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Trends in Word Compounding in American Speech.

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by

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MANUSCRIPT THESSES

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>ACKNOWLEDGMENTS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ABSTRACT</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>INTRODUCTION</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTERS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>I</strong></td>
<td>The Nature and Extent of Compounding in English</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>II</strong></td>
<td>Word-Compounding in America before 1900</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>III</strong></td>
<td>Compound Expressions in the Vocabulary of the Twentieth Century</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>IV</strong></td>
<td>A Comparison of American and British Compound Words</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>V</strong></td>
<td>The Use of the Attributive Noun in Compounds</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>VI</strong></td>
<td>The Noun Compound Composed of Verb and Adverb</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>VII</strong></td>
<td>Invention, Proliferation, and Vogue in Compounding</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>VIII</strong></td>
<td>Conclusions</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY** | | 234 |

**VITA** | | 240 |
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ABSTRACT

The coining of new words by the process of putting two existing words into juxtaposition is called compounding. This thesis is a study of compounding. It has been subdivided as follows: (1) an investigation concerning compounding in ancient and modern times; (2) a study of the possible types of compounding in English; (3) a study of the patterns used in pioneering times in America; (4) a survey of the kinds of compounds being coined in the twentieth century; (5) a more intensive study of two patterns used widely in American speech; (6) a survey of the manner in which coinages take place by analogy and of the practical uses made of such coinages.

The method used in each sub-division of the study is as follows: (1) An explanation of the specific problem of the chapter is made; (2) excerpts of references available are given; (3) a collection of examples is presented; (4) the examples are studied as to form, meaning, date of coinage, or other features; (5) generalizations are made.

In each sub-division, the first and second steps (i.e., the explanation of the problem and the presentation of written references), are summaries of existing knowledge. The third, fourth, and fifth steps (i.e., the assembling of examples, the study of examples, and the
generalizations), are the writer's own contribution.

The writer found a considerable amount of material to be in existence concerning compounding in ancient times, but very little to be available concerning compounding in modern languages. The English language is notable in the facility with which it can form compound words, particularly compounds which function as nouns and adjectives.

The American colonists in the New World were simple people; the names which they gave to features of their life in America were simple names. In the period before 1900, the compound word was an ideal instrument for their use in this naming process. Often the method used in word-coinage was simply the juxtaposing of a generic term after a qualifying adjective, as in the word blackberry.

In the twentieth century, at least two trends are discernible, as far as semantic features of coinage are concerned. First, there is a continuation of the simple naming habits of earlier times, as in the compound terms soap opera and whistle-stop campaign. Second, there is a more sophisticated trend which leads to compound terms tending to dignify and to professionalize, as in the expressions landscape engineer and funeral director. On the basis of form, there are two patterns by which compounds are multiplying rapidly in the United States. One is the pattern employing an attributive noun plus a noun; the other is the noun compound composed of verb plus adverb. A study of these compounds reveals that their rapid increase may in time have an effect upon the
structure of the language.

The principle of coinage by analogy plays an important part in the multiplication of compound words. A wide use is made of compound terms in journalistic writing and in advertising, since such terms are rich in connotative force and are a space-saving device. Further study is needed in the area of word-compounding in American speech.
INTRODUCTION

There is a wide variety of ways in which one may study the oral and written aspects of the English language. Among the many fields of interest are those concerning the problems of rhetoric and oratory, the organization of the theatre, the interpretation of prose and poetry, and the history of the development of the language itself. In all these fields the spoken and the written word are fundamental. They are the cells in the complicated organism which the student is observing. Some students are interested in studying the words themselves. The study of words and how they fit together in the tremendously complex thing called language has engaged scholars for centuries.

A significant aspect of the study of words is how they are built up from simple elements into more complex forms. If a student examines the various ways in which words may be put together to form compounds in English, he is likely to become interested in the subject of word-composition and its many ramifications. It is possible, for instance, to combine noun and noun as in seashore, adjective and noun as in red-bird, noun and adjective as in land-poor, adjective and adjective as in bittersweet, adverb and adverb as in well-nigh, verb and adverb as in set-up, and curiously enough, to combine the same two words in the reverse order to make
upset, a compound with a very different meaning. It is also possible to combine a noun with its adjectival phrase and to use the resultant combination with a highly specialized meaning, as had been done for many years with the four words *lily-of-the-valley*. Nor does this exhaust the list of possibilities.

If the observer studies another language, however, he may become conscious of the fact that there are other ways in which words may be combined than those found in English. If he studies German he may become aware that in some directions the German language can go further in its word-combinations than English can go. For example, in the coin- ing of definition-compounds, German may juxtapose a number of words, without hyphenation, to make a permanent name for a new product or a new scientific discovery. Thus during World War I the Germans created the term *Maschinengewehrkampfwagen* (*machine-gun [armored] battle car*) for a new creation which the British tersely called a *tank*.\(^1\) The English-speaking person, if he were to use such an expression at all, would probably treat it as a nonce-word and would use it with some self-consciousness. The study of other languages is likely to widen one's understanding, then, of the nature of compounding.

If the observer is an American, he will notice on the pages of his newspaper, from the loudspeaker of his radio,

and in the windows of the shops about him that he is apparently living in a period of very free compounding in American English. The headline of the daily paper may read: No Let-Up in Coast Strike. The radio may tell him that American know-how has produced a dozen fine super-products which he should go out and buy immediately. On the shelves at the grocery store he may see such products as Cut-Rite Wax Paper, Glo-Coat Floor Wax, Easy-Off Cleaner, and Ginger-Cake Mix.

When an observer becomes interested enough to want to study the subject of word-compounding, he finds that very little has been written about it as a phenomenon of the English language in contemporary times. What has been written is widely scattered and incomplete. Few scholars of modern English have taken compounding as a major subject for specialization. In contrast, the nature of compounding was the subject of very diligent study in ancient times by Sanskrit grammarians and by students of Greek and Latin. Panini, for example, the greatest of all Sanskrit grammarians, dates back to 400 B.C. In his works he mentions sixty-four predecessors, a fact which gives us a glimpse of the long development the study of grammar had had in India before him. Karl Brugmann, the German linguist, devotes a large section of his work, A Comparative Grammar of the Indo-Germanic Languages, to the knowledge of compounding recorded by these ancient Indian scholars.

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Among the scattered references to the process of compounding made by contemporary students of the English language, there is not always agreement. An impressive number of scholars say that the compounding process is increasing in extent in English, but some can be found who say that it is on the wane. Stuart Robertson will serve as a representative of those who feel certain that compounding is decreasing in English as a force in wordbuilding. He states his reasons in the paragraph quoted below:

In spite of apparent frequency in compounding, English has lost some of its former freedom in compounding. German today is nearer the Old English. Our native compounds have often been replaced with Latin or French borrowings that are not compounds: treasure for gold-board, medicine for leech-craft.

Latin and French lack the compound-making ability of Greek and German, and this very fact helps to account for the decline in compounding in English, for the first two languages have been levied upon much more extensively for the vocabulary of English than have the latter two. Baugh is certain that the power of the language to compound has not decreased. He says, in part:

A source of new words is represented in the practice of making self-explaining compounds, one of the oldest methods of word-formation in the language. Of recent origin are air-worthy (on the analogy of sea-worthy), caterpillar tractor, finger print, fire-extinguisher, hitchhike, lipstick, newspaper, player piano, road hog, search-light, skyline (as applied to the outline of the tops of buildings against the sky), speed boat, spot-light, steam-roller, streamline. Many of these betray their newness by being written with a hyphen or as separate words, or

by preserving a rather strong stress on the second element. They give unmistakable testimony to the fact that the power to combine existing words into new ones expressing a single concept, a power that was so prominent a feature of Old English, still remains with us today.4

Mencken is as positive as Baugh that the process of compounding is not losing ground. His comments in The American Language are of particular interest.

The old American faculty for making picturesque compounds shows no signs of abating today. Many of them come in on the latitude of slang, e.g., road-louse, glad-hand, hop-head, rah-rah boy, coffin-nail (cigarette), hot-spot, bug-house, hang-out, and pin-head, and never attain to polite usage, but others gradually make their way, e.g., chair-warmer, canned-music, sob-sister, bell-hop, come-back, white-wings and rabble-rouser, and yet others are taken into the language almost as soon as they appear, e.g., college widow (1887), skyscraper and rubber-neck (c.1890), loan-shark (c.1900), high-brow and low-brow (c.1905), hot-dog (c.1905), joy-ride (c.1908), love-nest and lay-walker (c.1920), and brain-trust (1932). . . . Many of the most popular of American compounds are terms of disparagement, e.g., bone-head, clock-watcher, hash-slinger, four-flusher, rough-neck. . . . Most of these linger beneath the salt, but now and then one of them edges its way into more or less decorous usage.5


5 H. L. Mencken, The American Language (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1937), pp. 186-187. The New English Dictionary gives 1891 as the date of the first appearance of skyscraper in America in its new meaning, although the word itself dates back to 1794 in England in the sense of a triangular sail. In America it might have been a loan-translation from the German Wolkenkratzer.
The disagreement among contemporary writers may be attributed to the lack of specific descriptive studies upon which conclusions might be based. Bloomfield has something to say concerning the need for comparative studies.

By comparing our records of Old English ... with modern English, we can see how English has changed in the last thousand years. Evidently our power of making this comparison depends upon our knowledge of the things to be compared. For example, our knowledge about the compounding of words (as in blackbird or footsore) in the several Germanic languages is decidedly incomplete; therefore we cannot go very far with a comparative study of this matter, which would tell us how words were compounded in Primitive Germanic and how these habits have changed in the subsequent history of each Germanic language.

If we are lacking in adequate descriptive studies of the compounding habits of the Germanic languages, and if contemporary students of the English language are in disagreement on the subject, then the need for further studies is clear.

The purpose of the present study is to investigate these aspects of word compounding:

1. The phenomenon of compounding itself, the manner in which compounds develop, and the forms they may take in English.

2. The nature and extent of word compounding in American English, both in the earlier days of the Republic and in contemporary usage.

3. The nature of compound words used in America as compared with the equivalents in England, in those cases in which there is a difference in usage.

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4. The types of compound words which are particularly popular in American speech today.

5. The way in which compound words multiply by analogy, particularly as exemplified in advertising in America today.

The study is not a descriptive one, in the linguistic sense of the term. It is based largely upon written records of the appearance of new words. It concerns itself with the form and the meaning of the compounds examined.

The study of compound words is organized under the following sub-heads: an introduction presents the general problem; Chapter I investigates the nature of compounding and analyzes the kinds of compounds possible in the English language; Chapter II studies the compound words coined in the United States before 1900; Chapter III investigates the nature of compound neologisms of the twentieth century; Chapter IV makes a comparison between British and American compounds on the basis of form and meaning; Chapter V analyzes the use of the attributive noun in compound words in American speech; Chapter VI discusses the occurrence of the compound made up of verb and adverb; Chapter VII studies the manner in which compounds are coined by analogy and the use of certain types of compounds in advertising, and Chapter VIII presents conclusions.
CHAPTER I

THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF COMPOUNDING IN ENGLISH

When the modern descriptive linguists define the term compound, they make the sense considerably narrower than did the historical linguists. This is not difficult to understand. They are dealing with the exact forms which meet the ear today, without reference to the evolution through which these forms may have come down to us. Bloch and Trager, among the descriptive linguists, have made a specialty of exact definitions. In the case of compound words, their definition will be a good starting point, since it will serve to establish several useful terms and concepts.

Any fraction of utterance that can be spoken alone with meaning in normal speech is a free form; a fraction that never appears by itself with meaning is a bound form. All the examples in the preceding paragraphs are free forms; [play, plays, . . . ride, rode, ridden, man, manly, mannish, conceive, perceive, . . . ]

per-, con-, -ing, -ly, -ish, -ceive, -tion, are bound forms. . . .

A word containing one or more bound forms is called complex; a word made up wholly of smaller [free] words is called compound.¹

Bloomfield defines compounds as words which have two or more free forms among their immediate constituents. He ranks compounds (words containing free forms) as secondary words, as opposed to primary words, or words not containing a lesser free form.\(^2\)

Compound words in this thesis will be treated according to the delimitations given by these definitions. That is, boathouse and undertake will be considered as compound words, because they are made up of smaller words which at the present time can be spoken alone, while queenly will not be so considered, even though, in a historical sense, it was once composed of two independent words: OE œwen "queen," and lic "like," (originally from gelic "having the form of"), "queenlike, feminine." Similarly beautiful will not be considered a compound word, even though it was once compounded of beauty and full, because of the fact that -ful obviously has the force of a suffix at the present time.

It is to be noticed in passing that the definitions quoted above cover not only the compound word composed of stem plus stem (boathouse), but also the compound made up of complex word plus stem (player piano—which is stem plus bound form -er plus stem), and even the compound composed of two complex words (actor-manager). That is, the compound words to be considered may be the stem plus stem type, the type in which one member contains a bound form, or the type

\(^2\)Bloomfield, p. 209.
The historical view of word-compounding as the basic process from which all inflection and derivation sprang can be seen from the following comments taken from the works of Karl Brugmann, who may be considered a representative figure among historical linguists:

All the developments of language denoted by the terms Stem-formation and Inflexion are based upon one common principle, the juxtaposition and more or less intimate fusion of elements originally independent. When one member of a compound has become a prefix or a suffix, the group of words which contains it generally creates similar forms, and is thus enlarged by analogy.

The definitions of compounds thus far examined have nothing to say about the semantic nature of the compound. Yet this aspect of the subject should be taken into consideration early, since the study at hand (in some phases) has to do with advertising and the connotative force of the new compound words in use. Here it is helpful to turn again to Brugmann, who seems to have the precise link in the definition that is needed.

It is no doubt a fair definition of a compound to say that it is fully formed when the whole becomes in any way isolated from the parts of which it is composed as used independently. Lat. magnopere, for instance, was isolated from its component elements magnō opere by its vowel contraction; Lat. denuō from de novo by the weakening of the -ov- to -u- due to its enclitic position; . . .

3 Since this is the spelling consistently used by Brugmann's translator for development, the irregularity will not be commented on again.

In Mod. H.G. *gross-vater* 'grandfather', *süssholz* 'licorice' [sweet-wood] the isolation was caused by the meaning of the whole being more definite and limited than the meaning conveyed by the mere syntactic grouping of the parts (cp. *Eng. best man, blackbird*).\(^5\)

It will be of interest at this point to compare the definitions thus far collected with the definition offered in an up-to-date general dictionary of the English language. *Webster's Unabridged Dictionary, Second Edition*, gives the following helpful and inclusive definition:

**Compound .... Gram. b.**

Specifically, in modern English, a combination into a solid or hyphenated form of two or more distinct words (*gatekeeper; passer-by; large-scale*), or of a word with one or more affixes or combining forms, (*supergovernment; Anglophobe*), or a word phrase having a specialized or figurative sense not deducible from the meanings of the components, which serve grammatically as a single word and usually blend in pronunciation (*vice-admiral; post-office; past master; bill fold; all right*). . . .

In modern English such compounds have either one strong unifying stress (*rainbow; ladybird; postman; breakfast*) or shifting stress upon the components (*arm-chair; court martial; hard-hearted*).\(^6\)

It has thus been established from the works of specialists in linguistics and from a dictionary of the English language, (a) that the compound word is a word made up wholly of smaller words, (b) that it may take on a character of its own ("become isolated") by a phonetic change in one of its members and by having its meaning made more definite and more

\(^5\)Ibid., p. 4; (cp. is used by the translator for cf.).

limited than is the meaning conveyed by its parts, and (c) that this "isolation" may be fortified by a strong unifying stress on one of the members, often, but not always, on the first member (blackbird, but best man).

One additional point should be given passing notice here. There is, in Greek and Latin, a combining form, a form different from the stem, which may not occur alone but which may occur in compound words. Although this trait is not native to English, it is a habit often imitated in the English language. Thus the Latin -i ending for a combining form is to be found in a good many words which no doubt pass for entirely native words to many speakers of English, e.g., multi-colored materials, Flexiplan furniture. The Greek ending -o for a combining form (as in elektron, the combining form of elektron "amber") appears very widely in such words as electro-graph and electro-magnetic. This form is enjoying great popularity as an element in the names of many currently used commercial products: Electro-lux, Vap-o-matic (a vaporizer). The use of -a- as an imitation of the Greek combining form is probably at the top of the list in popularity; e.g., Step-a-light (a floor lamp), Pack-a-bed (a daybed), Roll-a-file (a letter file).

The very simplicity of juxtaposing two or more words to obtain a resultant form with a new meaning, or with a specialized meaning, has made compounding one of the easiest and most popular of all methods of creating new words. Margaret M. Bryant, author of Modern English and Its Heritage, places
Edward Sapir, however, believes that compounding is inferior to affixation in productivity. It is barely possible that the difference of opinion between Bryant and Sapir in this instance may be due to the fact that Bryant is using compounding in the wider historical sense which included inflection and affixation. Sapir is one of the few modern linguists who have been able to give us a glimpse of the compounding habits of exotic languages. What he has to say concerning the subject is of more than usual interest.

It is curious to observe how greatly languages differ in their ability to make use of the process of composition. One would have thought on general principles that so simple a device as gives us our typewriter and blackbird and hosts of other words would be an all but universal grammatical process. Such is not the case. There are a great many languages, like Eskimo and Nootka and, aside from paltry exceptions, the Semitic languages, that cannot compound radical elements. What is even stranger is the fact that many of these languages are not in the least averse to complex word-formations, but may on the contrary effect a synthesis that far surpasses the utmost that Greek and Sanskrit are capable of.

There is a bewildering variety of types of composition. These types vary according to function, the nature of the compounded elements, and order. In a great many languages composition is confined to what we may call the delimiting function, that is, of the two or more compounded elements one is given a more precisely qualified significance by the others.

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7Bryant, p. 296.
which contribute nothing to the formal build of the sentence. In English, for instance, such compounded elements as red in redcoat and over in overlook merely modify the significance of the dominant coat or look without in any way sharing, as such, in the predication that is expressed by the sentence. Some languages, however, such as Iroquois and Nahtli (the language of the Aztecs, still spoken in large parts of Mexico) employ the method of composition for much heavier work than this. In Iroquois, for instance, the composition of a noun, in its radical form, with a following verb is a typical method of expressing case relations, particularly of the subject or object. I-meat-eat is the regular Iroquois method of expressing the sentence "I am eating meat." In other languages similar forms may express local or instrumental or other case relations. Such English forms as killjoy and marplot also illustrate the compounding of a verb and a noun, but the resulting word has a strictly nominal, not a verbal, function. We cannot say He marplots. Some languages allow the composition of all or nearly all types of elements.

Bloomfield further establishes the principle that, although compounding is in itself a simple process, yet there are in each language definite patterns and limitations. The patterns of possible compounding and the limitations to compounding in the English language are not new but very ancient, since they were well established in the primitive Indo-European language. This fact is of importance to the student of present-day usage. He must not expect to find new methods or new patterns of compounding arising in current speech, since language habits as to morphology are exceedingly conservative. He may expect, however, to find the sudden new popularity of an old form, resulting in a greatly accelerated frequency in its use, or he may expect to find

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new meanings and implications attached to an established form. Bloomfield's comments in this connection should be read in detail.

The present-day habits of word-composition in English produce the illusion that compounds arise by a simple juxtaposition of words. The reader need scarcely be told that the modern English pattern, in which the compound word equals the independent forms of the members, with modification only of word-stress, is the product of a long series of regularizing analogic changes. . . . 9

The observations of Karl Brugmann on the subject of the antiquity of patterns of word-compounding serve to make even clearer the point which Bloomfield explains in the paragraph above.

The units of speech produced by this kind of composition became in later ages the types on which new words were made; and many such standard forms, which were in use long before the dissolution of the pro-ethnic Indo-Germanic community, still serve as models for new words. But this process of blending groups of independent words into single forms has been continually repeated all through the centuries; and thus new types have been successively evolved, to be in turn the means of further development. Yet these new types have never brought about any material change in the general method of forming words which had been adopted by the Indo-Germanic language in its pro-ethnic stage. Certain primitive types, which were characteristic of the morphology of this family of languages, remained in constant use wherever they were spoken; and the forms which have arisen in later times, from the coalescence of words grouped in some syntactic relation, have always been cast in the mould of one or other of these prescribed models.10

9Bloomfield, p. 416.
It is abundantly clear, then, that the student of current American speech must not be misled by his own enthusiasm into believing that he will find something entirely new in the turns of phrase which he hears and records. Although the neologisms which strike his ear may sound strange, the chances are extremely small that anything new morphologically will turn up.

On the other hand, the student must become aware of the fact that he is not going to be able to set up criteria for telling with absolute certainty which combinations of words are compounds and which are not. Such tests might be possible if he were working with the spoken word alone, and if he had sensitive instruments for measuring degrees of stress and other features of pronunciation. Bloomfield, more than any other scholar, seems to feel certain of the line between a compound and a non-compound (a phrase) but in his case the methods used are those of a descriptive linguist, i.e., phenomena of stress and juncture in the pronunciation of the word are of paramount importance in making the decision.11

In a study such as the present one, in which the principal sources of material are the Dictionary of American English, the Dictionary of Americanisms, back files of American Speech and of Dialect Notes, the pages of newspapers and magazines, signs in shop windows, labels on the shelves of grocery stores and so forth, the material is one step

11 Bloomfield, pp. 227-237.
removed from the spoken word. In many cases the study deals
with the first written record of a neologism. The crux of
the difficulty comes, then, from the fact that we do not
adequately record the spoken word in English spelling. Our
writing is not phonetic and features of stress have been
largely ignored, at least up to the present century. There­
fore, this study cannot claim to be a descriptive one. It
has been aided greatly by modern descriptive methods and
views, and by the descriptive linguist's enthusiasm for lan­
guage, but it is actually a historical study. It is wise,
therefore, to turn again to a historical linguist for assist­
ance upon this difficult point, i.e., the distinction between
a compound and a phrase. Brugmann furnishes the needed
assistance.

