New Proper-Noun Derivatives in American English

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SINCE THE PUBLICATION OF Webster's Third New International Dictionary (W3) in 1961, the flow of new words and new meanings for old words into American English has continued. The 1966 Addenda to W3 contained 1,182 of these as main entries; the 1971 Addenda, 2,547 main entries, which essentially reprinted the 1966 corpus and added more items. Webster's 6,000 Words (1976) includes most of these and adds enough new items to constitute 4,881 main entries. There are also 1,331 boldface run-ons, run-ins, and inflected forms, totaling the 6,212 vocabulary entries that give the book its title. Three aspects of the proper-noun derivatives are of particular interest: (1) the proper nouns from which the new words are constructed, (2) the linguistic processes involved in these word formations, and (3) the semantic shifts that sometimes accompany the new word or meaning. Though 6,000 Words provides no dates so that we might construct the chronology, we can check those items which also appear in The Barnhart Dictionary of New English since 1963 (1973) and/or the A-N Supplement of the OED (1972, 1976; hereafter, OED-S), all of which have dated citations.

A summary of the proportions, some of which must be arbitrary because of inevitable overlapping, is in order:

896 new meanings

1,443 affixations (with no more than one free form)

1,365 compounds (with at least two free forms)

249 borrowings

48 Briticisms and Old English

246 proper-noun derivatives

179 shortenings

166 initialisms

97 functional shifts

192 others

We will describe every item that derives from a proper noun. Thus golden-ager will be analyzed, though it might be called an affixation (Golden Age + -er) or even a shortening (Golden Age club + -er).

THE 1966 AND 1971 DELETIONS

We will first consider the relevant items in the 1966 and 1971 Addenda Sections that do not appear in 6,000 Words and technically do not belong in our corpus. Yet their very omission indicates their importance, if only as examples of items that Webster's describes as having "a brief vogue, when they are on practically every tongue, then disappear" (Preface, p. 17a). The 16 nouns of nationality in 1966 could almost be included in our corpus, since they were transferred to the body of W3 by plate change in 1971. None is in Barnhart; five are in OED-S, with the earliest date given below as we classify them. All derive from African names except the French Seychellois, which, like Nigerois, contains -ois. Only Bechuana (1804) has no suffix, though Central African could be analyzed as a clipping of the earlier Central African Republic, where Africa was already suffixed. The suffix -an occurs in nine items like Gambian (1906), Malawian (1963), Malian (1960), and Mozambican (1971). There is -ian in Cameroonian and Chadian; -er, in Ivory Coaster.

Why did Webster's drop these 16 place-name items by incorporating them into W3 long before W4 can be put together? The only explanation is the private comment that space was needed in 6,000 Words for a number of other new items. As this was a convenient set for deletion, the reason for adding these rather than some other items to W3 was likely not frequency. A much-larger set for which a decision must be made is items built from names of cities. W3 has no separate "Geographical Names" as do its collegiate editions; W4 may well not either. The city's size may have to be the criterion, generally excluding its association with a famous person and/or event. If so, we can expect to find San Francisco and San Franciscan retained, but no new *Plainsian. If W4 continues Webster's tradition of including no more words than can be accommodated in one volume, then the answer to this question may be onomastically painful.

Among the other relevant deleted items from the 1966 Addenda is the only prefixed form, sub-Sahara. Ruly English and peso boliviano (1872 as boliviano, which is in W3) complete the trio. In 1976 Gaussian plane seems to have been replaced by Gaussian integer (1874, as adj. Gaussian). Monte Carlo method becomes Monte Carlo, defined as method (Barnhart, 1968). Kremlinologist (Barnhart, 1968) becomes a subentry to the new Kremlinology, in a lexicographer's chronology that inverts the apparent linguistic one. Finally, Lawrencium (discovered by Ernest O. Lawrence) is retained in 1976, but its separate abbreviation—main entry Lw is corrected to Lr. Only two relevant items were dropped from the 1971 Addendum: Afro-Asian (1955 citation from Newsweek) and the old Foggy Bottom (Barnhart, 1967).

THE PROPER NAMES

We next consider the proper names used in our 246-item corpus. Specific people are named in 119 items, a few with duplications as in Mao "jacket" and Maoism. There are 37 American, 24 British, 13 French, 13 German, five Italian, five Russian, four Austrian, two Chinese, two Swedish, and two Swiss, and one each of Aztec, Canadian, well as Jesus freak. The great majority have lived in recent decades, many are alive today. After Jesus, some of the oldest are the Italian mathematician in Fibonacci number; the ruler in Montezuma's revenge; the French scientists in Cartesian plane and pascal; the mathematicians in Rolle's theorem, Taylor's series, witch of Agnes and Laplace transform; and the naturalist in Darwin's finches.

