lass 1987), e.g. -ic: symbol /ˈsɪmbl/ → symbolic /sɪmˈbɒlɪk/, -ity: commune /ˈkɒmjuːn/ → /kəˈmjuːnəti/, etc. Prefixes have not been mentioned as they do not often influence the word stress.

The next point we have to briefly outline is vowel alternation. There is an enormous amount of such cases in English, resulting chiefly from the Great Vowel Shift[17]. Namely, changes from /aɪ/ → /ɪ/ – crime → criminal, /iː/ → /e/ – obscene → obscenity, /aʊ/ → /ʌ/ – profound → profundity, etc.

Lastly, among the most important consonant alterations are the following (cf. Huddleston and Pullum 2003):

- nasal assimilation: /n/ ~ /m/ – inaudible ~ impossible

- velar softening /k/ ~ /s/; /g/ ~ /dʒ/ – electric ~ electricity

- alveolar plosive vs. fricative /t/ ~ /ʃ/ or /s/; /d/ ~ /ʒ/ or /z/ – transmit ~ transmission

Let us continue by a short analysis of spelling alterations. It is important to notice the rule according to which the final consonant is doubled if a suffix is added. Hence, the term *consonant doubling*. It happens when the base ending in a vowel plus a consonant is stressed, e.g. baggage, nunnery, deterrence, committal, etc.

Changes of spelling are further obvious in case of *e-deletion*. Mute *e* is usually deleted before a vowel-initial suffix as is illustrated in abuse → abusive, believe → believable, fame → famous, Rome → Roman, and so forth. In several few cases mute *e* is exceptionally deleted before a consonant-initial vowel, e.g. true → truly, awe → awful or whole → wholly.

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[17] Changes in the vowel system concerning long vowels and diphthongs which took place approximately between the 15th and 17th centuries.

Finally, a base final *y* is normally replaced by *i* when adding suffixes that do not begin with *i*. For instance, apply → applicant, carry → carriage, likely → likelihood.

I should now like to touch upon the question of the syntactic effects of affixes. By this very last formal issue we shall finish our brief outline of preliminaries to derivation. We distinguish three main types of affixes which differ with respect to what extent they affect the syntactic distribution of the base to which they are attached (cf. ibid. 1667). There are affixes which:

- change the primary category
- change the subclass
- have no effect on the syntactic distribution

The first mentioned and vitally important role of affixes and particularly suffixes is to form nouns, adjectives, verbs, etc. from another word classes. In this way, if we add the suffix -ness to the base blind, the newly created word is blindness which is a noun. Therefore, we speak about *nominalisation*. Similarly, if we add an adjectival or verbal suffix, we form words by so-called *adjectivalisation* and *verbalisation* respectively. For examples of these suffixes see part 5.3.2.2.

Less frequently, affixes trigger a change in the subclass, but preserve the primary category at the same time. The most common cases are changes from an intransitive to transitive verb (e.g. moan → <u>be</u>moan) and from a concrete countable to an abstract uncountable noun (e.g. star → star<u>dom</u>).

However, there are also affixes, prevailingly prefixes, which do not tend to change even the subclass. Among others: <u>un</u>happy, <u>arch</u>bishop, <u>mis</u>lead, <u>re</u>-write.

Having mainly dealt with suffixes, we finally have demonstrated a few instances of prefixation. Let us analyse them in more details in the following subchapter.

5.3.2.1 Prefixation

In his study, Crystal (2004) makes an observation that English has 57 varieties of prefixes. To prove the point, it would mean to make a very long list of all the existing data. For our purposes, it has to be sufficient to be aware of the bewildering range and complexity of this issue. We will work with rather a short list based on a comparison of Crystal's (2004) and Huddleston and Pullum's (2003) classification of prefixes. The most common types are as follows:

- augmentatives
- location in space, time and order
- negative and reversative
- disparaging
- number

Augmentatives, as their word origin based on Latin *augere* meaning 'to increase' (cf. Turnbull 2009) suggests, typically signify large size, very high degree or extraordinary quality. Hickey (2006) emphasizes that these prefixes are extremely popular in computing, especially cases as mega-, hyper- and giga-. Other examples of already incorporated augmentative prefixes are <u>arch</u>-criminal, <u>maxi</u>-yacht, <u>super</u>sensitive, <u>ultra</u>marathon, etc.

Many prefixes have both a spatial and a temporal use, although there are a few cases where they are restricted to one or the other sphere. They are similar in nature to prepositions because they denote position, direction, orientation, time specification, and ordering. For instance <u>fore</u>head, <u>pre</u>-school, <u>post</u>graduate, <u>over</u>turn, <u>sub</u>way, <u>in</u>come, <u>mid</u>summer, <u>extra</u>terrestrial, <u>out</u>standing, <u>inter</u>dependency, <u>trans</u>alpine, <u>cis</u>lunar, <u>post</u>-war, <u>re</u>cycle, <u>ex</u>-wife, etc. Even if I tried it would be impossible to give an exhaustive overview.

The next type of prefixes covers negatives and reversatives. They express oppositeness as well as related concepts. Examples of five negative prefixes are <u>a</u>sexual, <u>dis</u>honest, <u>in</u>complete, <u>non</u>-smoker and <u>un</u>helpful. Even though reversative prefixes are represented by similar examples (<u>dis</u>connect, <u>un</u>tie, <u>un</u>lock, <u>de</u>frost), it has to be borne in mind that their meanings are different from those of negatives. There are three more prefixes to be subsumed under the group of both reversatives and negatives. <u>Anti</u>oxidant, <u>anti</u>freeze, <u>counter</u>-attack, <u>contra</u>flow and <u>contra</u>-indication all denote opposition and can be treated rather as a part of negative prefixes, in my opinion.

Turning to disparaging prefixes, it is apparent that their function is to belittle the quality of the base words. I have found only two of them, namely <u>mal</u>nutrition and <u>mis</u>adventure. Some grammarians add pseudo- to the short list but we regard it as a combining form.

Finally, prefixes denoting number are based on Latin and Greek, e.g. <u>bi</u>cycle, <u>demi</u>god, <u>di</u>oxide, <u>mono</u>culture, <u>multi</u>racial, <u>semi</u>circle, <u>uni</u>sex, etc.

5.3.2.2 Suffixation

This process is a vital component of derivation. In English, suffixes even outnumber prefixes (cf. Bauer 1994). As well as the previous type of word-formation, suffixation is inspired by foreign languages. At present, the originally Spanish ending -ista is used in the word fashionista (somebody obsessed with fashion) or similarly -o in galactico (a football star). Bauer (2002) supports this by not just the latest examples from Russian (-nik) and French (-age). Renouf (2007) emphasizes that some foreign and now lexicalized suffixes seem to be ideal for use in news reporting, e.g. love<u>fest</u>, swim<u>athon</u>. As I have gone through more than 200 copies of newspapers, I cannot but agree with Renouf's conclusion.

As I have promised we will treat suffixes from a syntactic point of view. Nevertheless, before doing so, let us give some space to a morphologically based phenomenon of gender-marking suffixation.