No hard and fast line can be drawn between a
phrase or group of words connected in some syn­
tactical relation, and a compound. . . . Isolation
is a matter of very gradual development; and we
cannot fix a point at which the phrase passes into
the compound, least of all in ancient languages,
where we cannot appeal for help to the conscious­
ness of any living speaker. At every stage in
the development of language we find compounds in
process of formation; and, naturally enough, it
is often impossible to decide whether in any given
instance a compound is completely formed or not.
. . . It is equally impossible to draw a hard and
fast line between a compound and a simple word. 12

The conclusion here drawn from the statements above is
that it is futile to go to the extreme in trying to decide
which words are fully compounded and which are not. Many

word combinations included in this thesis might be culled out as phrases under an application of the strictest criteria of the difference between the two in the spoken language. This thesis will treat, therefore, of compounds and similar word combinations, with the full knowledge that such word-combinations are potential compounds (in cases in which they are not already fully so), and those which survive will fall fully into the class of compounds after long linguistic usage. This inclusiveness has been adopted deliberately, because of the fact that (a) exact stress patterns cannot be known when one is working with written material, and (b) the borderline cases—those combinations hovering in the unexplored area where morphology and syntax meet—seem to the writer to be of tremendous interest. Their inclusion seems to be of more importance than a strict adherence to all definitions of the compound word.

Because the word phrase has been employed repeatedly, and because it will be used throughout the thesis in the linguist's sense, it will be well to define the term here. According to Bloch and Trager it is "a syntactic construction involving two or more free forms."\(^{13}\) Blackbird is a compound, but a black bird is a phrase. Bloomfield says "A free form which consists entirely of two or more lesser free forms, as, for instance, poor John, or John ran away, or

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\(^{13}\)Bloch and Trager, p. 66.
yes, sir, is a phrase."\textsuperscript{14} Brugmann's definition is "a group of words connected in some syntactical relation."\textsuperscript{15} The difficulty for the average reader who is not inclined to be interested in fine linguistic distinctions is that the word phrase has become crystallized in his mind in the sense of "prepositional phrase" or "adjectival phrase" to such an extent that he has difficulty in getting back of these two derivative concepts to the original one. However, the term phrase in the sense here defined is essential to a study in which many references must be made to the difference between compounded and non-compounded material. As was implied in the paragraph above, the compound word falls under the heading of morphology, while the phrase falls under syntax. To clarify further, another definition is here presented.

We divide the grammar of a language into two main parts. Morphology deals with the structure of words; syntax deals with the combinations of words in phrases and sentences.\textsuperscript{16}

There is no general agreement as to a way in which stress should be marked in English. Four different methods will be presented here, followed by the writer's compromise system.

Bloch and Trager employ marks to show four degrees of stress in words. The second degree, "reduced high," shown

\textsuperscript{14}Bloomfield, p. 178.
\textsuperscript{15}Brugmann, Vol.II, p. 4.
\textsuperscript{16}Bloch and Trager, p. 53.
by the circumflex mark over the syllable concerned, is used
in their system specifically to mark the element of lesser
stress in compounds which have not suffered a vowel-reduction.
The system may be charted as follows:

1. loud stress (mark ' ) example yes
2. reduced loud (mark ^ ) red-cap
3. medial (mark ` ) romance
4. weak (no mark) enemy 17

The Webster and Thorndike dictionaries use three degrees
of stress, which can be charted as follows:

1. primary stress (mark ' ) example act
2. secondary stress (mark ' ) co or di na tion
   black-jack
3. unstressed syllable (no mark) up per 18

Bloomfield suggests four degrees of stress, to be used
with phonetic transcription as shown below:

1. loudest stress (mark "--to be placed before
   the symbols) That's mine!
2. ordinary stress (mark '--to be placed before
   the symbols) forgiving

17 Ibid., p. 48.
Gray and Wise follow the method used by scholars who work with the International Phonetic Alphabet, employing three degrees of stress, as follows:

1. primary stress (mark ') yes ['jes]
2. secondary stress (mark ,) red cap ['red, kep]
3. unstressed syllables (no mark) extra ['ek stre] 20

Of these systems of marking, the one most difficult to use with pen and ink, or with the typewriter, is the method used by Webster and Thorndike. The method used in this thesis is a workable compromise system for orthography—one showing three degrees of stress, using the markings shown below:

1. primary stress (mark ') no
2. secondary stress (mark `) co or di nate
3. unstressed syllables (no mark) cup board

19 Bloomfield, pp. 91-92.

Even though we may know in advance that it is in the end impossible to draw "a hard and fast line" between the compound and the phrase, yet we derive great benefit from setting up a list of tests for determining when a word is fully compounded. Such a list of tests serves, among other things, to focus attention upon the characteristics of the compound itself. Seven criteria, assembled from various sources and restated are given below:

1. A compound often has high stress on the first member, stemming from the fact that it is one of the characteristics of the English language to tend to move the stress toward the first syllable of the word. In such cases, which are the most characteristic cases for compounds, the second member has medial or weak stress; e.g., white-cap, postman. Sometimes, however, the order is reversed, particularly in compound verbs, so that the high stress appears on the second member; e.g., outrun. A unifying high stress is characteristic of the compound noun, but not of the compound adjective in its attributive position before a following noun, where level medial stress is characteristic; e.g., a hard-boiled egg.

2. A compound sometimes has phonetic modification in one of its members. This modification is usual in the second member, as in gentleman, ['dʒlɪmən], cupboard, ['kʌpbrəd]. In British English this modification may amount to a reduction of syllables, for example, the word raspberry, pronounced in England ['ræzbrɪ] but in America ['ræzˌbeɪri].

3. A compound often has close juncture between the two members, but this is not always the case. Tryout has close juncture; night-rate has internal open juncture, (in comparison to the close juncture in nitrate). 22

4. A compound, in the instances in which it takes an inflection, does so as a single word would take it, that is, on the end of the last member of the combination, even though logically the inflection may belong to another word. Two examples are the Queen of England's crown; everyone else's books.

5. A compound is indivisible. It may be tested for its indivisibility by an attempt to insert a descriptive word between two of its members. For example, one cannot insert the adjective bright-eyed between the members of the compound blackbird, to result in

22 For a treatment of juncture, see Bloch and Trager, p. 47 and Bloomfield, pp. 186-189.
"the black, bright-eyed bird," without destroying the specific meaning of the compound. Similarly one cannot say "the lily-of-the-deep-valley," without departing from the specific meaning of lily-of-the-valley. The adjective must precede the entire compound, e.g., "the bright-eyed blackbird."

6. A compound often has a more specialized meaning than does a phrase. This fact is illustrated by the difference in meaning observable between the following matched pairs of expressions:

- blackboard ---- a black board
- brickyard ---- a brick yard
- silverfish ---- a silver fish

7. A compound is often "written solid" (bluebonnet) or hyphenated (try-out). However, the whole issue of when to use the hyphen, when to "write solid" and when to write a compound as two separate words is so completely confused in English that little or no faith can be placed in this criterion. The issue is stylistic and not orthographic, and stems partly from the fact that hyphens are avoided in modern journalistic writing.\(^\text{23}\)

\[^{23}\text{Webster's New International Dictionary contains a good treatment of the difficult subject of usage in regard to the hyphen, pp. 548-549.}\]
Edward Sapir, in his major work, *Language*, gives an admirable treatment of language-change in a chapter which he calls "Drift." In this treatment, the multiple kinds of language-change are unified under the concept of a continuous tide-like drifting movement, according to certain clearly perceptible patterns. The great consonant shifts of the Indo-European languages are examples of this drift.  

The life-history of compound words shows this kind of drift. It is possible to chart and describe six stages in the drifting of a compound word. This is not to say that there may not be intermediate stages, or that some compounds may not be caught in eddies and fail to follow the principal drift. However, the hypothetical journey may be outlined as follows:

1. Random combinations of words such as any speaker might make up; for example, "I'm bear-hungry," as a compressed version of "I'm hungry as a bear!" This (a) may never again be repeated or (b) may catch the fancy of another speaker, and so be repeated until it gets into print and enters the written language.

2. Well-recognized combinations of words which are used frequently and which have taken on the "isolation" referred to by Brugmann, yet have not

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*Sapir, pp. 157-182.*
acquired the strong unifying stress on the first member which one expects because of the habit of English to move the stress to the first syllable. Examples of words in this group are listed below:

v.

\`apple pie (first listing, MED, 1590)
\`Dutch treat 1887
\`ice cream 1767
\`everybody else 1715
\`First Avenue
\`Second Boulevard

3. Well-established compounds which have high stress on the first member and medial stress on the second.

\`blue jay 1709
\`blackbird 1486
\`icebox 1846
\`lipstick 1880
\`skyscraper 1883
\`First Street
\`Main Street

4. Compounds which have high stress on the first member and weak stress with change of phonetic quality on the second member.

\`postman [`poust men]
\`Monday [`ma:n di:]
\`cupboard [`kʌb əd]
\`lanyard [`læn jəd]
5. Fossilized compounds (called by Brugmann obscured compounds) in which the secondary member has become so much abbreviated and changed that it is no longer perceived as a separate word by the average speaker, but must be explained to him on a historical basis. Examples are listed below.

- daisy — from OE daeges eage (or eage), "day's eye."
- garlic — from OE garleac, "spear-leek" or "spear-plant" from the shape of the leaves.
- lady — from OE hlafdige, "loaf kneader."
- lord — from hlaf weard (or ward) "loaf guardian."
- mistletoe — from mistel tan — "bird droppings" and "twig" from the method by which it was spread from tree to tree.
- stirrup — from OE stigran, "sty rope" or "mounting rope." OE stigan, "to sty" was an old form of "to mount," (cf. German steigen).
- steward — from OE stig weard, "sty keeper." Sty or coop was used in a wider sense than now. The noun stig may have come from the verb above because of a ladder used to mount to the fowl-roost.

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25 Most of the examples given were taken from the pages of James B. Greenough and George Lyman Kittredge, Words and Their Wavs in English Speech (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1902), pp. 193-218.

6. Compounds which have taken a back-migration, beginning to drift back again along the way they have come, usually by analogic reformation. For instance, forehead seems to be drifting backward from stage 4 (page 26) to stage 3; i.e., from ['for id] to [for, hed]. The analogy by which the speaker gets to this re-formation, according to Bloomfield, is probably as follows:

\[
\text{fore, arm : forearm} = \text{fore, head : x} \\
\text{x} = [\text{for, hed}] \quad 27
\]

Monday, Tuesday, and the other names for days of the week are drifting back in some dialects from ['mandi, 'tjuzdi] to ['man, dei, 'tjuz, dei] and so forth. This is possibly on the analogy of school day, work day, holiday, pay day, May Day, (and in Hawaii, Lei Day).

There are some puzzling and interesting things which come to mind when one compares the words in group 2 and group 3. For example, why should First Street in group 3 have the high stress on the first member, in a way so characteristic of the fully compounded word, when First Avenue, in group 2, has primary stress on the second member? (Some speakers will contend that First Avenue has level stress on both members). Why, again, should apple tree (first recorded

\[27\text{Bloomfield, p. 416.}\]
in 1100 according to DAE), have the primary stress on the first member, while apple pie (1590) has this stress on the second member? In this case the pair of expressions seem to match each other in character and to be about equally old. In the case of ice cream we have a real student's delight. It seems to be a case in which the combination is in the process of going from group 2 to group 3 in the drift that we have hypothesized. In many parts of America it is still pronounced ice cream, especially by middle-aged and older people. In other places there is a strong new tendency to say icecream. Very often in the same locality there is a division in the pronunciation of this word according to age-groups, the older people saying ice cream and the younger icecream.

As material for a systematic descriptive study, to be carried out over a long period of time, it seems probable that words such as those in group 2 and group 3 might prove to be most interesting and most fruitful of discovery.

Many compounds do not take this entire journey, but arrive at their destination much more quickly by a short-cut. Frequently one popular compound is used as a pattern upon which a whole set or sequence of terms is formed. The compound air-borne itself dates back to 1641, yet during World War II it suddenly became popular—so much so that it served as a pattern for a sequence of terms such as carrier-borne, glider-borne, foot-borne, mule-borne, and many others. A number of examples of this kind of analogic coinage are
in Chapter VII.

There are several methods of classifying compounds, some modern and some ancient. One method is to divide them into two groups called syntactic and asyntactic. The members of a syntactic compound stand in the order in which they might stand if they were in a sentence; for example, white-cup is syntactic because it has the regular adjective-before-noun order of English syntax. Princess Royal, however, is asyntactic because it reverses the normal word-order of English.

Another method of classifying compounds is to group them under the headings endocentric and exocentric. An endocentric compound is one in which the compound as a whole has the same grammatical function (i.e., is the same part of speech) as that of its head-member or most important member. An example is blackboard. Here the compound as a whole is a noun, as is also the more important of its two members, board. An exocentric compound is one in which the word as a whole has a different grammatical function from that of its head member. An example is blowout, a noun compound made up of verb plus adverb.28

The two methods of classification just given have been devised on the basis of the form of the compound. It is of interest to look at the method devised by Sanskrit grammarians to classify compounds on the basis of form. A direct

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28Bloomfield, p. 194.
quotation from Brugmann is better in this instance than a
paraphrase.

We may distinguish four classes of compound forms:

I. Compounds whose first part is the stem
of an inflected noun or pronoun, . . .

II. Compounds whose first part is a word
which never admits of inflexion in any
period of the history of the Indo-
Germanic languages accessible to our
investigation, and only appears in
compounds, . . .

III. Compounds whose first part is an old
adverbial word (with or without ending),
which was also used uncompounded, . . .

IV. Compounds whose first part is either a
case-form, which, when it first entered
into composition was a living member of
some case-system, or an adverb which had
only become such during the developement
of the separate languages, . . .

Classes I and IV are often contrasted as
'genuine' and 'spurious' compounds. 29

The system devised by the Sanskrit grammarians to clas-
sify noun compounds according to meaning is of much greater
interest to us than the system just described, because it can
be applied to English noun compounds. Briefly, it is as
follows:

I. Coordinating compounds, or copulative
compounds, called in Sanskrit dvandva.

In these "the two members stand side by
side on the same level, nothing more being
implied than the addition of two items; . . . "
"The coordinating compounds have nowhere
been largely developed except in Sanskrit,

29 Brugmann, pp. 21-23.
and there only in the post-Vedic period." 30

Examples in English are rare: city-state, actor-manager.

II. Subordinating compounds, in which one member is defined more closely than the other; the one contains the principal idea, the other is merely an adjunct subordinate to it. These were called in Sanskrit tatpurusha. 31

"The subordinating compounds certainly formed by far the larger group in the Indo-Germanic period, and so it has remained in nearly all the subsequent developments of the separate languages." 32

The subordinating compounds were subdivided into (a) dependent compounds, in which one element stands in possessive, objective, instrumental, or a similar case relationship to the other (shoemaker, boathouse, lovelorn), (b) descriptive compounds in which one element qualifies or describes the other (houseboat, black-bird, carpetbag, afterthought). 33

There was still another principle upon which a classification was made in ancient times according to the meaning of the compound. This was a division made according to whether the compound was a non-epithetised or an epithetised one. Brugmann will be quoted here again, partly because of the light his remarks throw upon a linguistic principle called conversion. Many people think of this principle as modern, yet this reference proves it to be ancient.

30 Ibid., pp. 88-90.
31 Bloomfield, p. 235.
32 Brugmann, p. 89.
33 Webster's s.v. compound.
The distinction between the two classes of compounds which we term 'non-epithetised' and 'epithetised' (other terms widely used are 'primary' and 'secondary' compounds of 'lower' or of 'higher order'; the second class is called by Sanskrit grammarians bahuvrīhi) depends upon a certain change of meaning in the compounds, developed in proethnic Indo-Germanic, and since that time constantly repeated in new examples. For instance, dus-menes- 'evil mind' acquired the meaning 'an evil-minded person' and in Modern German dick-kopf 'thick-head' means a thick-headed person, (cp. Eng. redbreast, etc.) The essential point in this process is the conversion of a substantive into an adjective; the concrete meaning was disregarded, so that the idea remaining in the word was solely that of the quality or qualities which belonged to the concrete person or thing.  

In regard to systems of classification for compounds, the surprising thing is that there have been so many of them. Brugmann concludes his summary of the many methods of classification by saying that the native grammarians of India and the students of languages in Europe had spent much labor in the task of classifying compounds, but that, almost from first to last, these students had let themselves be influenced too much by a desire for logical symmetry, and too little by a desire to follow the true historical method.

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34 Brugmann, p. 92.
35 Ibid., pp. 87-88.
A Classification of English Compound Words

The following classification of English compound words is an attempt by the writer to apply one of the Sanskrit methods of classification by meaning to compound nouns and adjectives in the English language. Bloomfield suggests that this method is applicable, at least as far as compound nouns are concerned. The application to compound adjectives is the writer's own attempt to carry the classification further. Suggestions and examples found in Webster's New International Dictionary proved to be of great assistance.

Compounds Resulting in Nouns

I. Coordinating compounds (in which the nouns compounded are of equal value and weight, a type rare in English)

noun plus noun -- city-state, actor-manager, teacher-librarian, coat-dress, sweater-blouse.

verb plus verb -- look-see

II. Subordinating compounds (in which one noun is the more important member and the other is the less important one)

A. Descriptive compounds (in which the first member describes the second)

1. adjective plus noun--blackboard, redbird, roundhouse, longhorn, Grand Canyon, Long Island, New York.

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36 Bloomfield, p. 235.

37 The more important member is called the head-member by Bloomfield, p. 195.
(showing the influence

2. noun plus adjective— of French— rare in English)
   Princess Royal, House Beautiful,
   Adjutant General, Operation Manhattan,
   plug-ugly, fee-simple.

3. adjective plus agent-noun— dry-cleaner,
   Dutch Cleanser.

4. adjective plus present participle— dry
   cleaning, white-washing.

5. noun plus present participle— baby sitting,
   bee keeping, chicken raising.

B. Dependent compounds (in which the first member
   stands in some case-
   relationship to the second,
   other than the descriptive-
   adjective relationship of
   A)

1. noun plus noun
   a. notebook (a book which is for notes),
      bathroom, workshop, needlewoman, postman,
      garbageman, boathouse, playsuit.
   
      b. (special combinations used in technical
         measurements)— light-year, man-hour,
         ampere-minute, foot-ton, acre-foot.
   
      c. (goal-noun plus agent-noun)— lawn-mower,
         meat-grinder, dish-washer, tax-collector,
         lamplighter.

2. present participle plus noun— looking-glass,
   rolling-pin, frying-pan, sewing
   machine, curling iron, branding iron.

3. goal-noun plus present participle— book-
   binding, housekeeping, cider-making,
   wood-carving.

4. one-syllable verb plus short adverb—
   a. (the verb standing first) blowout,
      hangover, smashup, breakdown, flare-up,
      workout, walkout, lean-to, getaway,
      cave-in, set-to.
   
      b. (the adverb standing first) off-gliding,
      on-gliding, outcome, income, upset, upsweep,
      outlay.
5. verb plus goal-noun—dreadnaught, know-nothing, turn-key, killjoy, crackpot, breakwater.

6. adverb plus noun—afterthought, insight, overtime, overhead, by-play.

7. agent-noun plus adverb
   a. (the noun standing first)—runner-up, hangers-on, listeners-in, passers-by.
   b. (the adverb standing first)—onlooker, overseer, undertaker.


9. a noun in the genitive case plus a noun—bull's eye, Jew's barn, cat's cradle, Jacob's ladder, Job's coffin, Solomon's seal;
   also compounds in which the genitive connotation has been lost and the apostrophe is omitted—lamb's-quarter, hogshead, foolscap, Queenstown, Kingstown, Teachers College.

10. auxiliary verb plus verb (rare)—a has-been, the will-call (a section of the modern department store).

11. verb plus pronoun—the be-all, the end-all (Shakespeare, Macbeth)

C. Combinations of three or more words (often a noun plus a prepositional phrase)

   lily-of-the-valley
   love-in-a-mist
   Jack-in-the-box
   officer-in-charge
   teacher-in-charge
   Jack-in-the-pulpit
   snow-on-the-mountain
   forget-me-not
   Johnny-jump-up
   merry-go-round
   hide-and-seek
   hand-me-down
   know-it-all
   kiss-me-quick (a hat)

38This pattern seems to have been a long-time favorite for flower-names.
Compounds Resulting in Adjectives

I. Coordinating compounds

  adjective plus adjective—bitter-sweet (berries,  
   Franco-Prussian (War),  
   blue-black (feathers),  
   sweet-sour (spare-ribs—  
   a Chinese delicacy).  
noun plus noun ---  boy-girl (relationships).  
verb plus verb ---  a hit-run (driver).

II. Subordinating compounds

A. Descriptive compounds (the first member describing  
   or limiting the second).

1. adjective plus adjective—light-yellow  
   (material), wide open (eyes), dark green  
   (lacquer), extraordinary (style).

2. adverb plus participle—well-known (man),  
   nicely-turned (seams), well-written (story), everlasting (life), Ever-  
   readv (Aluminum).

3. participle plus adverb—broken-down (wagon),  
   burnt-out (globe), warmed-over (soup),  
   beaten-up (fighter).

4. adjective plus participle—full-bodied  
   (coffee), double-breasted (suit),  
   stout-hearted (lads), good-looking  
   (girl).

5. adjective plus noun—New Testament (Period),  
   Old Norse (words), Old English (forms).

6. compound numerals used as limiting adjectives  
   --twenty-one (persons), a two-thirds  
   (majority).

B. Dependent compounds (the first word standing  
   in some syntactical  
   relation to the second  
   other than as a descrip-  
   tive or limiting word).

1. noun plus present or past participle--  
   terror-crazed (dog), sun-baked (brick),  
   sugar-coated (pills), stem-winding  
   (watch), night-blooming (cereus).
2. goal-noun plus present participle—life-giving (oxygen), back-breaking (toil), labor-saving (device).