Most have been engaged in scientific work. There are 24 mathematicians, with two other mathematics-related researchers, including names like that in Markov process. We find ten physicians, with five other medicine-related men, reflecting recent developments as in Lippes loop and Hollerith card. There are air astronomers as in Seyfert and eight political leaders as in Castroism. There are six astronomers as in Seyfert galaxy, and five engineers, with three engineering-related figures as in Wankel engine. Another 19 science-related names occur in adjectives like Skinnerian and Rorschach, and in nouns like tesla and Richter scale. Thirteen miscellaneous, nonartistic items include Chomskian and Bibb lettuce.

Of the 15 artistic sources, eight are writers as in Hemingwayesque and Brechtian. The composers are Bartokian, Mahlerian, and Stravinskian. There are also Hitchcockian and the only two women named in the 119 items, in Mary Gergory and chicken Tetrazzini and turkey Tetrazzini, the latter two representing the singer's poultry taste rather than an operatic style. We might add to this group seven items constructed from "sanonymous" names. Three denote food as in beef Wellington, to which we might add negroni "cocktail, prob. ft. name Negroni." There ware also the old "formulae" Dear John, Murphy's Law, and Parsons Iable.

The second largest group contains 64 items. Fifty-two are place-names as in Kutani ware. America leads with eight as in Boston arm and Texas citrus mite; China has seven as in Canton enamel; and Japan has six as in Karatsu ware. Italy has four as in Soave, one of a trio of wines named for an Italian village. There are 34 population centers as in Baltimore chop and ting ware, 11 countries as in Sri Lankan and Vietnamization, four bodies of water as in Atlanticism, two continents as in Pan-Africanism, and Appalachian. Vineteen items denote products made in the place as in the 11 pottery sources named in Bennington ware and Canton china, or in rya "Swedish rug." Another nine items name peoples, all common names as in Amerasian and Belgian Malinois.

There are also off Broadway, off-off-Broadway, and Kremlinology.

A third group contains 16 items representing organizations, a term which we will interpret loosely so as to include four restaurants as in fetuccine Alfredo, along with traditional types like Bircher and Black Panther. Next we find 11 derived from literature, of which five are titles as in green goddess dressing and blackboard jungle, and four are characters as in Uncle Tomism, along with Orwell's newspeak. There are and four are characters as in Uncle Tomism, along with Orwell's newspeak. There are

ten "native" names like kora "Senegalese musical instrument," with seven naming coins as in tambala. Eight technical items denote biological or botanical forms as in subtilisin. Another five might be said loosely to constitute borrowings apart from the groups previously discussed. These are affixed as in Quadrantid, "pure" as in Victoriana, or translated as in beef Bourguignon. Then we have two of the type eightfold way and four trademarks like Mickey Mouse, which has separate main entries as an adjective, noun, and verb.

These three occurrences tie Uncle Tom for the highest number for a proper noun. The lack of dates complicates our explaining the linguistic chronology. Uncle Tomism (n., Barnhart, 1966) and Uncle Tom (v., Barnhart, 1967) first appeared in the 1971 Addenda. We might project the verb first. It then took -ism to produce a noun, unless the existing noun provided two independent developments—a functional shift to give us a verb, as well as the -ism suffixation for another noun. In 1976 Webster's added the reduced verb tom (Barnhart, 1966). This verb was likely the newest of the trio, regardless of the paucity and inconclusiveness of the known dates. We must be more indefinite about the chronology of the "Mouse" trio, which do not even have suffixation or reduction as clues.

THE LINGUISTIC PROCESSES

We will now consider the linguistic processes involved in the construction of our 246 adjectives derive from the names of 25 men, three places, a botanical order, a restaurant, and a trademark. The men's names are all of individuals except in Hardy-Weinberg and Watson-Crick. Five adjectives built from persons' names do not have a suffix. Doppler is typical, possessing the formula definition that characterizes most of the adjectives, "of, relating to, or suggestive of X or his work." Two others do not refer to a discovery as in the Mao and Nehru jackets. The 18 suffixes added to men's names are phonologically and orthographically predictable: three -esque as in McLuhanesque, three -an as in Wildean, and 12 -ian as in Orwellian. The -ian is so productive that suffix as in Europocentric and psilophytic, or are the blend Oxbridge (Oxford + Camsulfix as in Europocentric and psilophytic, or are the blend Oxbridge (Oxford + Cambridge).