As for gender-marking, speakers are now supposed to use gender-neutral expressions when referring to usually female gender in order to avoid sexist bias. This change of attitudes can be viewed as a result of linguistic reform around the 1970s. However, for most of the history of English gender-marking suffixes have been used and this is the main reason why I consider it as suitable to mention its four representatives. Still in use is princ<u>ess</u> but undergradu<u>ette</u>, avia<u>trix</u> or hero<u>ine</u> are now obsolete.

For their syntactic features, suffixes are usually divided into three categories:

- nominal
- adjectival
- verbal

The first type of suffixes involves the formation of a noun from bases of other classes. The derived nouns usually denote person, instrument, action, state or process. There are really many of them, e.g. assist<u>ant</u>, correspond<u>ent</u>, drunk<u>ard</u>, refu<u>gee</u>, vegeta<u>rian</u>, mountain<u>eer</u>, figh<u>ter</u>, lingu<u>ist</u>, gang<u>ster</u>, refus<u>al</u>, entr<u>ance</u>, act<u>ion</u>, saint<u>hood</u>, since<u>rity</u>, judge<u>ment</u>, hard<u>ship</u>, leng<u>th</u>, depar<u>ture</u>, etc. These suffixes give rise to a number of neologisms, for instance Facebooker, de-teddification or facialist. Extremely popular seems to be the suffix -ism forming new words as Bushism, Blairism,

nimbyism, beerism or voodooism. Also the ending -ee (e.g. employee) is considered to be very fruitful in late 20th century (cf. Bauer 1994).

Regarding adjectivalisation which is a matter of forming adjectives primarily from nouns and verbs, we have to say that the number of adjectival suffixes is comparable to the nominal ones. To prove the point, let us again illustrate some examples. Productive adjectival suffixes are to be found in words like read<u>able</u>, ed<u>ible</u>, accident<u>al</u>, signific<u>ant</u>, excell<u>ent</u>, volunt<u>ary</u>, passion<u>ate</u>, barefac<u>ed</u>, woode<u>n</u>, sin<u>ful</u>, aller<u>gic</u>, attrac<u>tive</u>, home<u>less</u>, lady<u>like</u>, dead<u>ly</u>, compuls<u>ory</u>, glori<u>ous</u>, hand<u>some</u> and stick<u>y</u>. The last one is probably the most productive of adjectival suffixes in current English as it is found in numerous recent words (cf. Huddleston and Pullum 2003), e.g. glitzy, nerdy, yucky. However, I do not count them among neologisms as they are some 40 and even more years old (cf. Turnbull 2009).

Contrastingly, there are only four verbal suffixes to be found, namely *-ate* as in domesticate, *-en* (frighten), *-ify* (simplify) and *-ise* (legalise) which is the most productive suffix for forming verbs in present-day English (cf. Huddleston and Pullum 2003).

To conclude our discussion on derivation, I would like to imply one tendency which will become apparent from my research. Although derivation has played a very important role in English word-formation, it seems to be being replaced by other highly fashionable trends. But the question is if the "in" processes are able to produce as many fully established words as derivation has done.

5.3.3 Conversion

In the process known as conversion, lexemes are forced to change their word class without the addition of an affix (cf. Crystal 2004). This definition seemingly involves no problems closely related to the controversial issue of conversion. Similarly, Bauer's (2002: 226) claim that *"conversion is a totally free process and any lexeme can undergo conversion into any of the open form classes as the need arises"* leaves us under the impression that nothing unexpected is likely to happen. In actual fact, the reverse is true.

The very first problem which occurs in connection with conversion is the difficulty, especially for non-native speakers, in deciding what word class was the original one. This question was essential when I had to face the dilemma if a certain

word has been converted and thus could or could not be counted among neologisms. Native speakers can rely on their intuition, but I had to consult a dictionary.

Secondly, for some linguists conversion is a matter of syntactic usage and not of a lexical word-formation. I admit that such reasons are well-founded as there are many instances in which changes of this type occur with ease and regularity (cf. ibid. 227). The easy way was given the green light when English lost its system of inflections at the end of the Old English period and conversion started dominating (cf. Crystal 2007). The explosion of conversion is thus a distinctive feature of English as an analytic language. At the same time, it shows the importance of the syntactic criteria to determine the word-class membership (cf. Katamba 1994). The presence of context is also inevitable to trace the converted items as they function rather unusually within the sentence structure.

So far, we have been justifying the syntactic point of view but the question why I consider conversion as a matter of lexical word-formation remained unanswered. Let me put it right and prove the clear status of conversion within word-formation processes. I am of the opinion that conversion creates new words. Even though the shape of a given word is kept unchanged, the newly formed word class has different properties from its original base. For instance, consider the word *attempt*. As a noun and as a verb, it enters different inflectional paradigms (cf. Huddleston and Pullum 2003). It is also used with dissimilar prepositions, i.e. as for the noun, we can say attempt to, at or on whereas if used as a verb, the only possibility is attempt to (cf. Turnbull 2009). Both forms can also be semantically distant. In other words, the noun attempt can stand for an act of trying to kill somebody but this meaning is absent in case of the verb.

The next thing I have to explain is why I might be rather conservative when using the term conversion. Simply because it is actually the oldest term as there are many newer ones, functional shift, functional conversion, category change, transposition, or zero-derivation, for instance. Some scholars are strongly in favour of the last concept but others firmly reject it. The linguistic debate about the existence of a *zero-affix* is, therefore, very heated.

On the one hand, Adams (1973) believes that there are even many zero-affixes with various functions. Lipka (2002) asserts that the notion of zero-affix was not introduced to complicate matters. He points out that the concept is useful especially in the case of homonymous words in order to distinguish between their semantics.

Conversely, Quirk et al. (2006) see it only as an attempt to view conversion as parallel to the use of affixes and flatly refuse such conclusions and abstract units as such.

The only one who resolves the problem without an explicit denial both concepts seems to be Plag (2005: 112). He points out that in the case of zero-derivation, *"we would have to find at least one affix which expresses exactly the same range of meanings as conversion"*. If we succeeded, we can safely assume that a zero-affix exists. Nevertheless, we can add that nobody has managed to find such an affix. From this point of view, Plag is rather in favour of non-affixational conversion but he leaves his options open.

I think it is reasonable. If somebody gave me a credible explanation and practical demonstration of the existence of a zero-affix so that it would stop being only a theoretical concept, I would have no problems to accept it. By that time, I will prefer the term conversion.

Turning to the classification of conversion, we have to emphasise that most cases of conversion involve the three major categories of nouns, verbs and adjectives. In particular, the most prominent types are from noun to verb (e.g. a bottle → to bottle), verb to noun (to call → a call) and adjective to verb (empty → to empty). However, it should be taken into account that prepositions (to up a tree), conjunctions, adverbs and even affixes (a maxi) can undergo the process of conversion (cf. Bauer 2002).

We shall also draw a difference between *full conversion*, i.e. conversion as already discussed, and *partial conversion*, where a word of one class takes over a function which is characteristic of another word class (cf. Quirk et al. 2006). A perfect example of this process is the formation of *the poor* from the adjectival base poor. However, it is doubtful if this somewhat restricted use of adjectives should be considered as word-formation process at all. No nominal inflections or affixes can be added to the new base, moreover, there is still a resemblance of adjectives as it is possible to make their comparative and superlative forms, i.e. the poorer, the poorest. What is more, there are even no constraints on productivity as such. This makes it impossible to trace any neologisms formed in this way, so that I have not used this concept while searching items for my corpus.