3. adverb plus past or present participle—
in-grown (toe-nail), out-grown (clothes), overstuffed (furniture), underfed (children), out-going (mail), in-coming (express).

4. preposition plus preposition—roundabout (way) (from around-about).

5. verb plus object—tell-tale (expression), hang-dog (look), break-neck (speed).

6. noun plus adjective—land-poor (families), coal-black (horses), air-tight (com­partment), purse-proud (people).

7. noun plus adverb—head-on (collision), money-back (guarantee).

8. adverb plus preposition—near-by (houses), close-in (district), close-by (store), far-away (look).

9. auxiliary verb plus verb—would-be (actress), will-call (department).

C. Combinations of three or more words

1. multiple proper names—Anglo-Saxon-Norman French (customs), Chicago-New York (train).

2. noun plus prepositional phrase—hand-to-mouth (existence), face-to-face (interview), hole-in-one (game), ace-in-the-hole (confidence).

3. adverb plus prepositional phrase—down-at-the-mouth (feeling), down-at-the-heel (look), never-to-be-forgotten (occasion).


5. verb plus conjunction plus verb—hit-and-run (driver), cash-and-carry (store)—(actually "pay cash and carry").
6. verb plus prepositional phrase—a fly-by-night (organization).

Compounds Resulting in Verbs

A. preposition plus verb—to withstand, to withdraw.

B. adverb plus verb—to overlap, to overawe, to overtake, to underestimate, to outrun, to counterbalance, to understand, to forecast, to by-pass.

C. adjective plus verb—to double-track, to double-cross, to cold-chisel, to cold-hammer, to dry-clean.

D. goal-noun plus verb—to housekeep, to sideswipe.

E. noun plus verb (the noun in some syntactical relationship to the verb other than as object)—to babysit, to daydream, to cakewalk, to hitchhike ("to hike by hitches").

Compounds Resulting in Adverbs

A. noun plus preposition or adverb—(to hit) head-on, (to fall) feet-first, (to fall) head-first.

B. adjective plus adverb—(to live) near-by, (to build) close-in.

C. adverb plus adverb—a well-nigh (hopeless case), herewith, therewith.

D. noun plus noun—(to grow) Topsy-fashion.

E. combinations of three or more words—(to land) right-side-up, (to arrive) upside-down, (to go) by and by, maybe (shortened from it may be).
Compounds Resulting in Pronouns

A. adjective plus noun—anybody, somebody, everybody.
B. adjective plus adjective—anyone, everyone.
C. combinations of three or more words—anyone else, someone else, everybody else.

Compounds Resulting in Conjunctions

however never-the-less notwithstanding
moreover none-the-less

Compounds Resulting in Prepositions

into without notwithstanding
outside within
inside underneath

Compounds Resulting in Interjections

goodbye! (from God be with you!)
(Many expressions uttered as profanity are compounds.)

Limitations upon Compounding in English

The lists given above show many of the possible combinations of words which may enter into composition in English. Even though these lists may be incomplete, they serve to show clearly that the possibilities for compounding in the English language are very great. However, the possibilities are not limitless. No one has attempted to make a list of the limitations upon compounding in English, as far as the writer knows. Such a list should be of value. A beginning
Bloomfield, Sapir, and Bryant agree that the compound which functions as a verb is relatively rare in English. They exclude from consideration the verb-plus-adverb combinations which seem to function as compound verbs, e.g., to try out, to round up. Among the sub-types of verb-compounds, those which are particularly rare are the goal-noun plus verb ones, such as to housekeep.

2. Auxiliary verbs are used only rarely as compound members; e.g., will-call, has-been, can-do.

3. Personal pronouns do not often enter into the composition of compounds in English. An exception to this rule is a word coined during recent years in connection with national politics in the United States, me-too-ism. However, this neologism is too well furnished with a suffix to be admitted into the lists of compounds. Hand-me-down is a word of older coinage which will illustrate one of the rare instances in which a personal pronoun may be found in composition. Thank-you-ma'am (a compound explained in Chapter II) is another exception.39

4. Articles seem, as a rule, to be excluded from the

39See page 69.
parts of speech which can be compounded. Nevertheless is exceptional. In long compounds we sometimes find a or the included, as in jack-in-the-box, and love-in-a-mist (a flower-name). In French, however, it is quite regular to compound an article with a noun, as in the formation of the surnames Lablanche and Lefleur. The German proper names Amberg ("at the mountain"), Zumbusch ("to the thicket"), and Amthor ("at the gate"), also show the compounding of the article.

5. Conjunctions figure only rarely as compound-members; e.g., a rain-or-shine (umbrella), a bread-and-butter (letter), a cash-and-carry (market).

In summary, this chapter has presented a number of definitions of word-compounding and has studied the characteristics of the compound word. It has shown that the subject of compounding was diligently studied in former times by scholars of Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin. It has shown the varied nature of the compound in English and has assembled notes concerning the limitations to compounding in the English language. It has suggested that further study of the subject of compounding in English is needed, particularly in the area of compounds which function as verbs.
CHAPTER II

WORD-COMPOUNDING IN AMERICA BEFORE 1900

The preceding chapter dealt with the nature of word-compounding as a grammatical process and with the extent of compounding in the English language. Chapter II will be a brief examination of compounds and collocations created in America before 1900. Scholars who have devoted themselves to the study of the development of the English language outside the British Isles have found it convenient to treat this development in terms of two large periods, (a) the time before 1900, and (b) the time after the turn of the twentieth century. Sir William Craigie and James Hulbert, in selecting a date for the closing of entries for their compilation called *A Dictionary of American English on Historical Principles*, set that date as 1900.\(^1\) Eric Partridge and John William Clark chose 1900 as the opening date for their recently published book on British and American English.\(^2\) The period before 1900 shows the English language adjusting itself to the new

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\(^1\) *A Dictionary of American English on Historical Principles*, ed. Sir William Craigie and James R. Hulbert, 4 vols. (Chicago: The University Press, 1938-1944). This work is referred to hereafter as *DAE*.

American scene in its pioneering and agrarian aspects. The space of time since 1900 reflects urban life, the new technology, and the tremendous activity of modern times in business, politics, sports, and innumerable other fields.\(^3\)

There can be little doubt that the four-volume dictionary edited by Craigie and Hulbert is the most complete treatment in existence of English in America during the earlier of the two periods indicated above. In compiling their work, Craigie, Hulbert, and their staff made use of all the important collections of words and phrases published by dictionary-makers before their time. They had access to the works of Pickering, Schele de Vere, Bartlett, Farmer, Clapin, Thornton, Mencken, and Krapp.\(^4\) They made use also of the

\[^3\]Ibid., p. 204.

\[^4\]A Vocabulary or Collection of Words and Phrases . . . ed. John Pickering (Boston: Cummings and Hilliard, 1816).


Mencken, See Introduction, p. 5.

unpublished notes of C. W. Ernst at Harvard. Because of its completeness of coverage, this dictionary is the most satisfactory single reference for the period before 1900. All words presented in Chapter II which are not credited to other sources come from the DAE. Other works drawn upon heavily for examples are the back files of Dialect Notes⁵ and the newer Dictionary of Americanisms edited by Mitford M. Mathews. The forewords written by Bartlett to each of the editions of his book proved to be especially helpful.

In a study of compounds and word collocations, however, the DAE has two limitations. First, it has omitted slang and dialect words. This is a serious limitation for many neologisms which have risen to good standing have come from the level of slang. Second, the DAE has not attempted to deal with problems of pronunciation. It is only occasionally that the stress-pattern of a word is mentioned. Obviously, such a limitation is a handicap in the study of compound words. However, almost all dictionaries compiled before 1900 have the same limitation.

The DAE has devoted no particular attention to the compound word as opposed to the single word. The task of this chapter is to select the compounds and word-collocations and to study them specifically in an attempt to see (1) how

⁵Dialect Notes, published by the American Dialect Society (Norwood, Massachusetts: J. S. Cushing and Company, 1896--). The collection is referred to hereafter as DN.

⁶A Dictionary of Americanisms, ed. Mitford M. Mathews, 2 vols. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1951); hereafter referred to as DA.
many compounds were created, and (2) how apt these words were in expressing the new concepts of American life.

In his introduction to the second volume of the DAE Sir William Craigie writes, "... the specific American feature of the English used in the years before 1900 consists in the application of the word to a new thing or the introduction of a new sense." Another purpose of this chapter is to observe how able an instrument the compound word is for conveying meaning (1) in the application of an old term to a new thing, and (2) in the introduction of a new sense for an old term.

For a preliminary example of the application of an old word to a new object, we may take the compound Indian corn, used for the new product, maize. Rather than adopt a foreign word from any of the Indian languages (and there was an abundance of these), the English-speaking colonists took a word which had been in the language since Anglo-Saxon times, corn, the generic term for grain. The means by which they effected the application to the new thing was by making a descriptive adjective-plus-noun compound, with the result that the term Indian corn was added to the language as an early Americanism. After this product had become of great significance in American life the compound was shortened to corn, following a natural development in such cases. The generic term thus became fixed upon the specific product.

For a preliminary example of the use of a compound to render a new sense for an old word, we may observe way, used in America as the second element in compounds such as driveway
and **parkway**, a use of **way** not often made in England. H. W. Horwill, a British observer of American speech, explains two uses of **way** made in the United States.

In America **way** has several uses unknown in England. It is an abbreviation of **away** in such expressions as **way above** . . . **way below**, **way down**, **way off** . . . It is also a common suffix as in **areaway** . . . **driveway** . . . **hallway** . . . **runway** . . . **speedway** . . . though, curiously enough, **railway** is less frequently used in America than **railroad**.

These examples of new uses of the terms **corn** and **way** give initial evidence of a fact which will be illustrated amply in the course of a survey of Americanisms, that word compounding is one of the principal processes by which old words are applied to new material objects, and by which old words are given new meanings.

The English-speaking colonists who came to America, very much like the English-speaking colonists who went later to Australia, faced an environment that was astonishingly different from their homeland. They were confronted with new skylines, new plants and animals, a different race of people, new occupations, and old occupations that had to be carried on under conditions dramatically different from conditions in the British Isles. It was inevitable that the impact of the New World should initiate a new chapter in the history of the English Language—a chapter which came to be entitled **The American Language**. As the colonists named the parts of their

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new physical environment and as they created new words for the reorganization of their lives, the language grew and changed. The brief survey made in this chapter of the newly compounded words will follow the outline suggested below:

I. Influences upon the language in the New World

A. Effects of the physical environment itself
   1. Indians and Indian life
   2. trees and plants
   3. mammals, birds, snakes, fish
   4. areas and place-names

B. Effects of the activities and occupations of the pioneers
   1. pioneering activities
   2. food and drink
   3. transportation
   4. building
   5. politics and government
   6. religion
   7. military and naval affairs
   8. education
   9. business
   10. sports
   11. fashions

II. Aspects of the language change

A. Levels and vogues in language
   1. slang
   2. euphemisms

B. Compounds made from foreign terms

III. Generalizations concerning compounding before 1900
Indians and Indian Life

There are many points in common between the influences on the development of English in America and the influences upon its development in Australia and New Zealand. In all three cases the emigrants from England were faced with aborigines and with the necessity of making up words with which to talk about them. The English speakers who went into Australia coined the compound blackfellow; those in New Zealand borrowed the Polynesian word Maori. The American colonists, because of the well-known error in geography, called the natives Indians, a derivative term from the word India. They also coined two descriptive compounds which were useful and lasting words, redmen and redskins. The Indians are reputed to have retaliated with the compound paleface. Because the Indian and his affairs loomed so large in importance during colonial days, a great many compounds and collocations were created. The list of words compounded with Indian as the first element runs to fourteen columns in the DAE, with 121 separate entries. In addition, there are twelve words compounded with squaw as the first element and thirteen words descriptive of Indians, compounded with red as the first element. Many of these compounds and combinations are still in general use, as, for example, the expression Indian summer.

There are forty-six compounds of American coinage which employ red as their first member, including those descriptive of the Indian himself. Curiously enough, as far as the writer
has been able to discover, the entry redbone does not occur in any of the collections of Americanisms listed earlier in this chapter. It is a compound word used within the state of Louisiana for a person of mixed Indian, Spanish, and French extraction—sometimes with an admixture of Negro blood also. Webster's contains the term, defining it as "a white [man] with a slight admixture of Indian or Negro blood."\(^8\)

In dealing with concepts concerning intermarriage between Indians and white people, the colonists created compounds; e.g., full-blood, half-breed, squaw-man. These terms are in interesting contrast to the derivative words, made from French, Spanish, and Portuguese borrowings, which were used in the South to express degrees of admixture of blood between Negroes and white people; e.g., quadroon, quarteroon, octofoon, meamelouc.

When the Indians sought to put their concepts concerning the white men into English words, they too had a tendency to use compounds. Big Knife and Long Knife were designations for white men, because of the swords carried by the soldiers. The white man's liquor they named appropriately firewater. An interesting field of investigation would be a study of the innumerable translations of Indian proper names which turned out to be compound words in English, as for example Laughing Woman, Little Horse, Sitting Bull, Red Eagle, and Rain-in-the-Face.

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The Flora of the New World

The simplicity of the naming system by which the early Americans tagged the plants of the New World is illustrated by the name they gave to an unwanted plant, the *jimson weed*. Their original name for this plant was the *Jamestown weed* (a compound adjective plus a noun, i.e., a compound within a compound). The story is told that the settlers were confronted with a strange plant which attracted their attention because it grew in profusion along the waterfront at Jamestown. Sailors said it had been brought in along with the cargo of vessels from tropical America. Some tried to eat it and became ill. The first reaction probably was to speak of it with a locution—"that odd and useless plant that grows at Jamestown." Then, having need to speak of it often, they gave it a tag. The tag was not an original invention, but an addition of two things within their linguistic experience—the generic term for useless plants, *weed*, plus the name of the place where it had first been seen, *Jamestown*. Thus the term *Jamestown weed* was coined, to become in time *jimson weed*.10

The simplicity of the naming habits of the early Americans is further shown by the seemingly endless list of

9Dr. Floyd Lounsbury of Yale University characterizes the naming process as "finding a simple, short, grammatically manipulable substitute for a longer expression." (From a lecture given to the Hawaii Anthropological Society, Honolulu, Hawaii, December 1952)

10Bartlett, s.v. *Jamestown weed*. 
descriptive compounds and collocations created for plants by the easy device of placing **black**, **red**, **white**, **blue**, or **yellow** in front of a common English noun. Thus the plant which is called in England the **brambleberry** was named in America the **blackberry**, and has remained the blackberry to this day.

Because the American today pronounces the word **blackberry** as [ˈblækˌbeəri], while the British speaker says [ˈblæk bɛri], it has often been assumed that the secondary stress in the American's pronunciation was acquired after he left England. A much more reasonable conclusion is suggested by Bartlett.¹¹ Since the early settlers of many parts of America came from counties near the Scottish border, and since the strong secondary stress has always been used in Scotland, it is not unlikely that the early settlers had the speech-trait before they left England. The weakening of the second element of a compound like **blackberry** to the point of making two syllables of the whole word is characteristic of Standard British speech. Here the conclusion must rest on conjecture because of the fact that the phonetic quality and stress of words were not accurately marked in the early dictionaries of the English language.

There is nothing new about the habit of forming descriptive compounds that have a color-word as the first element (witness the **bluebells** of Scotland), but the fact that the device was drawn upon heavily in America to form names for

¹¹Bartlett, preface to the Fourth Edition.
new objects is worth noticing. The simple descriptive com-
ound seems to be a favorite method of word-coinage in folk
speech. A great many color-word compounds are used today
in an exclusively American sense; for example, blackjack (the
scrub oak), bluegrass (the famous plant of Kentucky), redbird
(or Kentucky cardinal) and yellow-weed (an alternate name for
the goldenrod). Red, blue, black, and white were used con-
stantly in compounding in the early days in America.

Alder swamp, ash swamp, and cedar brake are examples of
a large number of compound words in which the name of the
prevailing tree is used to distinguish the nature of the
ground. The tendency to name areas of land in this way is
to be observed in the Linguistic Atlas of New England. In
the Atlas one can notice not only the tendency to name areas
for the prevailing tree growing there, but also for the pre-
vailing plant, creature, or condition, as in the words bush
meadow, brushland, cranberry meadow, cranberry bog, sand
flats, and clam flats.

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12 Dr. Claude Wise, in his unpublished lectures on the
dialects of English given at the Louisiana State University,
calls attention to the fact that mountain speech (spoken
largely by descendants of Scotch-Irish settlers) is particu-
larly full of compound words.

13 As reported on page 49 of this chapter, there are
46 compounds of American coinage recorded in the DAE which
employ red as a first element.

14 DAE, I, vii.

15 Linguistic Atlas of New England, ed. Hans Kurath,
6 vols. and handbook (Providence, Rhode Island: Brown
The importance of the apple in American life is shown by a large number of American-made compounds: apple bee, apple butter, apple brandy, apple cart, apple jack (in the liquid sense), apple peeling, apple corer, apple toddy, apple cider. Apple-peru, however, was a name used in Maine for rhubarb. Compounds made with -apple as the second element were created to give a designation to fruits which were not true apples. In these cases, apple became generic for fruit. Examples are cashew apple, custard apple, ground apple, mammee apple, May apple, monkey apple, mountain apple, sugar apple, rose apple and many others.

In England the word vine is held rather strictly to its fundamental meaning which is grapevine (Latin vīnea, "vineyard," "vine," from vin-um, "wine"). Outside the British Isles the word has been extended to cover a great many trailing plants, particularly in America and Australia. Some of the compounds using this word which have appeared in America are morning-glory vine, honeysuckle vine, cucumber vine, squash vine, watermelon vine, muskmelon vine, and sweet-potato vine. A parallel list of native Australian vines might contain the expressions balloon vine, Harvey's vine, scrub vine, seven-year-vine, and others.17

16 Dialect Notes, (1896), I, 387; yet the DAE gives apple-peru as an alternate name for the limson weed. Dialect Notes, (1896), I, 387; yet the DAE gives apple-peru as an alternate name for the limson weed.

17 OED, s.v. vine.
The preference of folk speech for the simple compound expression over the more learned term is nicely illustrated again by the word pieplant, an American coinage which bypassed the word rhubarb, although rhubarb as a word had been known in England since the Middle English period. A similar example is the preference in America for the native compound graveyard over the more learned term cemetery. The tendency is still seen in present day speech and on levels higher than folk-speech.

Other American-made compounds for plant names which have remained in favor to the present time are peanut, cottonwood (for the American poplars), live oak (to contrast with the deciduous oaks of England and America), checkerberry, hackberry, thimbleberry, lambkill, beggar('s) ticks or beggar('s) lice, poison ivy, poison oak, sage brush, pokeberry, chokeberry, and chokecherry.

An interesting side-study might be made of the compound words formed by the process of folk etymology from the faulty imitation of more learned words. An example is the curious compound legger-streamer coined as a kind of inexact echo of the botanical term Lagerstroemia for the plant otherwise known in the South as the crepe myrtle.

A special development in longer phrase-compounds is to be seen in the names of some of the plants and flowers coined by the early Americans. These longer compounds have a

\[18\] Dialect Notes, (1905-1912), III, 24.
particularly folksy flavor about them. A few of them are 
Johnny-jump-up, Jack-in-the-pulpit, bird's foot violet, life-
of-man, life-everlasting, pretty-by-night, blue-eyed grass, 
pride-of-India, and devil's shoe string.

Fauna

A special luxuriance in compounding occurred in the 
naming of the birds of the North American continent. American 
eagle can be taken as the type-form for a list of combinations 
in which the first element is American. There are thirteen 
such entries in the DAB for the names of birds. Red as a 
first element was here again extremely popular, as can be seen 
by the redwing(ed) blackbird, redpoll warbler, red-headed 
woodpecker, red crossbill, red-eyed vireo, red mavis, reddish 
egret, and others. The southern bird of the genus Mimus was 
named appropriately the mocking bird. Out in the West the 
compounds prairie chicken and prairie hen were coined. 
Canvasback (short for canvasback duck) was a term dear to 
hunters. In imitation of bird songs or bird cries, echoic 
compounds were created, as, for example bob-white, bobolink, 
chuck-will's-widow, chickadee, killdee (or killdeer), whip-
poor-will and cock-of-the plains. For the Wilson thrush, the 
name created was scythe-whet.

The names of fish show innumerable compounds, although 
few, if any, long phrase-compounds. Here again red as a first 
element is popular, as in redfish, red snapper, redhorse, and 
redmouth. Pigfish, kingfish, eelpout, garfish, and alligator
Gar are other native coinages. The term alewife is of interest because of the fact that the origin of ale is a puzzle to etymologists. The name was changed to old-wife in some localities by folk-etymology. The list of compound names for fish may be ended with the terms fish-story and fish-fry, both of which are American coinages.

In the names of worms and insects there is an interesting development. Angleworm is an American coinage—the word angle from the fact that the worms are used by anglers (who are anglers because they use a hook which was originally of bone, made actually with an angle). The doodlebug of the South was given its name because of the belief that it would crawl to the top of its hole if it heard the call "Doodle-doodle-doodle." Hoppergrass was a humorous inversion of the older grasshopper. Mosquito hawk was similarly a whimsical variant for dragon fly. Katydid and kittydid were onomatopoetic in origin. Longer phrasal compounds included the devil's riding horse, a folk name for the praying mantis.

Among the snakes given compound names in America were the cottonmouth, the rattlesnake, the gartersnake, the ribbon-snake, the copperhead, and the copperbally. Bartlett calls attention to the red viper, the red adder, and the deaf adder. Charles Sealfleld, an American who wrote in the German language, mentions the kingsnake and the kingshead.