The 212 nouns comprise five clear linguistic groups. The simplest contains 59 items, of which 14 are essentially performed as in Yellow Pages or the title Peck's bad boy. The other 45 consist of the name as in the coins sengi and ngwee, items which not only add new count nouns that take a $-\phi$ plural, but also in the latter adds a new ng- item that requires an initial vowel in English pronunciation. Mary Gregory "a glassware style" is the only complete name used in our corpus. The spelling pronunciation billibi "the soup liked by the industrialist William B. Leeds, 11.," while excluding the surname, includes Leeds' initial. Hugo (pl. Hugos, from Hugo Gernsback) is the only other item which utilizes a first name. We have excluded from our corpus the only folk etymology in 6,000 Words, where Mary Jane "marijuana" is influenced by the Spanish Juana in 6,000 Words, where Mary Jane "marijuana" is influenced by the Spanish Juana

"Jane." There is other clipping in *Caerphilly* (listed in 1966 as *Caerphilly cheese*) and bialy "breakfast roll," from the city *Bialystok*.

The second group contains 73 uninflected compounds. Structurally, these are Name + Common Noun except for four items compounded with more than one common noun, of which the longest is *Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory*. Pap smear, from Papanicolaou, is one of the most extreme clippings in our corpus. Stevengraph, which has the alternate Stevensgraph, is an apparent misunderstanding of Thomas Stevens' name. Caesar salad, though deriving from the Tiajuana restaurant Caesar's, loses the possessive presumably because of the initial sibilant in salad. The bulk of the common nouns used are unique occurrences in our corpus and shed light on the person's career as in Ekman dredge and Hilbert space, or on something associated with the name as in the almost extinct bird in Bermuda petrel and Lantian man (from Lant'ien). Ovshinsky effect is interesting in that the American inventor's name also led to the blends Ovonic and Ovonics (from electronic).

The third group contains 14 nouns that are the structural reverse. Three have more than one common noun as in the pair ovals of Cassini and witch of Agnesi, and prepositional modification of a compound noun in off-off-Broadway, which has an adjectival subentry. Among the other 11 is a semantic subgroup of eight items like chicken Kiev, with two occurrences of beef, two chicken, and one each of fettuccine, oysters, steak, and turkey. The geography may be obscured as in white amur "grass carp," expressly delimited as in off Broadway, or deliberately general as in middle America.

The fourth group has 30 nouns of the type Name + Suffix + Word(s). Seventeen contain the possessive form of the person's name as in *student's t distribution* (from *Student*, the British statistician's pen name). This joins *Chinese fire drill* and *German wire-haired pointer* as the only items of the group with more than one word added to the name. As in the second group, the common noun often names the discovery for which the person is known as in *Chandler's wobble*. In the remainder there are five *-ian* as in *Whorfian hypothesis*, four *-an* as in *American dream*, and *Japanese quail*.

The last group consists of 36 nouns in which the name is nonmedially affixed. *Neo-Dada* and *destalinization* are the only prefixed items. The latter manifests the suffixational pattern characterizing the rest of the group. These contain seven *-ism* as in *Garveyism*, six *-an* as in *Biafran*, three *-er* and *-te* as in *Bircher* and *Friedmanite*, and two *-id*, *-in*, and *-ology* as in *Leonid*, *acrisin*, and *Pekingology*, as well as single occurrences of other suffixes as in *Bantustan*.

The more frequent terminal nouns in our 246 items are eight ware as in Bizen ware, six effect as in Hawthorne effect, four disease and syndrome as in Wilson's disease and Down's syndrome, and three law as in Parkinson's Law. There are dual occurrences of the common nouns in Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, Reuben sandwich, Rolle's theorem, Laplace transform, and Maclaurin's series, as well as in the initial beef and chicken which have been mentioned. The other common nouns have single occurrences, including model, principle, process, and theory as in Watson-Crick model, Peter Principle, Markov process, and Galois theory. The great majority of the single

occurrences denote scientific orientation as in *Bernoulli trial*, *Epstein-Barr virus*, and *Burkitt's tumor*.

THE SEMANTIC SHIFTS

Twelve of the 896 new sets of meanings for old words, or about one percent, were originally constructed from proper names. Only the adjectives *Byzantine* and *Native American* have two new meanings; the rest have one. *Byzantine*, which continues to denote the city or architecture or church, has undergone major pejoration, to "in a devious and usually surreptitious manner." There is major amelioration in *mafia*, adding "a group of people prominent or powerful in a particular field or enterprise" to the earlier meanings "terrorists" and "criminal society." The major specialization is in *zelkova* "a certain Japanese tree of that genus," from the continuing "small genus of shrubs and trees." It and five other items have undergone a primarily geographical shift. Two are paired, as in the generalization of the two *Native American* main entries from "early political party" to "American Indian." The adjectives *nordic-alpine* shift from the continuing meanings of "people, geography, terrain" to the contrasting "competitive ski jumping and cross-country racing" and "slalom and downhill racing." *Montagnard* shifts from "Athapaskan people" to "highland people in southern Vietnam."