Finally, the very last type of conversion we are going to briefly mention is conversion within secondary word class. The clearest example of this type is the use of uncountable nouns as countable, e.g. two teas. Proper nouns can be similarly used as common nouns, e.g. Which Patrick have you met? Intransitive verbs are also frequently

used as transitive ones, e.g. to run a shop. Last but not least, non-gradable adjectives can be used as gradable, e.g. she looks very French. Nevertheless, such processes are very close to the inflectional end of word-formation (cf. Bauer 2002).

To summarize, I hope that it has become obvious that conversion has been, without a shadow of doubt, an extremely productive word-formation process since the end of Old English. However hard I tried to isolate as many conversions as possible, the final results of my research may be surprising as I have found out that to trace irrefutable cases of conversion within past 20 years is rather challenging.

5.3.4 Backformation

By this very last word-formation process we will finish our outline of productive lexical word-formation processes in current English.

Backformation, sometimes called back-derivation (cf. Marchand 1969), has a few specifications. First of all, this formative process is seen as a reversal of derivation in the way that the more complex word appears first and then some element, usually a suffix, is deleted, e.g. baby-sitter → baby-sit, headhunter → headhunt, television → televise, etc. These examples clearly demonstrate that backformation is fruitful especially in creating denominal verbs (cf. Quirk et al. 2006). This is also supported by Bauer (2002) who makes an observation on the proportion of resulting verbs and gives a figure of 87 %.

The need for backformation arises when there is an apparent gap in the lexicon (cf. Katamba 1994) which should be filled. According to Bauer (2002: 65) it seems that there is a large amount of these gaps because *"in current English, backformation does still thrive"*. Particularly in informal style, adds Adams (1973).

It is essential to realize that backformation is a matter of historical fact and it is not always easy to trace the original base and thus the process of backformation as such. It can lead, in some cases, to an etymologically incorrect analysis of the source word. As Huddleston and Pullum (2003) point out, the word burgle was formed from burglar, which indicates that the latter was analysed as burgl + ar, even though the *ar* was not originally a suffix.

Neologisms coined by backformation are even more difficult to find in newspapers than the previous items created by conversion. Nevertheless, I have isolated two examples. The first one is usually wrongly thought to be a J. K. Rowling's invention, although the first usage of *muggle* on the basis of muggler actually denotes a

colloquial term for a marihuana smoker (cf. Ayto 2007). This backformation occurred in the Guardian, 13th of May 2005. The second example is the verb *drink-drive*, formed from the source word drink-driver or drink-driving, which has been taken from the Daily Mail, 23rd of November 2012.

To summarize the whole subchapter 5.3, we have dealt with four rather traditional word-formation processes. The next chapter will confirm the membership of some of these processes to this group and imply a tendency towards a decrease in others.

6. SELECTED DATA

In the preceding part, we have theoretically described ten productive word-formation processes. In order not to break the continuity of sections this final chapter of the diploma thesis is mainly focused on comparison of productivity of these processes. I will try to demonstrate it on the basis of my corpus of neologisms. As will appear later, neologisms have not been classified only in terms of productivity but also their occurrence in various spheres of human activities has been taken into account. Last but not least, I have tried to emphasise the contrast between the amount of certain types of neologisms within quality newspapers and tabloids.

6.1 Methodology

To satisfy the requirements of my diploma thesis, I have collected a corpus of 530 neologisms (for the list of them all, see Appendix) which I have found in two British dailies, namely the Guardian and the Daily Mail. These two contrasting newspapers have been chosen intentionally as the first one belongs to the quality newspapers whereas the latter one is a tabloid. Later, I will compare them from various aspects.

The neologisms have been isolated from 243 (see Appendix) issues of newspapers. 126 of them have been the copies of the Guardian and the remaining 117 of the Daily Mail. The vast majority of newspapers (68.7 %) has been issued between the end of 2011 and the first two months of 2013. I have continuously gone through the printed newspapers thanks to a library service Newspaper Direct which enabled me to get access also to several copies from 1994 – 1995 and 1999 – 2010. This is in concordance with what I have stated above, i.e. I consider a word to be a neologism under the condition that it has been in use no more than 20 years.

I am fully aware of the problems that might arise when doing a research in this way. Firstly, one may say that there are already lexicalized words in my corpus. I admit that some of the forms are not entirely new but their meanings or concepts that they denote should be so. Note that 20 items have been created by conversion, 11 words have been borrowed, 12 expressions are metaphorical and in 5 cases the word meaning has been widened. To identify particularly these word senses (as well as meanings of some blends, abbreviations and acronyms) I had to consult several dictionaries, namely Rockwood (2009), Elliot (2007), Maxwell (2006) and Ayto (2007). However, borrowing, metaphors and widening have not been count among words formed by

lexical word-formation, so that there are only 502 neologisms left to be worked with in the research section.

Secondly, I cannot exclude that my corpus does not consist only of neologisms. There may be also a few cases of nonce-formations as the newspapers frequently use words that have not been fully established so far. Nevertheless, it is virtually impossible to predict which word will successfully survive and thus be commonly used and which one will stay at the periphery and never enter the everyday lexicon of native speakers. From this, it follows that the corpus may comprise a small number of occasionalisms rather than being exclusively made up of proper neologisms.

Next, it is important to underline that I have worked within an existing framework of practice (cf. Čermák 2002), i.e. linguistic analysis based on data excerpted from printed newspaper texts and I have not explored any new approaches.

Lastly, as for the results of my survey, they should be viewed rather as tendencies within present-day English word-formation. I do not dare make general conclusions, predictions or even rules based on my relatively small amount of selected data.

6.2 Research and tendencies

Before presenting my own data, I would like to show results of Bauer's (1994) more complex research in order to contrast it with my outcomes. **Table 6** includes six types of word-formation processes. It is obvious that the first three types belong to our classification of minor processes while compounding and derivation are the major ones. The last category labelled as 'other' includes word-manufacture and reduplicatives, corruptions, onomatopoeic words, phrases, etc. In addition, Bauer subsumes acronyms under abbreviations; shortenings comprise both backformations and clippings.

Table 6

Formation type	1880-1913	1914-38	1939-82	Total
Abbreviations	2	5	13	20
	0.4 %	1.1 %	2.5 %	1.3 %
Blends	7	14	16	37
	1.2 %	2.9 %	3.1 %	2.4 %
Shortenings	13	11	17	41
	2.3 %	2.3 %	3.3 %	2.6 %
Compounds	132	97	118	347
	23.3 %	20.4 %	22.8 %	22.2 %
Derivation	355	292	291	938
	62.9 %	61.3 %	56.2 %	60.2 %
Other	53	55	61	169
	9.9 %	12.0 %	12.1 %	11.3 %
Total	562	474	518	1552
	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %

From the above chart, it is apparent that there is a certain decrease in the numbers of derivation. Given the absolute numbers involved, this is the most significant trend to be observed. Accordingly, the table implies an increase in abbreviations and blends.

Figure 6 based on my own research is likely to confirm some of the trends described by Bauer. However, from a historical point of view, he presented a more detailed analysis dealing with three periods of time. Conversely, Figure 6 illustrates tendencies in English lexical word-formation within past nineteen years. It is also essential to take into consideration that all the source words have come from only two newspapers. Bauer, on the other hand, works with an incomparably more extensive linguistic database.