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19 Bartlett, s.v. red, deaf.
Among the larger members of the animal world, two bears were given compound names, the *cinnamon* bear and the *grizzly* bear. At least one North American mammal lost its compound name and was re-christened with a simple one. This was the *skunk*, so named from a word in the Algonquin dialect. (The British compound term for the creature, *polecat*, goes back to the Middle English *polcat*, from the Old French *pole*, *poule*, "poultry." The skunk was called a "poultry cat" because it preyed on chickens.)

Other examples of American animals with compound names are the *cottontail*, the *jackrabbit*, the *fox-squirrel*, the *prairie wolf*, the *prairie squirrel*, the *prairie dog*, the *bullfrog*, the *broadhorn*, and the *groundhog*.

Names of Areas and Place Names

The tendency to name tracts of land from the prevailing plant or from a characteristic condition has already been illustrated with such terms as *alder swamp*, *cedar brake*, *clam flat*, *mud flat*, and others. *Backwoods* and *back country* belong to a different category semantically—one in which the isolation from human groups is the prevailing connotation. Other terms in the list of compounds with *back* as a first element are *back inhabitant*, *back land(s)*, *back settlement*, *back settler*, *back town*, and *back trail*. The term *everglades* belongs chiefly to Florida, where it denotes a tract of low, marshy land with clusters of vegetation. *Ever*, the first element, has remained a puzzle as to its origin. Ernest
Weekley believes that ever is a corruption of an Indian word.\textsuperscript{21}

So much specialized work has been done in recent years in connection with place-names that any short summary of characteristic names in America is sure to be superficial. Yet it is possible to savor some of the differences between British and American usage by a glance at the two contrasting lists of place names given in the columns below. The American terms show a patriotic urge or a folksy flavor. The British ones have the sound of antiquity about them.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>British Place Names</th>
<th>American Place Names</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Charing Cross</td>
<td>Washington County</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harcourt Manor</td>
<td>Jefferson County</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gracechurch Street</td>
<td>Hamilton Hollow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ludgate Hill</td>
<td>Adams Village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berkeley Square</td>
<td>Painted Post</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regents Park</td>
<td>Owl Pond</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shepherd's Bush</td>
<td>Mosquito Cove</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lincolnshire</td>
<td>Big Indian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buckingham</td>
<td>Cold Water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rising Fawn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of course it must be remembered that thousands of place-names and river-names were borrowed from the Indian languages.

\textsuperscript{21}Weekley, p. 530.
Place names formed the largest item of borrowing done by the early Americans. This is usually true in cases of colonization by an outside people. The British going into New Zealand, although they were extremely conservative about language matters, borrowed heavily from the Maori language for place names.

Place-names in America have followed historical events in a way possible only in a new and growing country. Before the Revolutionary War, Indian names were popular. Many thousands of them were adopted and kept. After the war, in a burst of patriotism, the early settlers named new towns with compound words containing the names of Washington, Adams, Hamilton, Jefferson, and other leaders. There was in some places a classical urge, when names were compounded with the words Homer, Virgil, Solon, and Ovid as the first element. A period of piety produced names using Eden, Paradise, Babylon, and other words from the Bible. The Mexican War brought in its wake Polkville, Polktown, Polk City, Polk Run, Polk Precinct, and even Polk Patch. This is not to say that the naming always went in distinct periods. There was a great deal of overlapping as different notions about naming struck various parts of the country. The important point is that there were constantly new settlements to be named, a situation

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22 Encyclopedia Britannica, s.v. place names.
23 Partridge and Clark, pp. 90 and 94.
24 Bartlett, p. xxxii.
which was not true of an older, long-settled place like England.

However, names from the Old World were drawn upon very heavily, and much of the naming shows little originality. McKnight reports that more than six hundred American post-offices bear names compounded with the word New as the first member.  

On the other hand, there are many perfect absurdities which could never have occurred in the Old World. California has some of these, reminiscent of gold rush days: Shirt-tail Canyon, Humbug Flat, Murderer’s Bar, and Whiskey Gulch. An aspiration for culture, engendered by later days and later influences, has made some towns change their picturesque compound names to tamer names. Wild Cat in Kansas changed its name overnight to Keats, and Paddy’s Run in Ohio became Glendower.

Life and Occupations in Pioneering America

Something of the simplicity and matter-of-factness of pioneering days can be seen in the following nouns, listed by the DAR as entering most freely into attributive compounds: apple, corn, cotton, country, county, cow, cypress, day, deer, dog, door, dressing, fall, family, farm, field, fire, fish, fishing, freight, fruit, gold, grass, ground, hand,

26 McKnight, p. 371.
head, horse, house, hunting, ice, iron, land, line, liquor, log, mail, market, marsh, meadow, meat, medicine, mill, mining, mission, money, moose, mountain, mud, mule, Negro, ox, oyster, pack, paper, party, pine, pipe, pork, potato, powder, prairie, pumpkin, rag, rail, railroad, rice, river, road, rock, running, salt, sand, school, sea, sheep, side, silver, slave, spring, stage, state, stream, stock, stone, store, sugar, summer, swamp, timber, tobacco, town, tree, truck, turkey, Virginia, wagon, walnut, war, watch, water, wheat, wolf, wood.  

The list of adjectives which entered most freely into descriptive compounds before 1900 is as follows: American, big, back, black, blue, cross, dead, double, dwarf, English, first, French, gray, great, green, half, Indian, Mexican, old, open, patent, purple, red, running, salt, scarlet, short, small, southern, Spanish, striped, Virginian, western, white, wild, yellow.  

The pioneer type of cooperation is expressed by the interesting compounds which have bee as the second element. This is a purely American sense for the word bee, making another apt illustration of the creation of a new sense for an old term. The "bees" were social gatherings where people met as if in a swarm and where everyone was busy. Some of the types of "bees" were the husking bee, the logging bee,  

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27 DAE, prefatory notes to each of the four volumes.  
28 DAE, prefatory notes.
the quilting bee, the spelling bee and the stone-raising bee. Thirty compounds on this pattern are listed in the DA.  

While the bee compounds in the preceding paragraph subtly suggest New England, those in the list following have a definite flavor of the West: stamping ground, roundup, dugout, shooting irons, six-shooter, store clothes, tenderfoot, Pike’s Peaker. An additional list of compounds from early days in the West contains chuck-box, chuck-wagon, sourdough, bronco-busting, out-back, earmark, cowmen, wagon boss, range boss, straw boss, bunk-house, and three compound verbs, to high-tail, to bull-dog, and to cinch-up.  

Food and Drink  

Some of the compounds coined to designate foods in the United States offer surprises. The term sauce, for instance, took on a radically new sense in America. In England the prevailing meaning of this word was in earlier days (and still is today) a preparation, usually liquid or soft, eaten as a relish or appetizing accompaniment to food. Hard sauce, familiar as an accessory to plum pudding, is an example. A definite departure from this sense was the use of sauce in the United States to mean vegetables. Bartlett quotes from the Norfolk Glossary as follows: "Forby defines it as 'any sort of vegetable eaten with fresh meat.' Garden-stuff and

29 DA, s.v. bee.  
garden-ware are the usual terms in England." Sauce in this sense entered into two or three compounds which are obsolete today. Long sauce meant beets, carrots, and parsnips, while short sauce meant potatoes, turnips, onions, and pumpkins. Green sauce and garden sauce were terms used for all the vegetables just named. (cf. German Gemüse, "vegetable"; Apfelmus, "applesauce"; -mus, "sauce.") Although applesauce had been known in England, the form apple saus is an American contribution. The DA records the appearance of apple saus in print in 1833 and quotes S. Smith in The Letters of Major Downing, "A load of apples and apple saus and a few sausages."32

The word hoecake harks back to the days when batter was cooked on the blade of a hoe before the open fire. Slap-jack is an American variation of the word flap-jack, known in England. The clam-bake of Rhode Island also owed its origin to an Indian method of cooking. Hasty-pudding was the name given to a dish made from Indian meal. Pop corn was first popped and named in the United States. The name appeared in Bartlett in 1848 as popped corn, but ten years later it appeared in the New York Tribune as pop corn.33

The long list of compounds made with apple as the first element has already been mentioned. Similarly the word corn appeared as the first part of a great number of combinations,

31 Bartlett, s.v. sauce.
32 DA, s.v. apple.
33 NED, s.v. pop-corn.
especially in the South, where the corn pone and cornbread were standbys. Dialect Notes reports corn dodger and shortened dodger in Kentucky during the period under consideration.\textsuperscript{34}

Because the sweet potato was plentiful, it became necessary to differentiate between the sweet and the white potato. This was done by calling the latter the Irish potato. The bone of the chicken which has been of interest to children for generations acquired three different names in the United States; i.e., wishbone, merry-thought, and pulling-bone (from which was derived pully-bone).

Within this section concerning food and drink, the compounds thus far presented have been taken from Bartlett unless credited to another source. Dialect Notes adds many more, among them meat victuals for the main course of a meal, a term used in Western Connecticut.\textsuperscript{35} The DAE records also fried-chicken, fried-cake (doughnut), cup-cake, Indian bread, and johnny cake (sometimes pronounced "journey cake"). Roasting-ears is an American term, coined because of the way the Indians had of cooking corn in the coals of a fire. It includes sweet-corn and field-corn and means corn cooked and eaten on the cob.

The lists given by Clapin include the compound butter-bread, meaning a piece of bread already buttered, given to

\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{34} DN, I (1896), 64.
\item\textsuperscript{35} DN, I (1896), 341.
\end{itemize}
children as a between-meals snack. This seems to qualify as one of the coordinating compounds so rare in English. However, if it came from buttered bread, by loss of -ed, it was not originally so.

The word beefsteak is not an Americanism, as many believe. It is listed in the NED with a quotation dating from 1711. Porterhouse steak, on the other hand, in spite of its rather British sound, is an American neologism. The name is said to have been given to this particular steak because it was made popular by the proprietor of a former New York porterhouse, or alehouse. The first writer to use the word porterhouse was Washington Irving.

Among the American-coined terms for drinks there are a number of colorful terms. The word egg-nog is an American expression. The alternate form used in New England at times was egg-pop. Belly-whistle was a drink served to harvesters at noon in New Jersey. The name Bourbon whiskey carries with it a feeling of European origin, yet it was named for Bourbon County, Kentucky. Mint julep is firmly rooted as a southerner in the minds of most Americans. It calls forth another southern compound, the Kentucky Colonel (which the DA lists but marks "now obsolete"). Moonshine for illicitly

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36 Clapin, s.v. butter.
37 Webster's, s.v. porterhouse.
38 NED, s.v. porterhouse.
39 DN, I (1896), 328.
distilled liquor is a special metaphorical application of an earlier compound word. The list of grotesque and absurd names for drinks coined in the United States is endless. A few of the earlier compounds are redeye, rotgut, tangle-foot, and tangle-leg. Bar-room, swinging door, and bootlegger came in before 1900, but speakeasy is a product of the twentieth century. An old compound recording the effect of too much liquor was apple palsy, defined as "plain drunk."  

To top off the list of foods and other comforts and destroyers of the flesh, the loco-foco, a forgotten compound, should be mentioned. This was once as well-known a double word as Old Gold is today. It was a popular self-lighting cigar, with a match-head embedded in its tip. (Loco-foco was originally the name of the match itself. It was also the name of a political party.)

The consideration of compounds connected with food and drink in the United States may very appropriately close with two compounds which have made America famous the world over. One is chewing gum, a term which arrived on the American scene in 1864. Interestingly enough, the Yale Literary Magazine was the first to carry it in print. The other is the can-opener, the greatest of American tools. The first written reference to it in America was in 1874. The use of this

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40 DN, I (1896), 327.
41 Yale Literary Magazine, XXXIX, 293; DAE, s.v. chewing gum.
42 DA, s.v. can-opener.
kitchen device was no doubt limited before the turn of the century, when kitchen gardens still existed. Its real golden age is the twentieth century.

Transportation

Samples of compound words used in activities connected with transportation in pioneer days are: covered wagon, prairie schooner, pony express, dugout canoe, and stern wheeler. A new name coined for a sled in the United States was the bobsled. Still other typically American vehicles were the horse-car, the Jersey wagon, the mail coach, the mail wagon, the mail back, and the overland coach. For more difficult going, the pack horse and the pack mule were used. In Kentucky the word beast-back was an alternate form of horse-back. Boats made in the United States were the log canoe, the horse boat, the keel boat, the Kentucky boat, the flat boat, the packet boat, the packet ship, and the wharf boat. So important was getting about in the new country that there exist no fewer than twenty-three compound terms containing the word baggage as one of the elements. This use of baggage is itself an American innovation. The word used in England is luggage.

Roads before 1900 were not what they are today. An amusing long phrasal compound sprang up because of the ruts

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43DM, I (1896), 63.
and depressions. Holes or bumps in the roads in some parts of the country were called thank-ye-ma'ams (or thank-you-ma'ams), because of the bobbing of the heads of the driver and passengers as the wagon plunged into a rut and rose again.

Around the year 1832 there were coined, on both sides of the Atlantic, an astonishing number of new words for use with the new entity in everyday life—the railroad. As is to be expected, there is a cleavage in usage between British and American speech in regard to the "iron horse." Oddly enough, in spite of the fact that British compounds rather rarely employ the word way as a member, the British adopted the term railway rather than railroad and they continue to prefer it to this day. According to Mencken, most of the following American compounds would be a puzzle to an Englishman who had never travelled in the United States: box-car, freight-car, express-car, flat-car, hand-car, chair-car, club-car, cow-catcher, flagman, tower-man, switch-engine, switch-yard, switch-man, track-walker, baggage-room, baggage-check, baggage-smasher, baggage-master, accommodation train, way-bill, express-man, express-office, fast freight, wrecking crew, jerk-water, commutation ticket, round trip, mileage book, ticket-scalper, hot-box, iron-horse, stop-over, fish-plate, train-boy, mile-clerk, passenger-coach, day-coach, railroad man, ticket-office, right-of-way. Five compound verbs which came to being with the rise of the railroads are: to

45 Bartlett, s.v. thank-ye-ma'am.
dead-head, to side-swipe, to stop-over, to side-track, and to railroad. Even a little consideration of these words will show how important they have become in American speech and how many of them have passed into metaphorical usage; e.g., to side-track, to railroad, and others.

**Building**

The vocabulary which has to do with housing and building in all forms abounds in compound words, from the primitive dugout of the frontier to the splendid brownstone front of affluent days in the East. A dugout in this sense was an excavation in the side of an earthen bank, or in the earth itself. The brownstone front was used so much by wealthy people in Philadelphia and in other cities that brownstone acquired a secondary meaning as an adjective, "belonging to or pertaining to the well-to-do class."[^47]

Other compound words chosen to designate the buildings of the frontier were log cabin, log house, and block house. Houses constructed with a skeleton of timber came to be called in the United States frame houses. The place of religious assembly was called the meeting house. American-made collocations for American-made objects which were used in connection with the houses are coal oil lamp (or kerosene lamp), rocking chair, and lightning rod. Behind such houses

[^46]: Mencken, pp. 146-147.
[^47]: DAE, s.v. brownstone.
might be a smoke-house, a backhouse or outhouse (privy), and a barnyard. In the West there might also be a storm-cave or storm-cellar. If the house happened to be in the South, there might be slave-quarters behind it. Other accessories to houses were weather-stripping, driveways, alleyways, and sidewalks. The term lean-to was known in England, but the foreshortening of the word in some localities to linter or lenter was characteristically American. The term was probably [lətə]. This was a regular progression to the weakening of the second element which was quite in the tradition of the language. Similarly the term cowpen became cuppen in some parts of the country.

In the cities the tenement house became an institution. Far more imposing was the sky-scraper, which spread the legend of American wealth around the world. The collocation ground floor was created for the level which the British called the first floor in their buildings. At the top of the building, the roof-garden was evolved.

**Politics**

As the country began to grow up, a large number of new terms come into American speech from the fields of politics and administration. From the tongues of politicians making their stump speeches many new expressions were picked up by the crowd, to be repeated orally and printed and reprinted by

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48 See page 5.
the newspapers. Some terms used in politics came from the pens of our statesmen and writers. Bartlett commented in the first edition of his dictionary, "Alexander Hamilton's writings abound in newly-coined expressions, many of which have been adopted by Mr. Webster and have a place in his dictionary." Another person who is given credit for making outright coinages is Washington Irving. Probably his best-known expression is the almighty dollar.

When current elections were over, many coinages were forgotten. In the list of forgotten compounds are Bucktails, Barnburners, Old Hunkers, Silver Greys, and Know-Nothings. Students of history and politics know what significance these terms had at one time, but few other people could venture a guess today.

Democracy brought the ballot-box and the tie-vote. It also took the cracker-barrel out of the grocery store and put it into politics. Similarly it borrowed log-rolling from the forest and put it into the state-house. Two terms much used in the twentieth century which were coined before 1900 are baby-kisser and love-feast.

Civil War days brought their own words: dough-face (for a northern congressman who favored the South), free-soiler (for a man who opposed the extension of slavery into the Territories), color-line (for the line of social and political

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4 Bartlett, p. xxxii.
50 American Speech, XX (1945), 109.
distinction between the races), underground railroad (for an arrangement between the opponents of slavery for helping slaves to escape to a place of safety), and carpet-bagger (for a northerner who went to the South after the Civil War to seek political or economic advantages). Still other Civil War coinages were greenback, copperhead (in its metaphorical sense—that of a northern sympathizer with the South), jay-hawker, Negro-catcher, Negro-question and free-nigger, which could mean (a) a Negro who was not a slave, and (b) an abolitionist. There are forty-four compounds employing Negro and nigger in the DAE.  

Severe and puritanical laws in the United States were named bluelaws. A policeman or detective was sometimes called a gumshoe. Community law and order was administered at the court-house. The intense interest in public affairs and the extent to which public opinion was divided is suggested by a long list of anti-words. Strictly speaking, these do not belong in the list of compounds, since anti- here resembles a prefix, yet a few of the group will be given because of their intrinsic interest: anti-abolition, anti-bank, anti-Democrat, anti-federal, anti-mason, anti-Negro, anti-rent, anti-Republican, anti-saloon, anti-slavery, anti-South, anti-Union. The seventy anti- words contained in the DAE point to the likelihood that the early Americans could be

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Bartlett gives only the second meaning for free-nigger above; p. 233.
"agin" things as sharply as the twentieth century ones often are.

The amusing term **smelling committee** has fallen out of use, although it might well be revived. It meant a committee appointed to conduct an unpopular investigation. A **vigilance committee** was a group of citizens who organized themselves to watch over a place and punish its criminals. Vigilance committees of San Francisco and of New Orleans became historic. **Wire-puller**, **office-seeker**, **stump oratory**, and **primary election**, are all political terms of American vintage.

How far a word can travel semantically in a century is demonstrated by the word **bull-doze** and the derivative **bull-dozer**. **Bull-dozer** had a metaphorical political sense before 1900, being defined as "one who intimidates by violence or threats for political purposes." Any twentieth century schoolboy of a mechanical turn of mind would give an entirely different definition of **bull-dozer**.

**Religion**

It is easy to understand how expressions used in the pulpit came to be repeated by the congregation and taken up by the press. In his introduction to the first edition of his dictionary Bartlett wrote that one source of the divergent

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52 *DAB*, s.v. *bull-dozer*.

53 *American College Dictionary* definition: A powerful caterpillar tractor having a vertical blade at the front end for moving earth, tree stumps, rocks, etc.
forms of speech in America was the "perversion of legitimate words by the educated, especially the clergy." The tendency which disturbed him was the habit some clergymen had of applying suffixes in a wildly irresponsible manner. Samples of the "perversions" which resulted were the verbal freaks to fellowship, to abolitionize, to doxologize, to harborify, and to funeralize. Yet most of the compound terms coined have a plain and homespun ring. Some of them are stump-prayer, camp-meeting, aid-society, amen-corner, and anxious-bench (a seat upon which sat those who were anxious about their salvation). Circuit-preacher, walking parson, and missionary stations were recorded from Nebraska speech.

A number of new terms arose which were combinations of proper nouns with adjectives, designating new sects or splits in old groups, as in the case of Christian Science, Latter-day Saint, Jack-Mormon, Hard-shell Baptist, and Soft-shell Baptist.

Military and Naval Affairs

Among the words created for American-made weapons before 1900 are the six-shooter and the bowie-knife, named for James Bowie, a pioneer. The bowie-knife took on a nick-name, the Arkansas toothpick, since Arkansas is the Bowie State. Quarter-master, parade-ground, and dog-tent were other new

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54 Bartlett, p. xxxii.
terms. New combinations which had to do with the Navy were Naval Academy, Marine Corps, and torpedo boat.

**Education**

Universal public education brought with it a whole new vocabulary of its own, and progressive education is continuing to coin new terms in the twentieth century. Among the older terms, school figured as one of the elements of an almost endless number of compound words. Some examples of double words in which it is the second element are sod schoolhouse, log schoolhouse, law school, medical school and reform school. As the first element, school appeared in a still longer list of words, a few of which are school committee, school district, school farm, school ma'am, school marm, school section, school system, school tax, and school trustee.

In the colleges a number of terms came into being, among which class-day, bachelor of arts, and advanced standing are samples. The term college widow appeared about 1871. Whether Blue Monday was first used in college circles or elsewhere, it made its appearance about 1869.

**Business**

In the introduction to the fourth edition of his dictionary, covering the period from 1859 to 1877, Bartlett pointed out that the new words coined during this interval of time came not only from the Civil War and from mining activities in the West, but also from Wall Street in the East,
where "the more respectable slang of the bankers and stockbrokers was widely imitated." New terms connected with banking were bank roll, bank bill, stock broker, stock exchange, and many others. Compound words for money itself were greenback, and grayback (issued during the Civil War), cut money (segments of coins in circulation), half-dime (an old silver coin, the half-disme), and hard money (used at that time in the sense of ready cash). The double eagle was a gold piece worth twenty dollars.

New names for equally new types of stores were crossroads store, drug-store, and dry-goods store. The word cut-rate came into use as a term employed in the retail business.