There are three shortenings, in which the earlier nouns *Black Muslim, Black Panther*, and *Uncle Tom* lose the initial adjective. The latter two also lose some social status, as has the female counterpart *Doris Day* (not in Webster's). They raise a lexicographic question, since Webster's chose not to classify *Panther* as a new item but to add the "Black Panther" meaning to the old *panther* "kind of cat," while listing *Black Panther* as a new item. The incorporation of the "Uncle Tom" meaning with the "male animal" ones is equally disturbing. If *W3* can justify separate entries for the mammal *bat* and the baseball *bat*, why should *sloppy joe* "ground-beef dish" not be similarly separate from the "sloppily-dressed man" item?

As has been indicated, most of our 246 new items in 6,000 Words are linguistically simple and partly self-defining. Thus Turner's syndrome denotes the American physician Henry Herbert Turner's discovery about a genetic condition, with neither lexical constitutent semantically biased. The major shift is in Jesus freak. Freak abruptly gains much stature through its compounding with Jesus, which is simultaneously pejorated. The name in Vietnamization, which is still a politically loaded word, gains a negative quality, as perhaps does the otherwise generally neutral -ize. Brownie point, deriving from a respectable girls' organization, becomes negative through the implication of improving oneself through currying favor. Clio, the Greek muse, also loses stature when it appropriately receives a main entry as a new word meaning "a commercials statuette." The pejorative limbo gains an accidental amelioration because of the new homonym meaning "West Indian dance," though W4 may combine Clio if not limbo as new meanings of the old words.

Sometimes there is pejoration within a set of words. A-go-go, deriving from the French restaurant Whiskey à Gogo "whiskey galore," has an aphesized adjective entry in Barnhart in 1966; a noun one, in 1967. The unaphesized pair appear in Webster's 1971 Addenda. Barnhart has a 1968 entry for go-go girls; a 1967 one for go-go fund, which is clipped to go-go in a 1967 citation. Thus much of the original sophistication gives way to potential lewdness or financial speculation. Such shifts may also generalize the name as in everglade "swampy grassland," a singularized apocopation of Everglades. There is a surprisingly late generalization of Coleridge's Xanadu "place of idyllic beauty" in the crassly commercial citation "this is a Xanadu only about half an hour by electric train from the . . . hum of the parent city." Perhaps the ultimate commercialization of this literary place-name is its employment as the name of a perfume and cologne. In Quasimodo we find almost the reverse of Kemp Malone's "Fictitious characters with characterizing names,"* where the definition "a surfing feat in which a surfer squats on the board, leans forward, and extends one arm straight forward and the other straight back" may have been stimulated by the movie image of the deformed hunchback seen by millions.

The semantic shift may be large. The noun *Bluegrass* (in *W2*) apparently gave the performing group Blue Grass Boys their name, which was then generalized and clipped into "a certain kind of country music." The shift may be whimsical as in the old *Montezuma's revenge* "tourists' diarrhea in Mexico," which Webster's added in 1976. As said, some of the associations are straightforward, as in *Waterford glass* "flint glass made in Waterford, Ireland" or even *oysters Rockefeller* "the oyster dish that John D. liked." The association is more tenuous in *capri pants*, which are not made in Capri and might be worn at hundreds of resorts, or in *Malibu board*, which is not made there though it might well be used there as a principal place for American surfing. Another association leads to a note of mystery—*Italian sandwich*, which has a 1967 OED-S citation and the same definition as Webster's, "hoagie or hoagy." This well-known word is uniformly labeled "origin unknown."

In summary, only 12 of the 896 old items that gain new meanings were originally constructed from names. Half involve geographical shifts. Webster's has dropped only three proper-noun derivatives from those listed in the 1966 Addenda; two, from the 1971 Addenda. Of the proper nouns underpinning our 246 items in 6,000 Words, the great majority of the 119 people named are Americans or Europeans who have lived in recent decades and have engaged in scientific work often identified in the term itself as in Michaelis constant. Such identification characterizes 64 items primarily built from place-names as in Canton china. The other 63 items derive from organizations, literature, "native" names, biological or botanical forms, and other sources.

There are three verbs, 31 adjectives, and 212 nouns. The nouns include 59 items that are either the proper noun alone or a preformed unit like O'Connor's *last hurrah*. another 87 nouns are uninflected names that are preceded or followed by a common

^{*&}quot;Meaningful Fictive Names in English Literature." Names, 5:1(March, 1957), 1.

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noun as in steak Diane or Phillips curve. The remaining 66 have a terminal suffix as in Zorn's lemma or stishovite, except for two prefixations. Although barely five percent of the 4,881 main entries are constructed from names, they further document the vitality and productivity of proper nouns in the expanding English language.

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