Figure 6
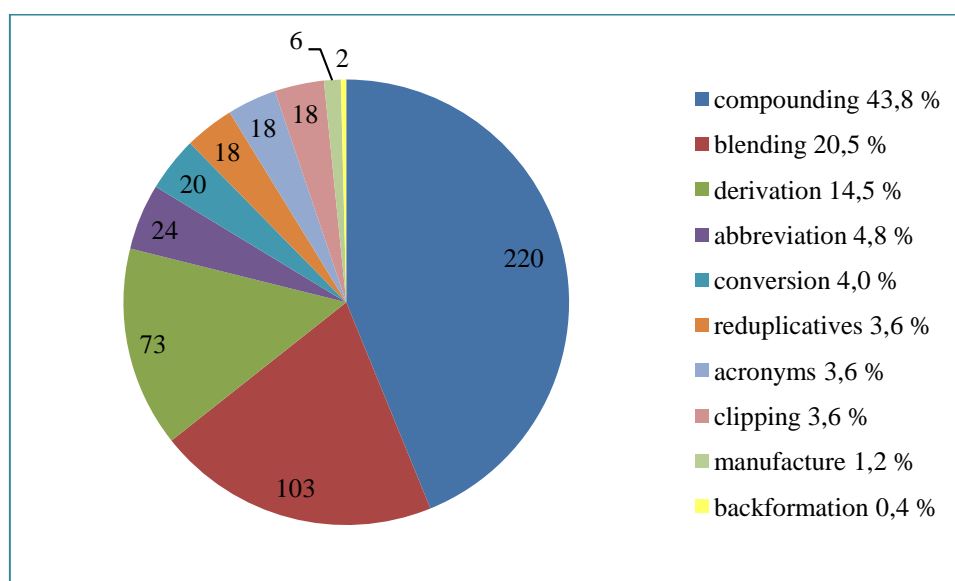
In the light of the modern data, it seems that there is a growing tendency towards the use of words formed by blending. This supports the same conclusions of Lehrer (2007). Crystal (2004) perceives blending as fashionable but in our case we would rather say it is highly fashionable as it represents more than one fifth of all processes, at least in newspaper language.

Similar increase is possible to trace within almost all qualitative changes, mainly in abbreviations as technological progress is still a fruitful source of enhancing English vocabulary. In this respect, we must confirm Crystal's (2004) claim that abbreviations go hand in hand with popularization of science and thus has gained in popularity over recent years.

As for the phenomenon of compounding, Bauer's (1994) chart shows that 22.2 % of word-formation processes are represented by compounds. Nevertheless, on the basis of my research, compounds tend to be much more productive today. The number 43.8 % supports Bolinger's (1980), Katamba's (1994) and Plag's (2005) hypotheses that compounding is by far the most productive word-formation process in English. I think that as a credible explanation of the widely common use of compounds in newspapers could serve the fact that they are understandable, easy to create and, above all, space-saving.

Turning to derivation which is by some linguists considered to be the core of English word-formation (cf. Yule 2010), Bauer (1994) in Table 6 has successfully isolated 938 examples of it, which is 60.2 %. On the contrary, Figure 6 has shown that

derivation took place only in 14.5 % of all neologisms I have found. Apparently, there is a decrease in use of new words formed by derivation nowadays. Nonetheless, it does not mean that I reject Yule's (2010) conclusions, but I would rather look at derivation as a remarkably fruitful process from the historical point of view. Doubtlessly, newspaper language uses plenty of words formed by derivational processes but current neologisms as such appear to prefer other word-formation strategies.

Interestingly, if I subsume derivation and compounding from Table 6 under one group of traditional processes and similarly make this category based on Figure 6 into which I have to add conversion and backformation, the results will be very similar. In Bauer's Table 6, traditional or major word-formation processes have been responsible for 62.4 % of words, and in our case, for 62.7 % of neologisms. This is fascinating because we have seen that there is a decrease in some and increase in other word-formation processes. But if making categories of traditional and minor, the overall numbers equal and remain the same.

Turning to the comparison of the Guardian and the Daily Mail in terms of the amount of individual word-formation processes, I would like to highlight that reduplicatives occurred almost only in the tabloid, while the Guardian used more frequently abbreviations, acronyms and manufacture. **Figure 7** gives a detailed overview with no further commentaries needed.

Figure 7
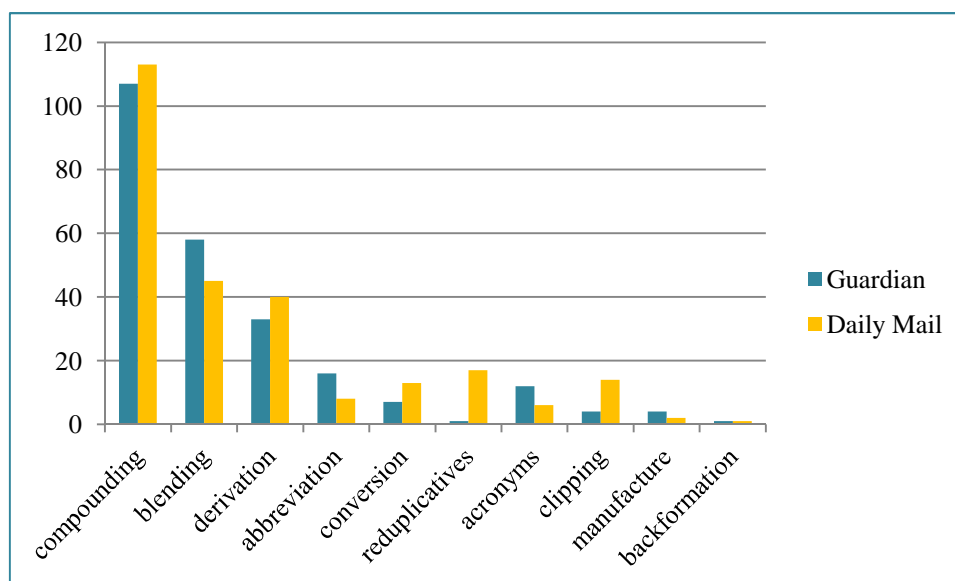
The next important point to discuss is the areas of human activities which dominate in word-formation processes. The more productive spheres are somewhat

related to our everyday communication and interests. The data I am going to present have been taken from various parts of newspapers, i.e. news, international, culture and financial but do not often correspond to this classification. This is simply for the following facts. When I found a word concerning, for example, sport, in the international section, I counted it among sport neologisms. In other words, neologisms have been treated on the basis of their common usage and not the occurrence in newspapers. This has been chiefly intended for one purpose, i.e. that the sections of the Daily Mail and the Guardian are not equivalent. Also Monday's issue is in content very different from Saturday's one, for instance. It would be very complicated to classify individual words in this way.

So, I have decided to treat neologisms which has something to do with the arts, music bands, festivals, etc. as *art & music*; the category of *IT* subsumes the words closely related to computing and the Internet; *science* includes neologisms from the area of scientific and technological progress; the category of *health* consists of words closely wedded to healthy lifestyle, alternative medicine, fitness and diet; *business & finance* deals with neo-forms from the area of commerce, banking and marketing; *people & society* is comprised of words connected to social groups, education, welfare as well as social issues. Finally, *politics*, *sport*, *travelling*, and *environment* are too narrow and obvious to be explained.