Sports and Entertainment

The story of the game called ten pins displays the workings of the irrepressible American spirit. During a time of reform, laws were enacted in New England against the establishment or operation of nine-pin alleys. The alleys closed long enough to change the name and the number of pins, then reopened as ten-pin alleys.

Compound terms connected with entertainment in pioneer days in Nebraska (and elsewhere) included play-party, hoe-

56. Hard money in the sense of metallic money as opposed to paper, had been in use for a long time in England.
57. Bartlett, s.v. ten-pins.
down, bounce-around, bounce-about, and box-social. A slang expression for dances in some localities was shin-digs.

There were many names coined for particular dances. From Negro groups came the cake-walk, a dance originally done by dancers competing for a cake as a prize. From the South also came the famous Virginia reel.

Before 1900 the terms baseball, basketball, and volleyball were widely understood. The term Kentucky derby dates from 1875. From card games in general and from poker in particular many compound terms have arisen; some have come to be used in a figurative sense. Examples of these are poker chips, draw poker, four flush, jack pot, penny ante, and poker face.

Fashions

For the man, these were the days of the plug-hat and the custom-made suit, if the man were a city dweller. In the country the garb was likely to be overalls (often pronounced overbells) for the work-days and perhaps store-bought clothes or biled shirts (boiled shirts) for a special occasion. Men and women alike wore Congress boots and Congress shoes around 1851. These were shoes with elastic at the sides, an innovation of the time. Women often carried sun-shades or wore sun-bonnets. For dress-up occasions there was a quilted

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58 American Speech, VIII (1933), 48.

59 Clapin says that the biled shirt was so named because it actually had to be washed once in a while.
bonnet which did not extend far beyond the face, called a kiss-me-quick. The poke-bonnet was worn by Quaker and Methodist women. Other bonnets were the cape-bonnet of 1799 and the chip-bonnet of 1820.

Perhaps here should be mentioned the new compound adjectives which had appearing as their second element. Examples of their use are "She's a fine-appearing woman." and "That's a nice-appearing outfit." This particular combination of appearing with an adjective had never been made in England. It is still current in American colloquial speech, particularly in the form, "It's a nice enough appearing dress for church."

**Slang**

The editors of the *DAE*, after stating in Volume I that they would exclude most slang expressions, had changed their policy enough by the time they wrote the introduction to Volume IV to be able to say "The exuberant colloquial or slang element . . . the most original feature of the purely American vocabulary . . . by its variety precludes any attempt at classification." This statement is followed by such examples as whole-hog, rip-roaring, shebang, slum-gullion, and small potato. The conclusion to be drawn is either that the staff changed a good deal between Volume I


and Volume IV or that it began to enjoy its job.

There are, of course, many kinds and levels of slang, and slang expressions are coined on every conceivable subject, so that a miscellaneous section of slang terms is hardly logical. However, there are some left-over expressions which do not seem to belong anywhere else. Perhaps the two following should be called "dialect" rather than slang. They are all-two, a Negro coinage which is similar to you-all, and sure-enough, which has had wide currency in the South and West.

In New England, an amusing expression was tooting tub, a puritanical name for a church organ, because it was thought to be "popish." A strange Cape Cod expression was killcow, now obsolete. It was used in the sense of this sentence: "It's no great killcow," (of no great importance).

Hot air, plug-ugly, whole hog, and walking papers sound a bit dated to us today. Yet hang-up, go-ahead, and go-aheadativeness have the ring of the twentieth century in them although they were coined before 1900. Other nineteenth century compounds on the level of slang are roughneck, cut-throat, dead-beat, come-back, come-down, layout.

Two initial-compounds of the nineteenth century form an interesting contrast, since one survived and the other did not. They are TT and OK. TT may have been one of the ancestors for the countless initial-compounds which came out

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62DN, I (1896), 18.
of the first and second World Wars. It meant "too thin to wash—too transparent." It was used in a figurative sense, as "The fraud is TT." Of sturdier stock is the ubiquitous OK. This pair of initials outlived the nineteenth century and is having a colorful career in the twentieth century. Its use has spread to many foreign countries. For a time the story went about that it was first used on a banner reading "The People Is Oll Korrect" in the presidential campaign of 1840 when Harrison was running against Van Buren. This, and a number of other stories concerning the possible origin of OK are given by Thomas Pyles in Words and Ways of American English.

Euphemisms

A period of excessive modesty in language struck the United States between 1830 and 1850. Because the verb to die was felt to be cold and shocking, various circumlocutions were created, as for example, the expressions to pass away, and to go beyond. The influence of this tendency was felt far beyond the mid-century. It was not confined to the speech of women, by any means. Even farmers found it impossible to say the essentially English word bull in mixed company. The attempts at refining this word took the form of a long list of compound words, all of them interesting.

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63 Bartlett, p. 687.
products of folk speech. Bartlett records *cow-critter*, *he-critter*, and even *gentleman cow*. *Dialect Notes* reports *cross-critter* from New Jersey and *stock-male* from South Carolina. 65 Mencken makes note of the term *seed-ox*. 66 A stallion was called a *stone-horse* in New Jersey at one time. 67 Not only were *tom cat* and *tom turkey* used in this period of excessive refinement, but the strange term *tom dog* as well. 68

Two terms which show a pedantic attempt at accuracy were *teethache* and *teethbrush*. 69 Two other expressions which arose out of an attempt to "clean up" profanity were *all-fired* (from *hell-fired*) and *dog-gone* (possibly from *God damn*). The term *cuss-word* itself, coined by Mark Twain, is an example of the attempt to soften the impact of a strong word. 70

With the coming of the twentieth century many of the euphemistic circumlocutions have disappeared. Yet in the Ozark region, as late as 1928, many of the word-taboos were in full force. There *bull, boar, buck, dam*, and *stallion* were still out of favor and even such compounds as *bullfrog,*

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65 *DN*, I (1896), 210 and 389.
66 Mencken, p. 302.
67 *DN*, I (1896), 341.
68 Bartlett, s.v. *tom*.
69 *DN*, I (1896), 211.
70 Mencken, p. 165.
buck-shot, cock-eyed and cock-sure were avoided. A stallion was a stable-horse, a bastard a woods-colt, and a bull a cow-brute.71

**Compound Words Made from Foreign Expressions**

French, Dutch, German, Spanish, and the various American Indian languages were heard in America from the early days. Foreign expressions heard frequently were sometimes changed by the process of folk etymology or faulty imitation and were turned into compound words. One such expression is ambersear, made from the French word embrasure, meaning an opening in a wall through which a gun could be fired. Some dictionaries in listing the word ambersear between the years 1780 and 1835 marked the stress on the second syllable.72 The Americans apparently imitated what they took for final-syllable stress in the French word for a time. Then the stress shifted to the first syllable, in accordance with the regular tendency in English to pass the stress to the first syllable of a word. Another compound word formed from the faulty imitation of a French word was carry-all, created by folk etymology from carriole, meaning a light carriage.

From the German language the word cranberry was taken. This was a simple case of borrowing with little change, since

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71Vance Randolph, "Verbal Modesty in the Ozarks," *Dialect Notes*, VI (1928), 1.

72DAR, s.v. ambersear.
the Low German word is *kraanebare, "crane berry." The American word blueberry may have been taken from the German *blaubeere. The case of *wienerwurst is of particular interest. It was borrowed into English as a compound in the first place, since the German translation is "Viennese sausage." After it had become very common in America, the compound was broken down and simplified, first into *wiener, and then into *wienie. Finally as another example that folk speech loves a descriptive compound, it became a double word again. It was re-named *hot-dog from the current joke that sausages were made of dog flesh. In the twentieth century, the world looks upon the *hot-dog as an essentially American product.

Bake-oven, a term much used in rural America formerly, was taken from the Dutch *bakoven. The American *cold-slaw or *cole-slaw came from the Dutch *kool slaas or *kool salade, meaning "cabbage salad." Here, because of the resemblance of *kool to the English word cool (or because of the Dutch pronunciation [kô:l], the meaning was assumed to be synonymous with *cold. So widely has this impression been held that *hot-slaw has been invented as a companion term.

Another compound expression taken from the Dutch is *smear case, an echoic rendering of *smeer kaas designating the kind of cheese known also in America as cottage cheese or Dutch cheese; (cf. German Schmierkäse). The Dutch *kaas actually means "cheese," and its rendering as "case" in America was because of the similarity in pronunciation and spelling.
Folk etymology, faulty imitation, or both produced the compound cavy-yard, current in the last century. It came from the Spanish caballada. It was used to mean a drove or herd of horses. The entry in the DAE reads, "1824 Dewees Letter from Texas 54 'He stated that he was traveling in the employ of a gentleman, by the name of Corasco, who was driving a large cavyyard of horses and mules to Louisiana.'" 73

Generalizations

I. As to the number of compound words and collocations created in America before 1900, and how this number compares with the number of new words taken into American English in other ways.

Although English is famed as the language which borrows from all other tongues, yet borrowing in American English before 1900 was relatively insignificant with the exception of proper names. On the other hand, locally coined compounds and collocations were very numerous. In support of this statement (A) an examination of the summaries made in the prefaces of each of the four volumes of the DAE has been made in reference to borrowed terms, and (B) a tabulation of compounded expressions has been made.

73 DAE, s.v. cavy-yard.
A. The Preface to Volume I contains several statements concerning the incidence of foreign terms. Under the letter A, the summary statement is: "Only one foreign language, Spanish, has made direct contributions of any note, to the number of some twenty words . . . The Indian tongues (apart from proper names) are represented only by apishemore and atamasoo lily."

Under the letter B: "The proportion of foreign words, not previously adopted or known in English, is remarkably small and unimportant."

Under C: "Words adopted from other languages are fairly numerous."

The Preface to Volume II of the DAE makes the following statement: "The extensive vocabulary contained in this volume owes little to foreign sources." In Volume III the statement is: "The list of words adopted from other languages is much longer than in the previous volume."

However, since the previous volume had reported so few foreign loan-words, this is still not an indication that there are many borrowings listed in the third volume. The final statement, in the Preface to Volume IV, is as follows: "As in the third volume, the greater number of words adopted from other languages are either Spanish or Indian in origin, the latter being the more numerous of the two."
B. The writer has made a count and tabulation of all of the compound words and collocations in Volume I of the *DAE* which were given separate entries as words coined in America. This was done as a sampling of the occurrence of various kinds of Americanisms throughout the four volumes of the dictionary. Only those words marked (+), the *DAE*’s indication that the word occurred first in America, have been counted. The words have been tabulated under the following headings: (a) compounds and collocations, (b) derivatives (words created from old words by the addition of a prefix or a suffix), (c) foreign loan words, (d) inventions (e) shortenings. The purpose of this tabulation is to find a basis for a comparison of the number of compound terms with the number of foreign terms, outright inventions, and derived words.

The results of the tabulation:

1. total number of compounds and collocations 2642 74%
2. total number of derived words 541 15%
3. total number of foreign loan words 186 5%
4. total number of inventions 59 1.6%
5. total number of shortenings 103 2.9%

Thus it is evident that, for the purpose of designating the objects and ideas of the New
World, the compound term was used far more frequently than all other kinds of words.

II. As to the nature of the neologisms created in America.

The majority of the colonists who came to America from England were from the lower and lower-middle classes rather than from the higher and more cultivated classes of the mother country. Their speech, even before they left England, differed from that of the best speakers at home. They were simple people, and hence the names they chose for the scenes and objects in their new land were simple names.

The process of naming was, for them, either the adapting of an old word to a new object, or the giving of a new sense to an old word. The means by which they accomplished the naming was, in the great majority of cases, by compounding. Noun compounds in which the first element was a descriptive adjective or an attributive noun suited their needs admirably. Compounds and collocations became, for the early Americans, major tools of communication.

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74 Partridge and Clark, pp. 205-206.
CHAPTER III

COMPOUND EXPRESSIONS IN THE VOCABULARY
OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Although the impact of the New World upon the pioneer settlers from England was powerful enough to bring about the creation of a new vocabulary (and the beginnings of American English), yet the impact of the twentieth century upon the descendants of the early settlers has been even more powerful. Only half a century has gone by, yet the years between 1900 and 1950 have marked tremendously stirring events and changes. From the stimulation of these events and changes there has been an almost incalculable increase in the number of new words and phrases which have been coined and have passed into American speech.

There are two methods of approach in a study of the period. One is to consider the changes as abstractions, such as urbanization, motorization, and so forth. The other is to review in succession the groups of words that have been coined to name all the new things invented and the new states of life which have come about. For example, new words have been coined in connection with the introduction of the radio and new words have come into being because of the state of the nation during World War II. This chapter will study some of the new terms briefly by both methods of approach.
Partridge and Clark are co-authors of one of the most recent comparative studies of British and American English, a book mentioned in Chapter II. In this text, Partridge handles the chapters concerning British English and Clark is responsible for the chapters which have to do with American English. Clark believes that technology, urbanization, and democracy are the three factors responsible for most of the changes in the life and language of the Americans during the period. He explains his point of view at length in the paragraphs following:

The most important event in the last hundred and fifty years of Western culture—in some ways the most important event in human history—is the rapid transformation of an agrarian society . . . into a technological one. . . .

Largely because a factory takes less space and costs more money than a farm, the application of technology to producing non-agrarian goods leads to increasingly numerous and populous cities, and of this, one important result is the urbanization of culture.

Applied science and the growth of cities, then, have profoundly affected modern Western society and culture and all aspects of that culture, including language. But there is a third influence of more or less equal power, namely, democracy, or the rise of the masses, of which the essential quality is, almost by definition, the heightened influence of the many on almost every aspect of the culture of their society. Democracy is of course complexly related to technology and urbanization, and they are related to each other both as cause and as effect. . . .

Almost all the changes that have come about . . . especially within the last fifty years in Western society, culture, and specifically language . . . and more specifically in American English . . . are, I think, chargeable to the direct or indirect influence of one or more of these factors.
Of these three forces, at least two, science and democracy, work with less restraint in the United States than in Great Britain; and it is to this fact that I should attribute many of the leading differences between British and American English, especially in the last half century.\(^1\)

It is clear, of course, that these forces began their operation before the opening of the present century. Clark's contention is that their main effects upon language have fallen within the framework of the twentieth century.

Of the three forces, science, urbanization, and democracy, Clark believes that democracy has been the most potent factor in bringing about changes in the written and spoken language of the United States. On the subject of changes which have taken place in the written language he observes:

> One of the things that make the literary (or rather the written) style in the United States unusual is that, in a unique degree, uneducated people often have important and even admirable, or at least urgent, things to say, and say them in writing—which gets printed. . . . Educated writing also has been subjected to the influence of science, urbanization, and democracy, and reflects the displacement of the genteel style by the style of well-bred ease.\(^2\)

William Ellery Leonard observes the fact that the spirit and form of the spoken language are being reflected in the written language more and more in America. He says, writing for *American Speech*:

> In general every good colloquialism is possible in good prose (or verse), for quite rightly good prose (or verse) is becoming more and more a skillful adaptation of the vigorous, compact, racy idiom

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\(^1\)Partridge and Clark, pp. 204-205.

\(^2\)Partridge and Clark, pp. 210, 241.
of the best spoken language. Clark points out that speech, also, has changed during the period under discussion, both at the colloquial level and at the formal level. It has become more familiar and easy-going. This too, he believes, is mainly a result of the rise of the masses and of the relaxation of the educated, from a growing consciousness that their usage is good usage, and that they no longer have to ape the intonations of England. He adds that the popular radio program and the comic strip have become "the Homer and Hesiod and Bible and Shakespeare of the American people," and that they are rich sources of all kinds of popular expressions. As to the number of new words, he says:

Every American has some notion of what a staggering number of new words, and new applications of old ones, have entered his language in the last fifty years, on all levels of usage, especially slang and popular technology. Even the number of these that will probably be more or less permanent, though much smaller, is still very great. No registry of these can possibly be either complete or up to date. . . .

The experience of an editor who attempted to keep a record of words and expressions coined during World War II is an example of Clark's last statement, that no registry of neologisms can possibly be complete. Anna Marjorie Taylor,

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3 William Ellery Leonard, a letter in the Usage Department, American Speech, VIII (1933), 57.
4 Partridge and Clark, p. 211
5 Ibid., p. 226.
6 Ibid., p. 215.
head of the Literature Division of the Rochester Public Library, began a collection of new words and phrases at the beginning of the second World War. Her project aroused such interest that hundreds of people gave her assistance. The result of the cooperative project was published in 1944 under the title *The Language of World War II*. In the foreword to the revised edition of 1948, Miss Taylor says:

> A complete record of the changes and growth of the language during the course of the war would require years of study and research, and even then some angles would undoubtedly be missed.\(^7\)

It is apparent, then, that the English language in America has grown and changed since the opening years of the twentieth century. The growth has taken the form of the addition of an enormous number of new words and new combinations of old words. The change has come about through a relaxation in the speech of both the educated and the uneducated in the direction of a more colloquial idiom.

It is the purpose of this chapter to study a sampling of the compound terms which have been coined or which have been brought into general use during the twentieth century. The writer makes no claim to infallible knowledge as to the date of coinage of the words presented. Some of the sources here quoted may already have been proved incorrect in the light of later studies. The accurate dating of the first appearance of words is a problem for experts in the field. The study

in this chapter is not made for the purpose of dating but is made with particular reference to the number and general characteristics of the words. The expressions will be grouped under the following subject headings:

1. Motor transportation
2. Aviation
3. Moving pictures
4. Radio communication
5. Television
6. Progressive education
7. Applied science
8. Political and economic activities
9. International events

a. World War I
b. World War II
c. The War in Korea

The basic references for the examples presented in this chapter are the DA, Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language, and Berrey and Van den Bark, The American Thesaurus of Slang. All words not otherwise documented by footnotes are to be found in these books, with the exception of a short list (including hot rod, traffic cop, thumbed ride, ham operator, and me-too-ism), which are so new that they have not yet been entered in any dictionary as far as the writer knows.


Motor Transportation

To the American whose memory reaches back to the early years of the century, the term *horseless carriage* carries with it a pleasant connotation, recalling the excitement of the first years of the age of the automobile. From that first compound down to the most recent one, *hot rod*, the motorization of the nation has produced hundreds, and possibly thousands, of new terms.

The first American patent granted on an automobile which used an internal combustion engine was issued on November 5, 1895. The growth of the gigantic automobile industry has thus fallen almost squarely within the twentieth century. Members of the younger generation today do not recall the early compound words which differentiated between the various kinds of horseless carriages: the *steam car*, the *electric automobile*, and the *gasoline automobile* or *gasoline car*. Once the *gasoline automobile* had proved itself superior to the others, it was the natural course of events linguistically for the qualifying member of the compound to fall away, leaving the word automobile to serve as the generic term. The next step might have been the reduction to *auto*, and as a matter of fact, *auto* has had some currency, but for some reason the word did not take hold as the dominant term in popular speech. Rather, *car* came to be the generic term for

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10 *Encyclopedia Americana, s.v. automobile.*
the gasoline automobile. Cars had been used previously to mean the coaches of railroad trains. Some grandparents or great-grandparents alive today will occasionally refer to the train as "the cars." This older usage held over until recently on rural railroad crossing markers, which warned: "RAILROAD CROSSING: LOOK OUT FOR THE CARS."11

The earlier compounds and single terms have almost completely given over to the term car for the automobile, except that in advertising there seems to be a tendency, especially in connection with expensive models, to use the term motor cars, which is again a compound. The new expression, in centering attention upon the motor, or generator of power, is edging toward the connotation of speed, smoothness, and beauty—the highest goals of the motor car manufacturer today.

Some compound words arising out of the motorization of the nation have had a tremendous vogue. The word joy-ride came into popular speech in 1908 and is still heard, at least in a figurative sense. The term backseat driver, in a literal and in a figurative sense, has enjoyed a great popularity, and has undoubtedly filled a need, as a badge to designate a certain human type. Flat tire has filled a similarly double role, as applied to a deflated rubber tire on the one hand and to a specimen of mankind on the other. Roadhog, another derogatory term, has also come into existence because of the nation's new life on wheels. Traffic-cop

11 Partridge and Clark, p. 219.
suggests the congested lanes of metropolitan areas, while speed-cop suggests the swifter stretches of the country. Again, car-hop brings to mind the drive-in hamburger stand of the city, while hitch-hiker suggests the country highway and the clan of modern vagabonds who began the American institution of the thumbed ride.

The care and upkeep of the motor car has brought into being a list of compound words which are part and parcel of life in the present century. Among them are blow-out, repair shop (supplanting the blacksmith shop of another era), service station, gas station, filling station, parking lot, parking meter, parking place, and a term that grew out of the last war, motor pool.

To designate types of vehicles, American speech makes use of still more compounds. In the twenties there was the Model T, whose name was one of the early examples of the word-plus-letter compound term. It was followed later by the Model A. The Ford car itself was a generation or two in assuming the dignity that it has acquired in the present decade. In the interim it was often given such tags as Tin Lizzie, Leaping Lena, puddle jumper, and other derogatory combinations now reserved for the jallopy.

Other compound terms for types of vehicles are five-passenger car, four-door sedan, two-door (or tudor) sedan, and the suburban but fashionable station-wagon, named by the newly ruralized suburbanites. In the upper price ranges, the station-wagon has become the estate-wagon. On the farm there
are caterpillar tractors, one-ton trucks, and numerous other types. Indeed, so completely have the new terms taken over in the world of transportation that the old ones such as buckboard, spring wagon, carriage, surrey, buggy, and rig are fast becoming dictionary words.

It is evident, then, from even a brief consideration, that the motorization of the United States has brought in an incredible number of new words and word-combinations. It is unlikely that the coming of aviation has made anything like as great an impression upon the speech of the people.

**Aviation**

In the early days of travel by air (which soon became known as air travel), English-speaking people turned to the terminology of the sea for words with which to designate the new craft. Thus an early compound was airship. It gave way to aeroplane—soon to be spelled airplane in America. Reminiscent of the sea again are the compounds air liner and air port, which is still probably the most commonly used term for the end of the flight, in spite of the more recent air terminal. The actual landing place is designated by a compound, air-strip. Run-way and landing-strip are alternatives. Other compound words connected with aviation which have become common linguistic property are air mail, air letter, air hostess, air line, air lane, air-conscious, air sick, air-minded, and air rodeo. Among the names for types of planes are monoplane, biplane, four-motor plane, seaplane, hydroplane,
flagship, stratoliner, and stratocruiser. In the realm of the very new are the jet-propelled plane (already reduced to jet-plane or jet) and the futuristic term loved by youngsters, the spaceship.

At least three compounds connected with aviation have become fixed in colloquial speech in a figurative sense. All are words denoting violence and casualty when applied literally in aviation, yet when applied figuratively to the human being and his endeavors on the ground, they take on a humorous connotation. These words are crack-up ("He went into a crack-up after the love affair."), tailspin ("The news sent me into a tail-spin."), and nosedive ("Billy took a nose-dive from his tricycle.").

Moving Pictures

Movie talk has been called "the baby in the family of American dialects." There is a singularly American character to much of it. Those Americans of a vintage to remember horseless carriage will also remember the early term nickelodeon, used to designate the place which was to be the forerunner of the moving picture house or movie house. British equivalents of the time were penny gaff and nickel store-show.

Photoplay is a compound term which might well have

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become the common name for the new phenomenon in American life, had not the short word movie won out over it. Mencken reports the facts of the case as follows:

The first example of movie in the Supplement to the *Oxford Dictionary* is dated 1913, but the word was already six or seven years old by that time. Who invented it no one knows. In those days, as now, magnates of the movie industry disliked the word, and sought to find some more dignified substitute for it. In 1912 the Essanay Company offered a prize of $25 for such a substitute, and it was won by Edgar Strakosch with photoplay. But though *Photoplay* became the title of a very successful fan magazine, it never displaced movie. When the talking pictures came in, in 1927, they were first called *speakies*, but *talkies* quickly displaced it. The early movie houses were usually called *parlors*, but in a little while *theatres* was substituted. . . .

*Movie* star, *fan mail*, and *screen test* are compound terms which soon came into the vocabulary of Americans all over the country. *Slow motion* and *fade-out* answered a need in a figurative sense, and were quick to become popular; also *fade-in*, now a radio term. *Close-up* was equally useful, in such expressions as "Take a close-up of that and see what you think."

Other compound expressions which have arisen in the moving picture industry and have become current in popular speech are *dead-pan*, *klieg-lights*, *projection room*, *movie lot*, and *movie magazine*. The name *Hollywood* itself has had a wide currency, both in a literal and in a figurative sense.

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13 Mencken, pp. 187-188.

14 So named for the Kliegl Brothers, American electricians who invented them, according to *Funk and Wagnall's New Standard Dictionary of the English Language*. 
In a figurative sense it is used in such comments as "Don't go Hollywood on us!"

Talking pictures have probably done more to spread American English abroad than has any other factor. Even in the days before the advent of the talking pictures, many Englishmen viewed the silent films from America with alarm. In a report made on January 20, 1920, the London Bureau of the Associated Press included this statement: "It is the subtitle of the American moving picture film which, it is feared, constitutes the most menacing threat to the vaunted English purity of speech." After the talking pictures arrived in England, about 1927, Americanisms went into the country much faster than they could be challenged and disposed of.

Radio Communication

Two compound nouns connected with radio in America in its early days are crystal set and head phone. Youngsters listening today to deluxe table models or car radios have probably never heard the terms. To broadcast came in as a nationally known verb in a very short time. Professors and grammarians argued over the proper form for its past participle—as to whether broadcast or broadcasted should be used. Broadcasted won in the debate, but the public went right on using broadcast, as in the sentence "The speech was broadcast over the Blue Network." From the verb a noun soon appeared—
"A coast-to-coast broadcast of the game was made."\textsuperscript{15}

Compound terms inspired by radio technicians' language have enjoyed a wide popularity. To \textit{tune in} and to \textit{sign off} are two verb-phrases used by millions. The second of these, at least, has produced its shadow, the compound adjective illustrated by this sentence: "The \textit{sign-off} number will be 'Auld Lang Syne.'"

From the standpoint of the man at the microphone, \textit{news-caster} and \textit{news-cast} were created. The amateur at the microphone might be a \textit{mike-hugger}, or he might be overcome with \textit{mike-fright}. At the receiving end of the line, in millions of homes, there was the \textit{loud-speaker}, from which poured forth the \textit{live-program} and the \textit{soap-opera}, or in between times, the \textit{fill-in--canned music}. The solitary technicians who set up their own stations were named \textit{ham operators}. As the nation became completely interlaced with stations, the word \textit{network} arose to designate chains, as in the case of the \textit{Blue Network}. Some of these went over into the use of the initial-compound, to be explained later in this chapter. Such a case was the \textit{NBC}, for the National Broadcasting Company.

Thus it appears that the radio business has been a grist mill for new compound terms. Other examples which are more

\textsuperscript{15}Mencken, p. 197.
or less widely known\(^\text{16}\) are listed below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aircast</td>
<td>coil antenna transmitting circuit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aircaster</td>
<td>trailing wire input circuit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>air waves</td>
<td>antenna output circuit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>remote control</td>
<td>T antenna cut-off frequency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>control room</td>
<td>L antenna break-in operation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>radio frequency</td>
<td>receiving set break-down voltage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wave length</td>
<td>sending set break-off voltage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frequency modulation</td>
<td>vacuum tube feed-back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(usually FM)</td>
<td>fade-in</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Television**

The new medium, television, was accepted in America at the height of the popularity of initial-compounds, hence it soon became known as T.V. Had the advent of radio coincided with the vogue for initial-words, it might have been known as R.T. for radio telegraphy, or as R.C. for radio communication or by some other truncation.

Thomas Hutchinson speaks in a prophetic tone when he says:

> The steam engine, the motor car, the telephone, and the radio all changed our ways of life. Who can say where television will lead us? . . . It is the greatest means of communication ever developed by the mind of man.\(^\text{17}\)

If Hutchinson is right, a harvest of neologisms will come from the field of television. Because it is so new, one cannot yet be certain which of the many compound terms in a

\(^{16}\text{The source of the more technical of these words is J.A. Moyer and John F. Wostrel, The Radio Handbook Including Television and Sound Motion Pictures (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1931).}\)

\(^{17}\text{Thomas H. Hutchinson, Here Is Television (New York: Hastings House, 1948), pp. ix-xi.}\)
book like *Here Is Television* will be accepted in popular speech. However, the technical vocabulary has the exciting qualities of all new things, and some of the compound terms seem worth study. The following are of interest:

- ultra-short waves
- video effects
- T.V. rights
- film engineer
- off-camera narration
- pickup tube
- camera output
- large-screen television
- television projecting apparatus
- video engineer

**Progressive Education**

If anyone has been under the apprehension that most neologisms arose on the level of slang, he has only to glance again at the sampling of the vocabulary of television, given above, or to read briefly in the pages of a modern text on the subject of education. Listed below are compound terms and word combinations taken from a four-page pamphlet called *Education Today*, put out by Charles E. Merrill, affiliated with American Education Publications.18

- language facility
- interest value
- language arts
- spelling success
- word perception
- meaning vocabulary
- handwriting skills
- vocabulary knowledge
- core words
- word power
- adult needs
- meaning angle
- core spelling lists
- learning skills
- story units
- word blind
- pupil interests
- word study skills
- curriculum areas
- research investigation
- teaching procedures
- maintenance program
- spelling consciousness
- word patterns
- letter symbols
- language arts

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18 *Education Today*, an advertising pamphlet published by Charles E. Merrill Books, Columbus, Ohio, 1952.
Compounds such as these are not actually difficult, in the sense that technological jargon is difficult for the lay-reader (e.g., photo-electric cells of the radio vocabulary, or scanning-disk booth of the T.V. operator's language), but they are likely to be baffling. For one thing, it seems to be the editorial style to omit hyphens entirely within the pamphlet quoted. The result is that, in regard to a combination like word study skills from the list above, the reader wonders whether he should understand word-study skills, word study-skills, or perhaps word and study skills.19 Again, in comparing pupil interest with dictionary readiness, the reader will reason wrongly if he assumes that because pupil interest means "interest on the part of the pupil," that dictionary readiness can be interpreted as "readiness on the part of the dictionary (to be used)." The problem of inexactness is one of several problems presented by the tremendously increased use of the noun-plus-noun compound— a problem to be discussed in Chapter V.

Other compounds invented by modern educators include the ubiquitous I.Q. for intelligence quotient, a neologism which

19 The omission of all hyphens can be almost as confusing as errors in their placement. It is said that Ella Wheeler Wilcox once submitted a poem entitled "My Heart is a Light-house Keeper" to a magazine, and was horrified when it appeared as "My Heart is a Light House-keeper."
passed into popular speech almost as soon as it was produced. Overall-view and over-view are two other terms much used. The curious use of workshop in educational circles has been the subject of much comment.20

Social workers use an occupational jargon of their own which gives heavy duty to the compound terms social hygiene, mental hygiene, family service, foster home, industrial sanitation, child health, mental health, general secretary, field secretary, civic secretary, and office secretary. The psychologists have created words which sound esoteric, e.g., mind-set, stimulus-response bonds. However, their inferiority complex and superiority complex were adopted into the general vocabulary of the country very quickly.21

Applied Science

P. B. McDonald comments rather dryly upon our word-forming tendencies in the pages of American Speech when he says:

In perhaps no section of American life is the need for new words more insistent than in science, both pure and applied. New discoveries and inventions are constantly being made. . . . The powers of American invention to devise new "gadgets," "widgets," and "notions" is almost unbelievable. Almost as overwhelming is the speed with which jargon can be contrived for a newly popularized science such as psychology, a new-found craze such


as radio, or a pseudo-scientific theory that contains a pint of truth overlaid by a bushel of exaggeration and hocus-pocus. Such vocabularies are constantly in the making and constantly in the drying. . . . In applied science, particularly among inventors, the tendency to adopt long, learned names is much less noticeable [than among pure scientists]. The tendency is rather toward the manufacture of compounds from words already known. . . . Even such established words as refrigerator and mackintosh, based on classical and historic roots, are giving way to compounds such as icebox and raincoat.22

A more recently written comment concerning the invention of new compound terms in the trades is one written by Blake Clark in which he says:

Each trade has its own name for these unskilled hands. Painters call them pot-and-brush men; carpenters, jacklegs; plasterers, mud-daubers; electricians, wire-jerkers. . . . A mud-dauber leaves your wall wavy, peppered with warts, because he uses too much lime in the mixture. Soon map-cracks show through the paint, and in a couple of years the plaster falls off.23

The countless new words recently coined in connection with applied science can be given only the merest mention here. Some of them run to the grandiloquent, as in the case of sales engineer. Some of them are extremely apt, as in the case of stream-lined and bottle-neck. Some have gained wide circulation outside the United States, as has the curious compound know-how, which was first recorded in print around 1942.24 This compound, in the sense indicated by this

sentence, "American know-how and American capital are needed badly," is a bit of the idiom of the United States that foreigners are quick to pick up.

A great many more examples of compound words used in industry, and particularly in advertising, will be listed and studied in Chapters V and VII.

Political and Economic Activities

In the nineteenth century, politics was one of the main sources of the new words which sprang up in the United States. In the twentieth century, politicians and political events have continued to add to the vocabulary of the country. The expression band-wagon was first used in the political sense soon after the turn of the century in connection with the activities of William Jennings Bryan. The New York Evening Post for September 4, 1906 contained the remark, "Many of those Democrats who rushed into the Bryan band-wagon will now be seen crawling out over the tailboard."25

Often the phrases of a favorite political figure become tremendously popular. Some of our political figures have been clever at turning a neat phrase. Theodore Roosevelt, for example, is credited with a number of outright coinages. A few of the compound expressions among his coinages are nature-faker, pussy-footer, weasel-word, big-stick, embalmed beef,

25 *DA, s.v. band-wagon.*
The terms whistle-stop speaker and whistle-stop campaign are examples of most recent neologisms. They use the older term whistle-stop in a new sense. The hybrid term me-too-ism (hybrid because it is a compound supplied with a suffix), is of very recent coinage.

The growing fear of Communism and the consequent uneasiness in the United States have given rise to a set of expressions made familiar by constant use in the newspapers. Kremlin-inspired rumors is a particular favorite with the journalists. Fifth column appeared around 1938. The term fellow traveller appeared in print as early as 1936 and front organization was recorded in 1940. In 1946 Winston Churchill coined the now-famous iron curtain, and, although it cannot be said to be an Americanism, it was at least first heard on American soil, since Churchill used it in a speech given at Westminster College, Fulton, Missouri.

John Mason Brown is credited with saying, "Every crisis creates its own vocabulary." The bound volumes of American Speech contain a great store of special word-lists, coined

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27 Partridge and Clark, p. 237.
29 Webster's NWD, p. 770.
30 Taylor, p. ix.
during and after particular events in our history. One case in point is an article published in December, 1933, which discusses the vocabulary of the Economic Depression of 1929-1933. The author, Charles Carpenter, writes:

Since the beginning of the present economic derangement, a good many words have found employment in new senses, numerous unused ones have been brought back into use, and scores of new ones have appeared.

The banking difficulties at the beginning of the present administration put a strain on the language. To most of us not students of currency and economics, certain of these words were at first bewildering. When we read or heard something about *fiat money*, *silverites*, or *scrip*, we may not have been so puzzled; but some words long unused and others actually new have been baffling; e.g., *stamp-change*, *barter-slips*, *anticipation warrants*, *pay capacity*. If we speak of *bootleg* nowadays, we find it necessary to qualify the word. We have *bootleg gasoline*, and *bootleg other things.*

World War I

The first World War saw the growth of a new linguistic development in the use of initial-compounds. Of course the tendency had had a small beginning in the nineteenth century in at least two popular sets of initials, *TT* and *OK*, mentioned in Chapter II. The tendency carried over to World War II, during which it assumed astonishing proportions.

The popularity of letter-compounds was increased by the wide currency of *DORA*, the nickname for the British

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Defense of the Realm Act, passed in 1914. A loan translation which came from Germany was U-Boat, from the German Unterseeboot (under-water boat). The initial compounds and initial-plus-word compounds were thus not original with the Americans, although the people of the United States have probably carried them to greater lengths than any people. Two other early examples from World War I are H-Hour, meaning the crucial hour of attack, and MP, short for Military Police.

The term G.I., so universally used today, may have had its origin in the G.I. can of the first war, a galvanized iron cooking utensil, much used by the soldiers. Another possibility is that it stems from the expression General Issue, used to designate the shipments of clothing and equipment sent to the common soldier rather than to the officers, who normally bought their own uniforms and equipment.

Those who remember the first World War will recall that the soldier who suffered a nervous breakdown at the front was referred to as suffering from shell shock. In the second conflict that term was supplanted by two or three other expressions, e.g., combat fatigue, war fatigue, operational

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34 Partridge and Clark, pp. 226-228.
fatigue, or flying stress. Shell shock has ceased to be used.\textsuperscript{35}

The American soldier in France between the years 1914-1918 was referred to as the dough-boy or the Yank. In World War II, this term was reserved for the infantrymen, and G.I. came to carry the meaning which doughboy had carried before, i.e., the common soldier. Fox hole originated in World War I but saw far greater use in the next war.\textsuperscript{36} It is still being used in Korea.\textsuperscript{37} The special bond issues made during the First World War were called Liberty Bonds. At the final issue they were renamed Victory Bonds.

The World War I compound terms presented above or listed in the columns below were taken from the collections of Maurice H. Weseen and John Baker Opdycke and from bound volumes of American Speech, unless credited to some other source.\textsuperscript{38}

\textsuperscript{35} In defining the term shell-shock, Webster's now adds the note: "The name arose early in the Great War from the impression, later discarded, that the neurotic condition was the result of brain concussion."

\textsuperscript{36} W. L. Werner, "Three Words," American Speech, XIX (1944), 74.

\textsuperscript{37} See page 118.

Compound Terms Used in World War I

- baby bonds
- Big Four (Italy, France, Great Britain, and the U.S.) pill box (machine gun nest)
- booby trap
- doughboy
- fed up
- fed-up-ness
- fox hole
- G.I. can
- H.Hour (hour of attack)
- Liberty Bonds
- Liberty cabbage
  (sauerkraut)
- M.P. (military police)
- No Man's Land
- savings stamps
- shell shock
- soup kitchen (movable kitchen)
- thumbs up ("All right!")
- tin hat (steel helmet)
- Victory Bonds
- war brides
- zero hour (time of the beginning of an attack)

World War II

The three compounds Pearl Harbor, blood bank, and ration card carry a heavy connotative load for most civilians who remember the second World War. If car pool, gas hog, black-out and block captain are added to the list, still more recollections of the rigors of the period are called up. To the men who spent the time in one of the danger zones, the following compound terms probably recall similarly the emotions connected with the time: dog tag, pin-up, quonset hut, atomic bomb, and Snafu.

Initial compounds had risen to great favor between the Economic Depression and the second World War, since many

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39 The words in this list were not necessarily coined between the years 1914-1918 but they came into wide use during that period and afterwards.

40 The quonset hut was so named because it was first made at Quonset, Rhode Island (Webster's s.v. quonset).

41 This strange term, an example of the initial-word (not a compound), stood for "Situation normal—all fouled up."
government agencies were tagged by initials, e.g., the NRA (National Recovery Administration), the CCC (Civilian Conservation Corps), and so many others that Alfred E. Smith described the government as submerged in a bowl of alphabet soup. Consequently, at the first of the war, the newly organized women's auxiliary groups were christened with initial names, among others the WACS, the WAVES, and the SPARS. Government agencies and overseas military installations continued to be referred to by initial-names during the war and afterwards, and the initials were written together without periods, which, as Clark observes, was a new thing in itself.

The initial-plus-word combinations form a much shorter list than do the initial combinations such as SPARS. Among those in which the initial stands in front of the noun are the following:

A-Bomb, V-Mail
D-Day, V-E Day
H-Hour (used in both wars), V-J Day

Examples of the word-plus-initial combinations in which the initial stands after the noun are the following:

Virus A, Vitamin A
Virus X, Vitamin B

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42 Mencken, p. 209.
43 Partridge and Clark, p. 222. WACS stands for "Women's Army (Auxiliary) Corps," WAVES for "Women Accepted for Voluntary Emergency Service," and SPARS is taken from the motto of the Coast Guard, Semper Paratus.
44 Ibid., p. 221.
Another combination which makes a slight variation upon the patterns above is the initial-plus-number compound such as the following:

V-1 (a translation of the German
_Vergeltungswaffe, eins_
"vengeance weapon 1."

V-2 (a translation of
_Vergeltungswaffe, zwei_
"vengeance weapon 2."

V-13
B-29

Reduplication (a grammatical process exemplified by the words ack-ack and choo-choo), is considered to belong to a somewhat different category from compounding, and hence the writer has excluded reduplicative forms from the present study. However, the strange reduplicative word hubba-hubba which was much used during the second World War will be mentioned, since it presents several interesting features. A good deal has been written about the word, but probably Weinberger has written the most comprehensive summary of its history. He has traced it to the field of sports (to basketball specifically), and has fixed the date of coinage as about 1942. Its original meaning was "Be alive! Pep it up! Snap it up!" It came to its peak of popularity in 1944 and served as an all-purpose vent to enthusiasm. The word

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45 Webster's NWD, s.v. V-1.
46 Bloch and Trager, p. 57.
was a favorite one with the Air Force. The use of hubba-hubba as a "wolf cry" was a secondary development. After the war it was used a great deal in Pacific military outposts and in Occupied Japan in its original sense, "Let's get along! Hurry up there!"

**Stateside** and **Uncle Sugar** were used by service men stationed out of the country. The first meant "pertaining to continental United States," and hence "back home." Examples of its use in the adjectival and adverbial sense are "Stateside letters have come," and "When you go stateside, drop us a card." **Uncle Sugar** was sometimes used in the South Pacific for **Uncle Sam**.

The list of compound World II expressions given below was made up from the entries in Taylor's *The Language of World War II* and from bound copies of *American Speech*. The fact that a word is included in this list does not mean that the writer believes it to have been coined during the period between 1941 and 1945 necessarily, but that it saw wide use during that period and immediately afterward.
Compound Expressions Used in World War II
(exclusive of initial expressions)

air-raid siren
all clear
Atlantic Charter
Atomic Age
atomic bomb (The bomb dropped on Hiroshima was called Little Boy, the one on Nagasaki, Fat Boy.)
bail-out rations
battle wagon (a battleship)
beachhead
blackout
black market
blitz buggy (a small car)
block captain
bloodbank
boot camp (Marines)
brown out
by-pass
Can do!
car pool
cat fever
chain reaction
crash boat
depth bomb
dimout
dog tag
dry run
eager beaver (Air Force)
flat-top (airplane carrier)
gas hog
hubba-hubba
lend-lease
Mae West (life jacket)
milk run
mosquito boat

near-miss
ninety-day wonders (short-course officers)
open city
Pearl Harbor
pig-boat (submarine)
pin-up
quonset hut
ration card
rock-happy (used of bored service men in Pacific area or of men "gone native")
scatter bomb
shooting war
stand-ups (girls who did not wait for sweethearts to return from the war)
stateside
to spearhead
to sweat out (to wait helplessly)
swing shift
task force
terminal leave
Uncle Sugar (variation on Uncle Sam, used in Pacific area)
walkie-talkie (portable radio)
war brides
war fatigue
war nerves
The War in Korea

Perhaps the most widely repeated term to come out of the war in Korea is a compound place-name, Porkchop Hill. It shows unmistakably that the folk-speech of the G.I. is still simple, colorful, and informal. It is much in the spirit of the western place-names mentioned in Chapter II, i.e., Shirt-tail Canyon and Whiskey Gulch. The urge which prompted the coiner of this name was akin to the urge which prompted the originator of the term beefsteak geranium at the beginning of the century.48

Other place names reported from Korea are Hairy Hill to designate a particular tree-lined mountain, and Bullet Boulevard, a term used to refer to the shifting zone of the front lines. These two names show the liking for alliteration. There are other rather striking alliterative compounds. One is bugle blues, a term used to describe the feeling a soldier has when he has been wounded by enemy fire (since an attack is always accompanied by the sound of a bugle). Others are jet jockey, the current term for a jet-plane pilot; trigger time, the time spent on the firing line; fox-hole friend, a buddy; and virgin veteran, a soldier who has served in Korea without being shot at.49

48DW, II (1904), 391.
49These and all other Korean war terms quoted are from a column by Fred Sparks in the Chicago Daily News, April 23, May 16, June 2 and 7, and September 28, 1951, and from the Baton Rouge Morning Advocate, June 6, 1953.
All wars bring new tags for the common foot-soldier. This war has produced straight-legger, ground groveler, (another example of alliteration), and gravel pounder.