Figure 8 compares the amount of neologisms in the Daily Mail and the Guardian. All the new words which have been excerpted belong to only one of the abovementioned areas.

Figure 8
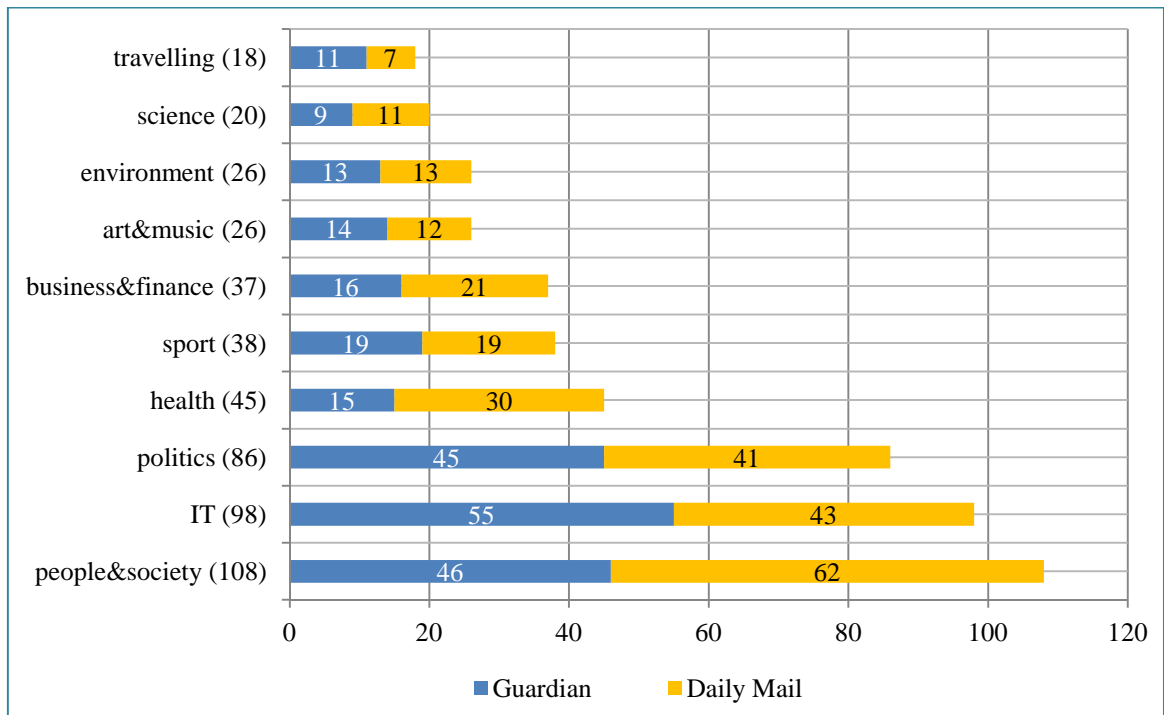
Not surprisingly, the chart has illustrated that the sphere of people and society is the one in which most neologisms arise. It is logical because this area is, in fact, the most important part of our everyday reality and thus contains a huge amount of words we normally use. As a result, words like *chugger*, *twixter*, *prenup*, *date-rape drugs*, *copy-kate* and many other examples could be found without much effort.

As for IT, I had expected that the numbers would reach one fifth, which has been roughly confirmed. Neologisms like *egosurfing*, *smartphone*, *e-learning*, *iPod* or *cybergang* are, especially to a younger generation, highly familiar.

The third most productive area has been politics. Actually, apart from the preceding two areas, politics, sport and health, the newspaper writers apparently are not interested in dealing with other issues very much. Then, the politics section looks like an instant campaign of political parties, always somewhat in favour of the Opposition. However, very interesting expressions as *FOB* (Friends of Bill), *GWOT* (Global War on Terror), *Obamazation*, *Europhobic* or *Arab spring* have entered the lexicon.

Much to my surprise, both health and sport sections have not produced as many neologisms as I had presumed. In particular, sport was a favourite of mine as I read a number of newspapers when the London Olympic Games took place. However, I have found out that pictures, life stories of the winners, victories and defeats played a much more important role in the two dailies than any lexical innovation did.

The next thing which was to some extent unexpected is the decrease in environmental issues and science. These areas seem to be discussed very frequently in public, but perhaps not as frequently as would be sufficient for a significant lexical growth. IT dominates the technological progress but also very prominent natural sciences are not focused on in newspapers, so that I cannot prove their productivity in terms of neologisms.

Similarly, although art and music and travelling are usually thought to be the most frequent hobbies, they are not devoted much space. Not even in the Daily Mail which, I assumed, would creatively play with music bands, trends in fashion and art. This hypothesis, however, remains unproved except for *gangnam style*, perhaps.

Overall, my research has reached similar conclusions as Ayto (2007) in **Table 7** which describes lexical growth-areas by decade.

Table 7

1900s: cars, aviation, radio, film, psychology
1910s: war, aviation, film, psychology
1920s: clothes/dance/youth, transport, radio, film
1930s: war/build-up to war, transport, film/entertainment
1940s: war, post-war society/international affairs, nuclear power, computers, science
1950s: media, nuclear power, space, computers, youth culture
1960s: computers, space, youth culture/music, media, drugs
1970s: computers, media, business, environment, political correctness
1980s: media, computers, finance/money, environment, political correctness, youth culture/music
1990s & **2000s**: politics, media, Internet and other electronic communication

It is obvious that the sudden coming of computers, which has been reflected in the lexicon, could be traced back to 1970s. It is unbelievable that it has kept its productivity for more than 40 years.

A fascinating feature of any language is its ability to express all new pieces of knowledge and react flexibly to ever-changing situation. Therefore, when the first car was used, language already had a name for it. Similarly, many military neologisms enhanced the vocabulary during the two world war conflicts and we could continue.

To sum up, I would like to highlight that our small research have reached not unlike conclusions that has been made by Bauer (1994) and Ayto (2007). I was both surprised and happy to see that we have made some very similar observations. Nonetheless, I am fully aware that my corpus of selected neologisms is relatively small and as a result, we have to speak about displaying possible tendencies. It would be too daring to share a different point of view.

7. CONCLUSIONS

The preceding pages have shown that neologisms are a means of the updating of the lexicon. Moreover, they demonstrate language dynamics and its creativity. Neologisms occur within all areas of human activity, so that their description represents an inseparable part of linguistic research and thus is utilizable in practice.

In the diploma thesis, I have tried to provide a definition of a neologism. It is further focused especially on means of forming new words on the basis of the data of my own corpus. As the title of the thesis implies, newspapers, namely the Guardian and the Daily Mail, served as a source of the corpus. From this, it follows that I have searched neologisms within written texts, particularly for its better accessibility and transparency.

The amount of excerpted neologisms has reached a total of 530. 502 of them have been created by word-formation processes. The last 28 have served rather as an illustration of productivity of other means of restoring the vocabulary. However, they have not been count among the final results.

A comparative analysis of a serious newspaper (the Guardian) and a tabloid (the Daily Mail) has suggested a few interesting tendencies. It needs to be noticed that there is a trend towards colloquialization of journalistic style, i.e. the serious newspapers tend to draw inspiration from the tabloids.

Regarding the frequency of occurrence of lexical word-formation processes, the two dailies reach similar results. It would be to presume that quality newspapers would contain more neologisms as they simply devote much more space to text, however, it has proved untenable. It seems that quantity of text is rather marginal because neologisms arise where it is desirable to shock and force the reader to read the article. New, usually ambiguous and not easily understandable words achieve these aims, particularly in newspaper headlines.

As for individual word-formation processes, I have divided them into two groups according to the historical point of view. Thus, there are six of them belonging to the category of *minor*, i.e. blending, abbreviations, acronyms, clipping, manufacture and reduplicatives. The four major ones are then compounding, derivation, conversion and backformation.

The results presented in the practical part have pointed out that compounds are by far the most productive process. 220 neologisms have been created in this way, which

equals 43.8 %. The most productive subcategory of compounds has been the one in which their both parts have been nouns. Conversely, adjectival and verbal compounds have not occurred so often.

Interestingly, the second most fruitful process has been blending, which in literature is frequently referred to as unusual. However, the newest studies claim that blending is very productive and consider it to be a kind of fashion trend. Apparently, blending seems to be in a position of an extremely productive word-formation process. In our research, 103 words and correspondingly 20.5 % of them have been created by blending. Similarly to compounds, as for blending, which is in fact a combination of two parts of two words, is also possible to trace which word parts combine in most cases. 74 % of blending neologisms have consisted of the initial part of the first and the final part of the second word.

Turning to derivation which has, without a shadow of doubt, enhanced the English vocabulary in a large number of words, it seems to be somewhat on the decrease nowadays. Despite the fact that it is still the third most productive process, it does not play such an important role as it used to.

Still considering productivity, we can see very likely results in cases of abbreviations, conversion, acronyms and clipping. The frequency of their occurrence has reached from 3.6 to 4.8 %. Nonetheless, I admit that there are some problems closely related to conversion and it is quite challenging for a non-native speaker to find it.

Next, it appears that manufacture and backformation tend to be of a low or even marginal productivity, at least as for their frequency within newspapers. In addition, word manufacture is rather a matter of creativity. I have successfully found only six and 2 examples respectively.

The next point of view according to which I have classified neologisms, is their membership in various spheres of human activities. Nonetheless, the spheres are not equivalent to the parts of newspapers mainly for the reason that the sections of the two dailies do not correspond with each other. Also, there was a difference within the content of individual newspapers during the six days they are issued. This led me to treating of neologisms not according to which part of newspapers they occurred but according to their origin in spheres of human interests. I have therefore distinguished between the following ten groups.

The most productive sphere has been people and society primarily for the reason that it has included the most diverse areas. Its frequency has been higher than one fifth, precisely 21.5 %.

IT and politics have displayed similar significance, i.e. 19.5 % and 17.1 % respectively. Such tendencies are very interesting as they proved that language is able to reflect all new concepts, inventions, changes and reacts to the new situations very flexibly.

Regarding the other areas, i.e. health, sport, business and finance, art and music, environment, science, and travelling, they have indicated comparable results. Nevertheless, in comparison with the three previous spheres, they remain marginal. In other words, they vary from 3.6 to 9.0 %.

In summary, I have to remark that the issue of neologisms is highly topical and interesting. Its detailed study cannot only entail the listing of the means of forming neologisms, description of their usage and illustration of their frequency within two British newspapers. This theme deserves a much more concise compilation. This diploma thesis is only a small contribution to the comprehensive research of neologisms.

RESUMÉ

Neologismy jsou prostředkem aktualizace lexikonu jazyka, projevem dynamiky jazykového systému a jeho kreativity. Vyskytují se ve všech oblastech lidské činnosti, proto jejich výzkum představuje nedílnou součást lingvistického bádání a nabízí následné praktické využití.

Tato diplomová práce se pokouší definovat neologismus a zabývá se zejména způsoby jeho tvoření v současné angličtině na základě vlastního sestaveného korpusu. Jak název práce napovídá, jako zdroj korpusu sloužily britské noviny, jmenovitě *the Guardian* a *the Daily Mail*. Zaobíral jsem se tedy neologismy v jazyce psaném především z důvodu lepší dostupnosti a transparentnosti.

Neologismů jsem celkem excerpoval 530, z toho 502 vzniklo pomocí slovotvorných procesů. Zbytek 28 sloužil spíše jako ilustrace produktivity dalších způsobů obnovy lexikálního systému jazyka, do celkových výsledků však nebyly započítány.

Komparativní analýzou seriózního (v našem případě the Guardian) a bulvárního tisku (the Daily Mail) jsem dospěl k velmi zajímavým tendencím. Zejména je nutné zmínit, že se potvrzuje trend ke kolokvializaci žurnalistického stylu, přičemž seriózní deníky se nechávají inspirovat těmi bulvárními.

I z hlediska četnosti jednotlivých slovotvorných procesů si stojí podobně. Nicméně, dalo by se předpokládat, že seriózní tisk bude logicky obsahovat více neologismů, protože je v něm stále ještě zastoupeno nepoměrně větší množství textu. Ukázalo se však, že kvantita se zdá být marginální veličinou a neologismy se vyskytují hlavně tam, kde je potřeba šokovat, přinutit čtenáře přečíst si informace a to prostřednictvím použití nových, často víceznačných a obtížně srozumitelných slov – v nadpisech k novinovým článkům.

Co se jednotlivých slovotvorných procesů týče, rozdělil jsem je podle historického hlediska na 6 vedlejších a 4 hlavní. Mezi prvně jmenovanou skupinu jsem zařadil křížení (*blending*), zkratky (*abbreviations*), akronymy (*acronyms*), krácení (*clipping*), manufakturu (*manufacture*) a zdvojení (*reduplicatives*). Mezi hlavní pak kompozita (*compounds*), derivaci (*derivation*), konverzi (*conversion*) a zpětné tvoření (*backformation*).

Rozbor výsledků praktické části poukázal na vysokou produktivitu kompozit, v rámci nichž vzniklo celkem 220 neologismů, což odpovídá 43,8 %. Nejvíce

zastoupenou podskupinou byla kompozita, jejichž obě části byly tvořeny podstatnými jmény. Adjektivální a verbální konstrukty se vyskytovaly v míře nižší.

Na druhém místě se však umístil jeden z procesů, který je v literatuře často označován za neobvyklý. Nejnovější zdroje již však křížení připisují značnou produktivitu a především na něj nahlížejí jako na módní vlnu. Je pravděpodobné, že se křížení, alespoň v novinách, profiluje ve velmi produktivní slovotvorný proces. V rámci našeho výzkumu bylo zodpovědné za 103 neologismů čili 20,5 %. Podobně jako u kompozit i u křížení, jež vzniká kombinací různých částí slov, je možné stanovit, které části slova jsou nejčastěji kombinovány. 74 % neologismů se sestávalo z počáteční části prvního a finální části druhého slova.

Ačkoli derivace v celkovém vývoji angličtiny přispěla ohromnou měrou k tvorbě nových slov, nyní se zdá být poněkud na ústupu. Je sice po kompozitech a křížení třetím nejčastějším procesem, ale nejspíše nehraje již tak veledůležitou roli jako v minulosti.