Two compound verbs are interesting enough to warrant observation: to clue in, meaning to give information to, ("I'll clue you in.") and to leap off, used by jet pilots rather than the older aviation term, to take off.

The reduplicative compound of World War II, hubba-hubba, has become bali-bali in Korea. It means roughly the same as hubba-hubba meant in its original sense, i.e., "Hurry up---get along!"

A bit of Korean pidgin is hava-yes for "I've got it," and hava-no for "I don't have it."

**Generalizations**

The simple compounds which proved to be most popular during the years before 1900 were those exemplified by redbird and angleworm, the adjective-noun and the noun-noun combinations.

During the twentieth century, the second of these types, the noun-plus-noun compound or combination has shown two developments, (1) it has increased in numbers and (2) it has become more sophisticated in connotation. The vocabularies of progressive education, of social work, of psychology, and of other twentieth century activities demonstrate these developments, as can be seen from the word-lists presented
earlier in this chapter, (cf. the earlier log canoe, box car, angleworm with the current child development, intelligence quotient, reading readiness). The development is, of course, a reflection of the more complicated times in which we live. The point to be noticed here is that the noun-plus-noun compound is very often the instrument chosen to express and to classify this complexity. On the other hand, a counter-tendency is to be seen in the use of the same type of compound to continue the same simple naming habits which were characteristic of the early Americans, i.e., the G.I.'s choice of Porkshop Hill, Bloody Nose Ridge, etc., in naming places which are new to him.

Another compound which has shown a pronounced rise in favor in America is the verb-plus-adverb type, such as fade-in, and know-how. The type has not been particularly prominent in any one field of activity but has shown a marked increase in almost all fields. The two popular types of compounds just pointed out will be given fuller study in other chapters.

It is clear that the inventions, vicissitudes, and events mentioned in this chapter cannot begin to cover all the many facets of life in the twentieth century in the United States. Within the province of each event or field of interest, the words mentioned are only the merest samplings. The chapter has been a summary of main tendencies.
The generalizations to be drawn are:

I. that the spoken and written language in the United States has changed in the fifty years since 1900,
   A. in becoming more colloquial,
   B. in the addition of a tremendous stock of new words and word-combinations,
      1. notably in the addition of a new development— the initial-compound,
      2. in an increased occurrence of several compound types,
   C. in reflecting the new movements of the twentieth century— urbanization, motorization, democracy,
   D. in reflecting the spirit of three wars;

II. that the new words have carried on in some respects the simple naming habits of the early days in America, in being vivid, colorful, and concrete.
CHAPTER IV

A COMPARISON OF AMERICAN AND BRITISH COMPOUND WORDS

Although British philologists and laymen have been deploring the direction the English language has taken in the New World for several centuries, the American branch of the language has continued to go its own independent way. Criticism in England has been violent at times. It rose to a crescendo in the period between 1850 and 1863, the years corresponding to the time of the most fantastic language proliferation in America.\(^1\)

There have been great names among the English critics; literary men as well as scholars have been shocked by the treatment the Americans were giving their language. Dickens was extremely vocal in his reactions. Coleridge made many an acid and well-turned remark on the subject. Nor were the British reactions caused wholly by American slang. Expressions which today seem quite innocuous disturbed the British profoundly when they first appeared. Such terms as dry-goods store, coffin-warehouse, and fire-dogs served to annoy them thoroughly, particularly when these expressions began to slip across the Atlantic and appear on the wrong side of the ocean.\(^2\)

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\(^1\)See p. 75.

\(^2\)Mencken, p. 27.
All, or nearly all, of the earlier American philologists echoed the British scholars. Witherspoon, Whitney, Worcester, Fowler, White, and Lounsbury added their voices to the chorus of reproach from across the water.\textsuperscript{3} There was an occasional exception, as in the case of George Perkins Marsh, who, in his \textit{Lectures on the English Language}, delivered at Columbia University in 1858, argued that "in point of naked syntactical accuracy, the English of America is not at all inferior to that of England."\textsuperscript{4}

A gradual amelioration has come about in the attitude of criticism toward the American branch of the language. At first it took the form of a mere softening of the critical remarks made by American and British scholars. This was an inevitable result of increased travel, the advent of American talking pictures,\textsuperscript{5} and the influence of two world wars.

A more positive side of this change has been the growth of an interest in the study of the American language as a thing in itself,--as a phenomenon entirely worthy of scientific study. In England, William Archer began his support of

\textsuperscript{3}John Witherspoon (1723–94), president of Princeton University; William D. Whitney (1827–94), an American scholar; Joseph E. Worcester (1784–1865), American compiler of \textit{The Universal Dictionary of the English Language}; William C. Fowler (1793–1881), professor of rhetoric at Amherst; Richard G. White (1821–87), American writer on language questions; Thomas R. Lounsbury (1838–1915), professor of English at Yale University.

\textsuperscript{4}Marsh's lectures were published in New York in 1859.

\textsuperscript{5}American silent films reached England in 1915, talking pictures in 1929.
the American branch of the language in 1899 with a strong endorsement:

America has enormously enriched the language, not only with new words, but (since the American mind is, on the whole, quicker and Wittier than the English) with apt and luminous colloquial metaphors.

Archer was still writing in support of the American language in 1919. About this time Frank Dilnot, an English journalist, wrote:

Show me the alert Englishman who will not find a stimulation in those nuggety word-groupings which are the commonplaces in good American conversation... They come from all kinds of people who are brilliantly innocent of enriching the language.

In 1925 Virginia Woolf, an English novelist, wrote:

The Americans are doing what the Elizabethans did—they are coining new words. They are instinctively making the language adapt itself to their needs... In England the word-coinng power has lapsed... It is significant that when we want to freshen our speech, we borrow from the Americans.

Perhaps the most penetrating comment of the period, linguistically speaking, was made in 1920 by Richard Aldington, an English poet, who said:

The American language is slowly but inevitably separating itself from the language of England. Another century may see English broken into a number of dialects or even languages—spoken in

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7 Frank Dilnot, The New America (New York: E.P. Dutton and Company, 1919), Chapter III.

Canada, Australia, South Africa, the United States and England. The result may eventually be similar to the break-up of Latin.

In America, interest in studying the dialect was slow in getting under way. *Dialect Notes* began publication in 1896 under the auspices of the newly created American Dialect Society. However, not much progress was made in studying the new forms of American speech until the second decade of the twentieth century. In 1920 Rupert Hughes, American teacher and author, wrote in Harper's Magazine:

Let us sign a Declaration of Literary Independence and formally begin to write, not British, but United Statish. For there is such a language, a brilliant, growing, glowing, vivacious, elastic language for which we have no specific name.¹⁰

Mencken published *The American Language* in 1919 and public interest in it was great enough to cause him to re-edit it in 1921, 1923, and 1936. In 1925 *American Speech* began its publication, with Louise Pound as its first editor. George Philip Krapp published *The English Language in America* in the same year.

By the next decade, America was ready to spend money on the study of its language. Sir William Craigie, one of the editors of the *Oxford English Dictionary*, was brought to the University of Chicago to direct the publication of *The Dictionary of American English on Historical Principles*, a

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work referred to many times in Chapter II. The final volume was completed in 1944. *The Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada* was undertaken in 1934, with Hans Kurath as director, and the first section of the project, *The Linguistic Atlas of New England*, was finished in 1943.  
Similar projects for the entire country have been projected but have not yet been completed. Two of the most recent dictionaries to be compiled are *A Dictionary of Americanisms*, edited by Mitford M. Mathews, and *Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language*, edited by Joseph H. Friend and David B. Guralnik.  

It is evident from the facts reviewed above that the serious study of American English is only about a quarter of a century old. At the present time recorded material is available for a study of the speech of some parts of the country but it is exceedingly limited for many other areas. Written material for a comparative study of British and American expressions is certainly not abundant. One reason for this is that the British people themselves have done very little work in linguistic geography in their own country. Another reason is that most students have been interested either in the American idiom *per se* or in the British idiom, and few have had an incentive to do careful comparative work on both sides of the Atlantic.

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11See p. 53.
12See pp. 45 and 94.
Among English scholarly publications, Herbert W. Horwill's *A Dictionary of Modern American Usage* is an exception to the statement above. Horwill has achieved a background in the idiom of America by means of long residence in the United States. He has collected a vast amount of material concerning American English. The most valuable part of his work is that he gives the British equivalents for American expressions, not for single words only, but for compound words and phrases. His explanatory comments are interesting and valuable.

Next in point of value for a comparison of British and American words is Mencken's *The American Language*. Mencken, an indefatigable recorder of American speech, spent a good deal of time in England also, observing and recording British usage. In the fourth edition of *The American Language*, he devotes almost a hundred pages to a comparison of the two divisions of the language, including a profusion of illustrative material.

The purpose of this chapter is (1) to compile a list of American-coined compound words with their British equivalents and (2) to make a descriptive study of the observable differences. Horwill and Mencken have been used as the basic references. The files of *American Speech* have been the source of many additional terms. American compound expressions for which the British equivalent is a single term have been omitted, and similarly British compounds for which the American equivalent is a single word.
Those compounds which have made their way across the Atlantic and have been given partial or complete acceptance in England have been marked. A case in point is the compound land-slide. The term used in the British Isles was land-slip until 1888, when the American land-slide superseded it. There are other instances of this kind. The British compound terms which are heard in the United States along with the American-coined expression are also marked. An example is the word firefly which probably has as much currency in the United States as the American coinage, lightning bug.

Before beginning a comparative study of this kind, it is well to take notice of warnings given by scholars who have observed the language recently in the two countries. Thomas Pyles, author of one of the most recent books on American English, voices this warning:

Comparative lists, with British word usage on one side of the page and American equivalents on the other, are interesting to read, but sometimes misleading in the impression which they give. Such lists can be very impressive, nevertheless, because of their sheer bulk. Sometimes, however, their items may not actually represent general usage, though there is a great deal of disagreement among commentators on both sides of the Atlantic as to what constitutes general usage. Certainly some of the entries on the American side of most such lists are widely known in England (some are even in fairly wide use there), just as a good many of the expressions labeled British are known and used in America. Frequently it is simply a matter of degree . . . As we have seen, American English has preserved a number of older British usages which have never quite gone out of use in England; some of these have indeed re-entered British English by way of America, to be much more widely used in England than the compilers of different word lists lead one to suspect. Likewise, regional and local usages vary a good deal in this country, and a good many supposed Briticisms
are in wide use in particular sections of the United States, even though they may not be known in Chicago, Omaha, or Los Angeles. The following lists are presented, therefore, with the knowledge that complete accuracy is impossible. The lists will be useful nevertheless for a comparison of observable differences in form and in meaning.

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13 Pyles, pp. 224-225.
**Pairs of Compound Words**

The lists following show variations between the vocabularies of the United States and of England in regard to compounds and collocations. The words were assembled from the works of H.L. Mencken and of H.W. Horwill, and from the files of *American Speech*.

An American compound which has been accepted in England, or is being accepted, is marked with an asterisk. An English compound expression which is heard frequently in the United States is marked with the sign #.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>American</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>absorbent</td>
<td>cotton wool</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>advertising solicitors</td>
<td>advertising canvassers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alcohol lamp</td>
<td>spirit lamp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apartment hotel</td>
<td>service flat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ash can</td>
<td>dust bin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ash cart</td>
<td>dust cart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ashman</td>
<td>dustman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alleyway</td>
<td>back lane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>almshouse, poorhouse</td>
<td>workhouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anxious seat</td>
<td>penitent form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anyway *</td>
<td>anyhow #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all over</td>
<td>everywhere #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American citizen</td>
<td>British subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>American</strong></td>
<td><strong>English</strong></td>
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<td>------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>baggage car</td>
<td>luggage van</td>
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<tr>
<td>baggage tag</td>
<td>luggage label</td>
</tr>
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<td>bank account</td>
<td>banking account</td>
</tr>
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<td>broiled meat</td>
<td>grilled meat #</td>
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<td>barber's shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beat it</td>
<td>make off</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bedfast</td>
<td>bedridden #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bed lamp</td>
<td>bedside lamp #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bathrobe</td>
<td>dressing gown #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>billfold</td>
<td>note case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blacksmith shop</td>
<td>blacksmith's shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bobcat</td>
<td>bay lynx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boiled shirt *</td>
<td>starched shirt #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boneyard</td>
<td>knacker's yard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bootblack shoeshine</td>
<td>shoeblack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>broken lots</td>
<td>job lots #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>broken sizes</td>
<td>odd sizes #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bugaboo</td>
<td>bugbear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>business suit</td>
<td>lounge suit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>button-wood, (sycamore)</td>
<td>plane tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buzz-saw</td>
<td>circular saw #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cab stand</td>
<td>cab rank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cabinet member</td>
<td>cabinet minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>calling card</td>
<td>visiting card #</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>American</strong></td>
<td><strong>English</strong></td>
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<td>---------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>candy store</td>
<td>sweet shop, sweet stall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>can opener</td>
<td>tin opener (or key)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>car fare</td>
<td>tram fare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>carter shop</td>
<td>carpenter's shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chain stores</td>
<td>multiple shops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>checking account</td>
<td>banking account</td>
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<tr>
<td>check stub</td>
<td>counter foil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>check room</td>
<td>cloak room #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>checkerboard</td>
<td>chess board #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cheese cloth</td>
<td>butter muslin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chicken yard</td>
<td>fowl run, chicken run #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cigarette butt</td>
<td>cigarette end</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>city hall</td>
<td>town hall #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clipping bureau</td>
<td>press-cutting agency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>close call</td>
<td>near thing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>closed season</td>
<td>close season</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clothes pin</td>
<td>clothes peg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cold snap</td>
<td>cold spell #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>collar button</td>
<td>collar stud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(to) come by</td>
<td>(to) look in #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(to) come out</td>
<td>(to) turn out #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comfort station</td>
<td>public convenience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>common stock</td>
<td>ordinary shares, ordinary stock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>commutation ticket</td>
<td>season ticket</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>American</strong></td>
<td><strong>English</strong></td>
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<td>--------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>composition book</td>
<td>exercise book</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>congressional district</td>
<td>parliamentary division</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>consent decree</td>
<td>agreed verdict</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>consolidated ticket-office</td>
<td>joint booking office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cook book</td>
<td>cookery book</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cook stove</td>
<td>cooking stove</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>copy reader</td>
<td>sub-editor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cornmeal</td>
<td>Indian meal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>corn starch</td>
<td>corn flour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>corner lot</td>
<td>corner site #</td>
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<tr>
<td>corporation law</td>
<td>company law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>corporation president</td>
<td>company director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cottage cheese</td>
<td>cream cheese, curd cheese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>counting room</td>
<td>counting house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>county farm</td>
<td>workhouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>county seat</td>
<td>county town</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cream pitcher</td>
<td>cream jug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cub reporter</td>
<td>junior reporter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>custom-made suit</td>
<td>bespoke suit</td>
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<tr>
<td>cut-off</td>
<td>by-pass, #</td>
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<td></td>
<td>short out #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dance hall</td>
<td>dancing salon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>date book</td>
<td>engagement book, appointment book #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daylight-saving time</td>
<td>summer time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deposit slip</td>
<td>paying-in slip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>American</strong></td>
<td><strong>English</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>derby hat</td>
<td>hard hat (bowler)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>desk copy</td>
<td>office copy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dining car</td>
<td>restaurant car</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dirt floor</td>
<td>earth floor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dishpan</td>
<td>washing-up basin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>domestic mails</td>
<td>inland mails</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>domestic missions</td>
<td>home missions #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>domestic postage</td>
<td>inland postage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>door bell</td>
<td>bell push</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>door trim</td>
<td>door case, door frame #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dooryard</td>
<td>back garden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>driveway</td>
<td>private road</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drug store</td>
<td>chemist's shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drygoods store</td>
<td>draper's shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Side</td>
<td>East End</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eating club</td>
<td>dining club #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eating hall</td>
<td>dining hall #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>editorial writer</td>
<td>leader writer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elevator boy</td>
<td>liftman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>executive order</td>
<td>order-in-council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>executive position</td>
<td>administrative post</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fire bug</td>
<td>fire raiser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fire department</td>
<td>fire brigade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>first floor</td>
<td>ground floor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>first name</td>
<td>Christian name #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>American</strong></td>
<td><strong>English</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fish dealer</td>
<td>fishmonger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>floor walker</td>
<td>shop walker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frame-up *</td>
<td>trumped-up charge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>freight car</td>
<td>goods wagon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>freight depot</td>
<td>goods station</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>freight train</td>
<td>goods train</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>freight yard</td>
<td>goods yard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>freshman</td>
<td>first-year man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>funeral director</td>
<td>undertaker #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>furnishing store</td>
<td>outfitters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>garbage collector</td>
<td>dustman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>get-rich-quick scheme</td>
<td>wild-cat scheme #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go-cart</td>
<td>push-chair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grab bag</td>
<td>lucky dip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grade crossing</td>
<td>level crossing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grade school</td>
<td>elementary school #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grade-school teacher</td>
<td>elementary-school teacher #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>graduation exercises</td>
<td>prize day, speech day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gridiron</td>
<td>football field #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grocery store</td>
<td>grocer's shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hand-me-down</td>
<td>reach-me-down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>handspring</td>
<td>cartwheel #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hard cider</td>
<td>rough cider</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hard coal</td>
<td>anthracite coal #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hard liquor</td>
<td>spiritous liquor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>American</strong></td>
<td><strong>English</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hard-boiled *</td>
<td>hard-headed #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hardware</td>
<td>ironmongery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hardware shop</td>
<td>ironmonger's shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>head bookkeeper</td>
<td>accounts clerk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hell-bent</td>
<td>hell-for-leather #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hide-and-go-seek</td>
<td>hide-and-seek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hit-and-run</td>
<td>tip-and-run</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hither-and-yon</td>
<td>hither-and-thither #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hog pen</td>
<td>pig sty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hog raisers</td>
<td>pig breeders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>homestead</td>
<td>farmstead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>homework</td>
<td>home lessons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>horse sense</td>
<td>common sense #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huntsman</td>
<td>sportsman #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ice water</td>
<td>iced water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>information bureau</td>
<td>inquiry office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>initiation fee</td>
<td>entrance fee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>installment buying</td>
<td>hire purchase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>internal revenue</td>
<td>inland revenue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>investment bank</td>
<td>merchant bank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jerked beef</td>
<td>dried beef #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jumping rope</td>
<td>skipping rope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>junk heap</td>
<td>rubbish heap #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>junk room</td>
<td>lumber room</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kindergarten</td>
<td>infant's school,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nursery school #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>American</strong></td>
<td><strong>English</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kindling wood</td>
<td>firewood, matchwood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lady-bug</td>
<td>lady-bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>landslide *</td>
<td>landslide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lap-robe</td>
<td>carriage rug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lawn party</td>
<td>garden party #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>layer cake</td>
<td>jam sandwich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>legal holiday</td>
<td>bank holiday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leisure class</td>
<td>leisured class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>letter box</td>
<td>pillar box</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lightning bug</td>
<td>firefly #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>living room</td>
<td>sitting room</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>long-distance call</td>
<td>trunk call</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low gear</td>
<td>first speed #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lumber dealer</td>
<td>timber merchant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marriage certificate</td>
<td>marriage lines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marsh marigold</td>
<td>cowslip #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maybe</td>
<td>perhaps #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meadow lark</td>
<td>jackdaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monkey wrench</td>
<td>screw spanner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mourning dove</td>
<td>turtle dove #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>movie house</td>
<td>picture house (cinema)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>navy yard</td>
<td>dock yard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>news dealer</td>
<td>news agent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>news hawk</td>
<td>news hawker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
American

recitation room
required courses
right-of-way
rose bug
rough-appearing
row boat
rumble seat
sailboat
scarf pin
school ma'am
scratch pad
scrub woman
second floor
(on) second thought
setting-up exercises
sham battle
shock absorber
shoestring
sideburns
side check
sidewalk
side wheeler
sight-seeing car, rubberneck wagon
signal tower

English

class room #
compulsory subjects
prescribed subjects
permanent way #
rose beetle #
rough-looking #
rowing boat
dickey seat
sailing boat
tie pin #
woman teacher #
scrubbling block
char woman #
first floor
(on) second thoughts
physical exercises
sham fight
anti-bounce clip
bootlace
side whiskers
bearing rein
footpath
(pavement)
paddle boat
char-a-banc
signal box
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>American</strong></th>
<th><strong>English</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>silent partner</td>
<td>sleeping partner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sleeping car</td>
<td>sleeping carriage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(railroad)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soap-box orator *</td>
<td>tub thumper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soda biscuit, cracker</td>
<td>cream-cracker, biscuit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soft drinks</td>
<td>non-alcoholic beverages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soft coal</td>
<td>bituminous coal #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spark plug</td>
<td>sparking plug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>special delivery</td>
<td>express delivery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>special election</td>
<td>by-election</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sporting goods</td>
<td>sports requisites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spotlight *</td>
<td>limelight #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sprinkling can</td>
<td>watering pot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>squirrel hunting</td>
<td>squirrel shooting #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stairway</td>
<td>stair case #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(to) stand pat</td>
<td>(to) sit tight #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>station agent</td>
<td>station master</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>station house</td>
<td>police station #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>steam shovel</td>
<td>crane navvy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stem winder</td>
<td>keyless watch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stockholder</td>
<td>share holder #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stock list</td>
<td>share list</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>store clothes</td>
<td>ready-made clothes #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>store teeth</td>
<td>artificial teeth #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>street sweeper</td>
<td>road cleaner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>American</strong></td>
<td><strong>English</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>string beans,</td>
<td>French beans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>green beans,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snap beans</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subway</td>
<td>underground railway</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sugar bowl</td>
<td>sugar basin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sun-up</td>
<td>sunrise #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sun-down</td>
<td>sunset #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>switchman</td>
<td>pointsman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>switchyard</td>
<td>shunting yard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tag day</td>
<td>flag day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tailor shop</td>
<td>tailor's shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tally pad</td>
<td>scoring block</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taxpayer</td>
<td>ratepayer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>telegraph blank</td>
<td>telegraph form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tenderloin</td>
<td>underout</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tempins</td>
<td>ninepins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thumb-tack,</td>
<td>drawing pin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>push pin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ticket agent</td>
<td>booking clerk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tightwad</td>
<td>close-fisted person #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>too bad</td>
<td>a great pity #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>top notch</td>
<td>tip-top</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tower operator</td>
<td>signal man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>towerman</td>
<td>platemaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tracklayer</td>
<td>railway journey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>train ride</td>
<td>lorry driver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>truck driver</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>truck farmer</td>
<td>market gardener</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trunk line</td>
<td>main line #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>underpass</td>
<td>subway</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>variety house</td>
<td>music hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wash bowl</td>
<td>wash-hand basin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wash day</td>
<td>washing day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wash rag</td>
<td>face cloth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wash stand</td>
<td>wash-hand stand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wash water</td>
<td>washing water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wash woman</td>
<td>washer woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waste basket</td>
<td>waste-paper basket #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>water pitcher</td>
<td>water jug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weather bureau</td>
<td>meteorological office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>well-fixed</td>
<td>well-to-do #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wheel chair</td>
<td>bath chair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(an invalid's chair)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>white-collar worker</td>
<td>black-coated worker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>windshield</td>
<td>windscreen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>windshield wiper</td>
<td>screen wiper, windscreen wiper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>window shade</td>
<td>window blind #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>witness chair</td>
<td>witness box #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>work day</td>
<td>working day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wrecking crew</td>
<td>breakdown gang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>write-up *</td>
<td>description report</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Generalizations

The lists of terms presented contain approximately two hundred pairs of compound expressions. Among the observable differences between the members of these pairs of compounds and collocations are (1) semantic differences and (2) differences in form.