Z hlediska produktivity můžeme sledovat srovnatelné výsledky u zkratek, konverze, zdvojení, akronymů a krácení. Frekvence jejich výskytu se pohybovala od 3,6 do 4,8 %. S konverzí je nicméně spjata řada problémů a připouštím, že pro nerodilého mluvčího je poněkud obtížně vystopovatelná.

Dále se zdá, že manufaktura a zpětné tvoření slov zůstávají dnes poněkud v pozadí a jsou z hlediska četnosti spíše marginálními. Manufaktura je nadto projevem spíše kreativity nežli produktivity. Podařilo se mi abstrahovat pouze 6 respektive 2 příklady zmíněných procesů.

Další klasifikací neologismů bylo jejich zařazení do jednotlivých sfér lidské činnosti. Nepostupoval jsem však podle jednotlivých oddílů novin, tj. např. mezinárodní sekce, kultura apod., protože sekce deníků se neshodovaly. Rovněž byl rozdíl v přítomnosti jednotlivých částí novin během 6 dní, kdy vycházejí. Z tohoto důvodu jsem považoval za vhodné třídit neologismy nikoliv podle jejich výskytu v částech novin, ale podle vzniku v jednotlivých oblastech lidských zájmů a činností. Takto jsem dospěl k řazení do dalších deseti kategorií.

Neproduktivnější oblastí se logicky ukázala být lidé a společnost (*people&society*), protože zahrnovala nejširší problematiku. Četnost byla vyšší než 1/5, konkrétně 21,5 %.

Obdobně významné oblasti byly IT a politika (*politics*), které vykázaly 19,5; respektive 17,1 %. Tyto tendence jsou velmi zajímavé, protože potvrzují, že jazyk je

schopný reflektovat všechny nové koncepty, vynálezy, změny a dokáže velmi rychle reagovat na nově vzniklou situaci a pojmenovat ji.

Co se týče ostatních sfér – zdraví (*health*), sport, byznys (*business&finance*), umění a hudba (*art&music*), životní prostředí (*environment*), věda (*science*), a cestování (*travelling*), ty vykazují velmi podobné výsledky a zaostávají v četnosti za třemi oblastmi zmíněnými výše. V praxi to znamená, že se v rámci procentních bodů pohybují v rozmezí 3,6 až 9,0.

Závěrem je nutné podotknout, že problematika neologismů je neuvěřitelně aktuální a zajímavá a její detailní studium se v žádném případě nemůže omezit na pouhé vyjmenování jednotlivých způsobů vzniků neologismů, popis jejich užití a frekvence ve dvou britských denících. Tato oblast totiž zasluhuje mnohem větší pozornost a mnohem více vyčerpávající zpracování, které zůstává daleko nad rámec diplomové práce.

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APPENDIX: Excerpted neologisms

I. Formed by word-formation processes

abs	bird flu	carbon footprint
acacia avenue	bittertweet	Cha-cha-Charles
ad	black hat	chainsawed
AFRICOM	Blair babes	channel surfing
Aga saga	Blairism	Chiantishire
aids-free	bling-bling	chocotherapy
airfryer	blog*	chugger
airobics	blogger	CIA sex tangle
alcolock	bluetooth	Cineworld
alcopop	blu-ray	city shark
anti-church	bobbitt	civil partnership
anti-immigration	body bag	climate chaos
anti-Islamic	bonkbuster	coach surfing
anti-loan	boo	cocacolanization
anti-tsarist	boob job	Coldplay
anti-wind	bootylicious	collateral damage
aquability	Botox	comeback kid
Aquatics Centre	Brangelina	cone off
Arab spring	Breastapo	contrasexual
ASBO	breast-feed boom	Cool Britannia
ash disease	bride-to-be	cool over
awareness band	Britpop	copter
babelicious	Bushism	copulation tirade
BBQ	bushmeat	copy-kate*
Becks	buzz words	corn circles
bedroom eyes	BVI	crop circles
beerism	café society	crushed strawberry
benefit tourism	Cam	cup ruck
beovision	Campo	cyberattacks
biosecurity	cape escape	cybercafé
biphobia	carbon credit	cybergang

cybermonday	EasyJet	facialist
cyberwill	ebay*	Fadebook
datastore	ebook	family newspaper
dater	e-class	FAQ
date-rape drugs	ecological footprint	fashion therapy
decarbonisation	eco-spy	fashionista
deep web	eco-village	faux-autism
Deja view	EDF	fear spectre
Delia effect	egosurfing	fee shock
Desert Shield	e-learning	femail
Desert Storm	electrosmog	female masochism
deshopper	energy shark	ferry merry (Christmas)
de-teddification	enjoyneering	firefox
DG	eracism	flirtationship
Dianamania	eReader	flirtberrying
dieback	ethnic cleansing	flood hotspot
diff	EU foreign policy tsar	FOB
digerati	Euro zombie zone	freedom fries
dirty money	Eurogames	friesday
DMGT	Eurohunger	fusion food
DNA map	Euroland	G8
docusoap	Euromoney	gangnam style
dotcom	Europhobic	garbology
dotcommer	Eurozone	gastropub
downsize*	ex-EastEnders	gay hero
DRC	ex-first lady	gay marriage
Dream Team	ex-forces	Gaza martyr
drink-drive	ex-gunner	gender parity
drink-fuelled	ex-justice minister	gender pay war
drug sentence	ex-MP	genomics
drug watchdog	explorer worm	GM
Dubai-style	ex-spy	GM tree
dumb down	Facebook	G-Mac
DVD	Facebookers	golden goal

google*	independence wave	media-shy
Googleplex	infocosm	memory stick
Googlewhacking	Inmet	Merkozy
green energy	inov8	metrosexual
green shoots	internet sensation	mgtk
greenwash	iPad	microblogging
ground zero	iPhone	micropayment
Gulf War syndrome	iPod	microscission
GWOT	IRA ceasefire	microstate
gym-rat	iTune	micro-zoom
happy-clappy	jet-pack	millenium bug
hash	jobseeker	minifesto
hat off	joined-up thinking	minimoon
health warning	joined-up writing	minisudoku
healthspan	jungle music	misper
Henman Hill	junk mail	MKO
Herminator	killer fact	Mo
hit man	koboglo	mobile speed
holy-moly	Kony	money chest
home page	K-pop	Monkey Man
Homeland Security	ladyboy	Montenegro threat
honey trap	LAT	mouse potato
hot-desker	lead ache	movieoke
hotmail	LibDem	MP3
HP	LiveSTRONG	muggle
HTML	love rat	mullet
http	mailtravel	multibuy
human shield	make-up time machine	mummy tax
hyperlink	MAMA	Murray
iBook	mansion tax	Murray Mount
ICAP	marathoning	mustread
ice injection	marriage tax	must-win
identity theft	master blaster	MySpace
IDS	MasterChef	name game

narcogang

NEET

nespresso

netflix

netizen

netporn

nimbyism

no-brainer

Obamazation

obesity crisis

OCR

Ofcom

off-message

offshore

Olympic Stadium saga

OMG

omnishamble

online porn

Opraf

outdoor learning

over-hyped

partner eye

party girl

paypal

PC inquisition

peat reek

pegasus crossing

pet insurance

pharaoh president

pharma

Phelpsian

phish

phonebank

phone-hacking

piloxing

PIN

Pistol Pete

PlayStation

podcasting

Pokémon Master

poll apathy

Posh Spice

potato world

Power Ranger

power yoga

ppi

pressure piles

pre-contract

pre-crisis

pregnacare

prenup

pre-xmas

pro-abortion

pro-cannabis

puffin crossing*

Pussy Riot

quangocrat

R&R

rainbow nation

rat

readme

reality TV

red gold rush

red mafia

red-top

regime-changer

Republicrats

retina display

retroprice

retrosexual

RICE

rollercoaster ride

romcom

Romnography

Sarko

SARS

saviour sibling

Scandi-style

scare-saurus

scrabblegram

screenager

semi-somnia

sex shortlist

sex up

sleep stealers

small dog syndrome

smart bomb

smart car

smartphone

smaze

SME

SMS

smurk

social network

solar farm

Solheim Cup

South Park

spam

specsappeal

specsavers

speed-dating

spelling bee

Spice Girls	touchscreen	voodooism
stretchable	trilemma	WAG
studentification	Troopergate	WAP
superdrug	trout pout	Warrington Bomb
superfast	Turbanator	Web
supergroup	twigloo	Web 2.0
superhead	Twilight fans	web porn
super-rat	twirler	webcast
sword opera	Twits	website
Tamworth Two	Twitter attack	web-wise
tartan army	twixter	Wheatables
techno-guru	UK fraud case	white van man
telenyms	ultrabook	Wi-Fi
Teletubbies	unbuyable	Wiggo
Terrorism Watch List	underload syndrome	wiki
textese	unfantastic	wikipedia
The Six Nations	unhate*	winterproof
the Twin Towers	unjust trust	WMD
The Weakest Link	up	Yahooligans
theatrical	upgrade	yoga facelift
theme song	vanity publishing	yogathlon
thinktangle	Vati-leaks	YouTube
Thorpedo	velvet divorce	YouView
Tipton Three	Viagra	yummy mummy
TLC	Viagra chocolate	y-word
to winterproof	vice madam	zero hero
tobacco baron	virtulisation	zipvit
Tony's cronies	vitamin maths	zombie Britain
top boss	vodcast	zombie economy
Tottenham Three	vodkatini	3G
toucan crossing	VoIP	84in
touchiba	vomiting virus	9/11 victims

* All words marked with an asterisk underwent two word-formation processes and thus have been counted twice.

II. Borrowed, changed semantics

al-Queda	jihad	surf
axis of evil	l'dope	Taliban
catwalk	maté	Tamagotchi
chicken run	memory	tartan army
Chinese Wall	men in white coats	Jedi
clear blue water	mother of all battles	viper
cookie	outing	wunderbar
galactico	Pokémon	zumba
Galileo	red gold	
Great Satan	sharia	

APPENDIX: Material Analysed

I. Issues of the Daily Mail

10/19/1995	6/10/2011	4/6/2012	11/22/2012
11/9/2000	6/18/2011	4/28/2012	11/23/2012
8/29/2006	6/21/2011	5/7/2012	11/24/2012
1/1/2007	6/30/2011	5/10/2012	11/26/2012
12/29/2007	7/20/2011	5/20/2012	11/27/2012
1/2/2008	7/30/2011	5/23/2012	11/28/2012
3/12/2008	8/28/2011	5/26/2012	11/29/2012
11/9/2008	9/8/2011	5/29/2012	11/30/2012
11/29/2008	9/12/2011	6/9/2012	12/1/2012
1/23/2009	9/16/2011	6/15/2012	12/3/2012
6/11/2009	10/2/2011	6/22/2012	12/4/2012
6/27/2009	10/7/2011	7/11/2012	12/5/2012
9/4/2009	10/16/2011	7/16/2012	12/6/2012
9/26/2009	10/21/2011	8/1/2012	12/7/2012
12/23/2009	11/7/2011	8/2/2012	12/8/2012
3/18/2010	11/17/2011	8/5/2012	12/10/2012
6/6/2010	11/29/2011	8/15/2012	12/11/2012
6/30/2010	12/16/2011	9/4/2012	12/12/2012
7/5/2010	12/19/2011	9/7/2012	12/14/2012
7/23/2010	1/3/2012	9/27/2012	12/19/2012
7/31/2010	1/4/2012	10/1/2012	12/22/2012
8/29/2010	1/18/2012	10/25/2012	12/28/2012
9/11/2010	1/22/2012	11/13/2012	12/31/2012
11/27/2010	2/8/2012	11/14/2012	1/4/2012
11/30/2010	2/18/2012	11/15/2012	1/16/2013
12/15/2010	2/23/2012	11/16/2012	1/2/2013
2/14/2011	2/27/2012	11/17/2012	2/2/2013
2/24/2011	3/22/2012	11/19/2012	
5/27/2011	3/28/2012	11/20/2012	
6/8/2011	4/3/2012	11/21/2012	

II. Issues of the Guardian

1/24/1994	1/6/2007	1/11/2012	12/1/2012
9/3/1994	10/29/2007	1/18/2012	12/4/2012
11/10/1994	7/18/2008	3/15/2012	12/6/2012
9/29/1995	7/29/2008	4/4/2012	12/7/2012
1/17/1999	10/1/2008	5/23/2012	12/10/2012
7/15/1999	11/28/2008	5/26/2012	12/13/2012
10/20/1999	12/27/2008	5/30/2012	12/14/2012
8/17/2001	3/11/2009	7/16/2012	12/17/2012
2/5/2002	4/3/2009	8/2/2012	12/18/2012
4/8/2002	7/12/2009	8/12/2012	12/22/2012
5/4/2002	8/29/2009	8/31/2012	12/29/2012
5/13/2002	9/24/2009	9/23/2012	1/8/2013
11/25/2002	9/30/2009	10/2/2012	1/19/2013
6/20/2003	11/3/2009	10/19/2012	1/24/2013
7/16/2003	5/10/2010	10/26/2012	1/26/2013
1/4/2004	9/4/2010	11/5/2012	1/28/2013
4/20/2004	11/3/2010	11/9/2012	1/30/2013
4/27/2004	12/7/2010	11/13/2012	1/31/2013
6/3/2004	3/1/2011	11/14/2012	2/2/2013
10/11/2004	3/28/2011	11/15/2012	2/4/2013
12/16/2004	5/27/2011	11/17/2012	2/7/2013
2/11/2005	5/31/2011	11/19/2012	2/8/2013
5/26/2005	7/29/2011	11/20/2012	2/9/2013
7/5/2005	8/5/2011	11/21/2012	2/11/2013
7/13/2005	8/21/2011	11/22/2012	2/12/2013
8/13/2005	8/31/2011	11/23/2012	2/13/2013
8/23/2005	9/20/2011	11/24/2012	2/14/2013
1/24/2006	10/4/2011	11/26/2012	2/15/2013
3/9/2006	10/31/2011	11/27/2012	2/16/2013
6/17/2006	11/11/2011	11/28/2012	2/18/2013
7/10/2006	11/25/2011	11/29/2012	
7/13/2006	1/7/2012	11/30/2012	