Semantic Differences

Probably the greatest single factor in the difference between the members of the pairs of compounds listed is the fact that in many cases one element of the American compound word has become fixed in a sense never used in England, or in a sense once used but no longer current there. An example is to be found in the American compounds which have bug as one element, such as lightning bug, lady-bug, doodle-bug, potato-bug, rose-bug and others. The term bug became generic for insects at a very early date in the United States. In England, however, the term is used for the bed-bug only, and since that insect has always carried with it a sense of opprobrium, the American compounds have fallen with something of a shock upon English ears. In England, the lady-bug is the lady-bird, the rose-bug is the rose-beetle, and the lightning-bug is the firefly. Clapin reports that when Poe's story, The Gold Bug was first published, a special edition was printed for England in which the story was re-named
Another example of a differentiation of terms is in the case of compounds put together in America with the word \textit{store} as the second element. The following couplets will illustrate the point:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>American</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>candy story</td>
<td>sweet shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chain stores</td>
<td>multiple shops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drug store</td>
<td>chemist's shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dry goods store</td>
<td>draper's shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grocery store</td>
<td>grocer's shop</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Up to the end of the last century, the term \textit{store} was used in the United States to mean a place for retail selling, corresponding to the retail \textit{shops} of England, as in the lists above. A shop in America meant a place in which articles were made and repaired; e.g., \textit{shoeshop}, \textit{blacksmith shop}. This meaning for shop has been retained, and indeed strengthened by the occurrence of the automobile \textit{repair shop}. Recently, however, a new use of \textit{shop} has arisen in the United States. Many small establishments specializing in particular lines of retail merchandise have become \textit{shops}, so that we have a new set of compounds, especially in the cities, containing among other terms, the words \textit{luggage shop}, \textit{book}

\textsuperscript{14}Clapin, p. 50.
shop, dress shop, and hat shop. This is a case of a rather recent semantic narrowing of the word shop in America so that in one of its senses it means a small retail store.  

The couplet candy-store and sweet-shop displays the fact that candy is used in the United States to indicate approximately the same product as the one called sweets in England. Corn-harvest and corn-broker are used in England for the concepts expressed in America by the compounds grain-harvest and grain-broker. This, of course, shows the result of the semantic narrowing mentioned in Chapter III, whereby corn came to mean only maize in the United States.

Semantic narrowing or widening, then, or the retention of an old word in one country, may account for the differences observable in the compounded forms under observation. Other rather striking instances of the same thing are to be seen in the lists following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>American</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>car fare</td>
<td>tram fare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chicken pen</td>
<td>fowl run</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>freight train</td>
<td>goods train</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grab bag</td>
<td>lucky dip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>graduation exercises</td>
<td>prize day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>installment buying</td>
<td>hire purchase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>junk room</td>
<td>lumber room</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

15Mencken, pp. 265-266.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>American</strong></th>
<th><strong>English</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lumber dealer</td>
<td>timber merchant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kindling wood</td>
<td>matchwood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>long-distance call</td>
<td>trunk call</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>news stand</td>
<td>book stall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>office seeker</td>
<td>place seeker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pig Latin</td>
<td>back slang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>round trip</td>
<td>circular tour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shoestring</td>
<td>boot lace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snap beans, green beans</td>
<td>French beans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stem winder</td>
<td>keyless watch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>street car</td>
<td>tram car</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wash bowl</td>
<td>wash-hand basin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wheel chair</td>
<td>bath chair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>white-collar worker</td>
<td>black-coated worker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>windshield</td>
<td>windscreen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Differences in Form within the Compound Word**

One characteristic of the American-made compound is that it is likely to be made up of two root-words; that is, previously existing suffixes or derivative endings are likely to have been dispensed with. This is by no means always the case, but it is true often enough to warrant observation. A study of the collection of couplets in the lists presented above will reveal that the American compound, more generally than the British one, has sloughed off inflectional and
derivative endings from its members. The present participial form in the first element of a compound word is of more frequent occurrence in England than in the United States, where the verb, stripped of its -ing is likely to be used. Thus a banking-account in England corresponds to a bank-account in the United States, and no one can be sure from the American form whether the word bank which remains is a verb, or whether it is a noun, in the sense found in "an account kept in a bank." The couplets below are of the same nature. One cannot be certain whether the American compound is noun-plus-noun or verb-plus-noun, although the paired English form would seem to indicate that all were originally participle-plus-noun combinations, reduced by the dropping of the participial ending.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>American</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>spark-plug</td>
<td>sparking-plug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sail-boat</td>
<td>sailing-boat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dance-hall</td>
<td>dancing-hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>work-day</td>
<td>working-day</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The next list shows the same dropping of participial ending in the American form, but in these instances the word remaining is more clearly a verb.
The two American terms wash-day and wash-water belong to a list of innumerable compounds with wash which are popular in the United States; e.g., wash-cloth, wash-room, wash-rag, wash-pan, wash-house, wash-boiler, wash-tub, wash-board, wash-stand, and wash-woman (which has recently become wash-lady in a euphemistic or grandiloquent vein). It is rather strange that the terms washing-powder and washing-machine have retained the participial ending. Retention of the ending is not invariably characteristic of this group of words in England. Horwill lists wash-boiler, wash-tub and a few others. 16

There is still another list of couplets in which the English compound shows a participial ending while the American form has shifted to another word. Some of these are shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>American</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ticket-agent</td>
<td>booking-clerk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scratch-pad</td>
<td>scribbling-block</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

16 Horwill, p. 344.
The word *moving-picture*, coined in America, was reduced quickly to *movie*. *Talking-pictures* became *talkies*. The British have held out until recently for *cinema* except in some cases; e.g., *picture-theatre*. Recently the term *movie* is said to be gaining ground in England.  

On the other hand, the word *filling-station*, so universally used in the United States, is a case showing the opposite tendency, that is, the retention of the -ing ending, with no apparent likelihood of reduction, either to *fillie* (as parallel for *movie*), or to *fill-station* (as a parallel to *wash-day*). Other examples can be found easily for the American acceptance of the present-participle within the compound. There are even a few in which the American form has the participle while the British form has a word without an ending. Such a case is the American word *swimming-suit* (or *bathing-suit*) which is *swim-suit* in England. The bowling-alley of the United States is the *skittle-alley* of England. Our

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17 Mencken, p. 95.
daylight-saving time is summer-time there.

Yet the examples tend, in their very numbers, to indicate that there is a certain intolerance in America of the *ing* ending within the compound and an inclination to get away from it in favor of the word in its simplest form. Horwill suggests that this may represent an influence of the German language upon English:

There are similarities, to say the least, between American and German practice in the compounding of words; e.g., the omission of the hyphen in *coworker* (cf. *Mitarbeiter*) and the preference for *cook-book* (cf. *Kochbuch*) and *sail-boat* (cf. *Segelboot*) over the English *cookery-book* and *sailing-boat*. Americans, too, speak not of a *barber's shop* but of a *barber-shop* (cf. *Barbierstube*).

Interesting examples can be shown of the loss of the *er* ending in America. *News-hawker* apparently was reduced in America to *news-hawk* and *washer-woman* to *wash-woman*. There are also many examples of the loss of the genitive ending; e.g., the English *barber's shop* vs. the American *barber-shop* (mentioned by Horwill), and the English *blacksmith's shop* vs. the American *blacksmith-shop*. The seven couplets listed below further indicate the dislike for the genitive ending within the compound in America:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>American</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>carpenter shop</td>
<td>carpenter's shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tailor shop</td>
<td>tailor's shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drug store</td>
<td>druggist's shop or chemist's shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grocery store</td>
<td>grocer's shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boneyard</td>
<td>knacker's yard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>push cart</td>
<td>peddler's barrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>life boat</td>
<td>ship's boat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drygoods store</td>
<td>draper's shop</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of course there is a group of compound words in which the 'a ending is retained in the United States. Most of these are rather old-fashioned words such as Job's tears, cat's cradle, yet some are neologisms such as those listed in Chapter II. Many have lost the apostrophe; e.g., Teachers College, lambs-quarter. In time they may lose the a.

Another interesting instance of the tendency in the United States to reduce the members of a compound to their simplest form is to be seen in the case of the sloughing off of past participial endings. Ice-water is such a firmly established word in the United States (and such a universally used commodity), that it is a little surprising to find that the form iced-water is used in England. Ice-cream is a word used on both sides of the Atlantic at the present time, yet this compound began its existence as iced-cream. Its earliest written occurrence was in 1688 in England. The ed ending was dropped after 1769 and the form ice-cream

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19 OED, s.v. ice-cream.
became established in England. Ice-cream may have been the only form ever used in America. A heavy stress on the second element, or a nearly level stress on both elements has prevailed until recently in the United States. With the younger generation the pronunciation is now quite generally ice-cream (just as with ice-water), indicating its use as a fully consolidated form with heavy stress on the first element. Some observers are of the opinion that the stress varies geographically rather than with the age-groups.

On the other hand, iced-tea and iced-coffee are still written with the ed ending. In the case of iced-tea, the close nature of the juncture makes the word sound like ice-tea (and probably it often is that). In the case of iced-coffee, the ending gets more attention. Tossed salad is another compound word in which the ed is being lost. The form toss salad is sometimes seen on menus. It is very probable that most ed endings within the compound word will disappear. They seem to be dropping off in direct proportion to the frequency of use of the product designated.

In dialect areas of the United States the past participial endings within compound words are abandoned with amazing rapidity. In the Territory of Hawaii, a large part of the population has a non-English speech background in the sense that foreign languages and pidgin English have influenced the phonemes and grammatical structure of the speech.

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20 DAE, p. 1297.
used. The people are much less conscious of morphological and syntactic considerations than are speakers whose linguistic background is Indo-European. They are, however, native-born citizens of the country and speakers who use English as a first language. In the speech of the average citizen of Hawaii, the ed ending within a compound has small chance for survival, and the slow process shown in the evolution of ice-cream from iced-cream in England is accelerated to an extraordinary degree. Thus a confection of Chinese origin named puffed rice is pronounced puff-rice, with a strong stress on puff. This is in interesting contrast to the case of the commercial boxed cereal sold on the mainland of the United States, which started out under the trade-name Puffed Rice a quarter of a century ago and has shown no signs of becoming anything else as yet, in the pronunciation of the people there.

Another delicacy with the children of Hawaii is cracked seed, which is also of Oriental origin. This is regularly pronounced crack-seed. It is beginning to be written in the shortened form. A large sign on the front of a store in the Moiliili section of town displays the words Crack-seed Center. A close competitor of "crack-seed" in Hawaii is "shaved-ice." This is usually written shaved-ice, but is spoken with as much disregard for the written endings as a Frenchman shows for the fossilized orthographic appendages in his language. Residents of Hawaii who are of Mainland origin also say "crack-seed" frequently, although they seem to be more
conservative in saying "shaved-ice." It may be because "crack-seed" is the older and more used product in the Islands.

**Two Favorite Compound Patterns in America**

In the list of couplets given earlier, it is easy to find numerous examples of a type of compound found on both sides of the Atlantic, i.e., the noun-plus-noun combination on the pattern of *flag-pole*. Here, in the selected list following, are pairs of such combinations, in their American and their English forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>American</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>business suit</td>
<td>lounge suit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>collar button</td>
<td>collar stud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>composition book</td>
<td>exercise book</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>corporation law</td>
<td>company law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>floor walker</td>
<td>shop walker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>information bureau</td>
<td>inquiry office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>junk heap</td>
<td>rubbish heap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lap robe</td>
<td>carriage robe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The difference between American and English compounds of this pattern is largely a matter of frequency. In America this pattern is extremely popular, in England, much less so. The type has had a certain vogue in the United States in recent years. Horwill points out that there is danger of

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21 Horwill, p. xxvi.
inexactness in the careless use of this pattern. There is at times no way of telling the meaning of the expression except by context. For example, in the two compounds pupil guidance and teacher guidance (from the language of American education), the reader cannot be sure who is being guided, although he guesses from the context that the child is the recipient in both cases. 22

In spite of its shortcomings, this compound is probably the favorite of all compound types in the United States today. It is particularly popular in the field of advertising. Anna Granville Hatcher, of Johns Hopkins University, has made a study of this particular American phenomenon. She comments on it as follows:

Among the innovations in word-formation that have arisen in the technical and official language of our times, one of the types most characteristic of the language is that represented by noun combinations such as milk scarcity, skin condition, food value, and shoe colors, in which the second noun (B) names some aspect (some quality, condition, situation) of the first noun (A). . . . These examples reflect the commercial, scientific (and pseudo-scientific), sociological, economic aspects of our world today. . . . Indeed the keynote of this type of expression in general is a concern with efficiency and success. 23

Although Miss Hatcher speaks of the type above as an "innovation in word-formation," she goes on to trace its origin to the English of another period.

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22 Horwill, p. xxvi.

23 Anna Granville Hatcher, "Twilight Splendor, Shoe Colors, Bolero Brilliance," Modern Language Notes, LXI (1946), 442-443; hereafter referred to as "Twilight Splendor."
Most of the examples of this utilitarian type [of compound] are a product of the last decade. But the logical relationship which they illustrate ("a condition or aspect B is classified as predictable of A") is to be found of noun combinations from the time of OE gumcyst, "man(ly) virtue." Shakespeare speaks of \emph{vulture folly} . . . and the Victorian poets give us such expressions as \emph{city gloom} and \emph{twilight splendor} (Tennyson) . . .

Miss Hatcher does not believe that all noun combinations used in commercial advertising stem from the Victorian poets. She explains as follows:

It is, of course, only too obvious that the poetic \emph{twilight splendor} and the commercial \emph{shoe colors}—that Swinburne's \emph{flower breath} and Life Buoy's \emph{body odor} represent two quite different inspirations: two treatments, provoked by different needs, of the relation between a phenomenon and some aspect thereof. The technical and official types we have been considering do not trace their origin back to the poetic device—nor do they need any "origin" for their explanation; like many quite new types of noun combinations to be found in modern journalism, they have come about simply as the result of an increasing desire to classify, to label (and the formation of compounds is, fundamentally, a classifying procedure) the various aspects, particularly the technical and the social, of modern civilization.

In Chapter V the compound composed of two nouns will be discussed further.

Another type of compound which has shown a marked development in the United States is the noun compound composed of a verb plus an adverb, exemplified by the word \emph{try-out}. A noun of this kind develops from a verb phrase by a process often spoken of as \emph{conversion}, i.e., the conversion

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24 Hatcher, p. 444.
of a verb into a noun. In this case, the compound *try-out* developed from the verb phrase *to try out*. The verb phrase always antedates the compound word. The verb combination may be used for years, perhaps centuries, before a compound noun develops; for example, the expression *to try out* was used in England in Elizabethan times, as in the sentence "We should try that out carefully." Yet the compound noun was never coined in England. Centuries later, in America, people began saying "Come to the *try-out* for the play." This compound noun proved to be so useful that it has now come into use in England through American example.26

A compound noun is not invariably made from a verb phrase. For example, the expression *to work up* is used in colloquial speech in the United States, as in the sentence, "I ought to *work up* that material into a dress." Yet no noun compound has been formed, i.e., we cannot say "The dress is a *work-up*.”

A number of observers of the language have taken notice of the increase of verb phrases in the United States and of the subsequent coining of noun compounds. William Fowler, writing in 1850 of the English language in America, called attention to "certain colloquial phrases, apparently idiom­atic and very expressive, as to *cave in*, to *flare up*, to *flunk out*, to *fork over*, to *hold out*, to *let on*, to *stave

26 Horwill, p. 335.
In the present century Mencken made note of "a swarm of verb-phrases" of American origin: to fizzle out, to peter out, to blank down, to go back on, to light out—and, as products of the Westward Movement, to pan out, to rope in, to crack up, to do up, and to go through.28

Listed below are a number of verb phrases of American coinage, pointed out by Horwill. In the middle column are the noun phrases which have developed from them. In the column to the right are the British equivalents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb phrases of American origin</th>
<th>Noun compounds developed from the verb phrases</th>
<th>British equivalents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to shut down</td>
<td>a shut-down</td>
<td>a closing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to slip up</td>
<td>a slip-up</td>
<td>an error</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to tie up</td>
<td>a tie-up</td>
<td>a stoppage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to try out</td>
<td>a try-out</td>
<td>a test, a trial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to walk out</td>
<td>a walk-out</td>
<td>a strike</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Compounds such as those in the middle column above are increasing rapidly in the United States today. They seem to be particularly American in flavor. They are especially popular in the field of technology (e.g., know-how), and in the world of sports (e.g., kick-off). What has been said about this expression should not be taken to mean that there is no such compound in England. On the contrary, the verb-plus-


28Mencken, p. 142.
adverb is an old pattern in the language. The case is rather one of frequency. In America the pattern occurs with great frequency; in England, less frequently. This compound type will be given fuller treatment in Chapter VI.

In summary, this chapter has listed a large number of compound words current in America along with the corresponding compounds used in England, for the purpose of observing the differences between the two sets. A study of the lists indicates that the compounds are different in two ways, (1) in semantic differences brought about frequently by a narrowing or widening of meaning in one of the countries, and (2) in the form of the compound members, the American elements tending to be reduced to the simplest form possible.

Following this comparison, two popular types of compounds in America have been given special consideration, (1) the combination of two nouns and (2) the combination of verb and adverb.
CHAPTER V

THE USE OF THE ATTRIBUTIVE NOUN IN COMPOUNDS

Anyone who makes a study of the history of the English language becomes aware of the fact that, while Old English was largely a synthetic language, Modern English is largely an analytic one. In Old English the relationship of words in a sentence depended heavily upon inflections, or modifications in the forms of words, to indicate distinctions of case, gender, person, tense, voice, mood, or other grammatical features. Modern English, on the other hand, depends upon prepositions, auxiliary verbs, and upon the order of words in the sentence for indications of the relationships of words within the sentence, and hence of meaning.

Modern English has some of its inflections left, however, and at times the present-day speaker has a choice between using an inflected form and using a syntactic device for the expression of one and the same idea. For example, a speaker may say the man's arm or the arm of the man. In regard to inanimate objects, he may say the table's top (although this form is not much used today), or he may say the top of the table. He has a third choice, however, for he may also say the table top. Table top, a compound which functions as a noun, is composed of two nouns, the first standing in
attributive position in respect to the second. Thus, in making a change from the expression the top of the table to the compound word, the table top, the speaker has eliminated two words—the preposition of and one occurrence of the article the. He has used an expression which has in its favor the quality of being compact—of taking up less space in the printed line than the five-word expression, the top of the table. Partly because of the constant pressure exercised by the need for economy of space in the editorial rooms of newspapers and magazines, the compound expression exemplified by the table top has become a favorite one in recent writing in America.

It will be the purpose of this chapter to study the nature of the attributive noun as a member of compounds, and to try to arrive at a conjecture as to what may be the effect of its rapidly increasing popularity upon the syntax of American English. Whereas Chapter IV was an analysis of form, Chapter V is a semantic analysis and a study of frequency.

Horwill, the British scholar, makes note of the fact that the compound type just described is increasing in America much more rapidly than in England.¹ In a passage already referred to in Chapter IV he points with some concern to the looseness of reference in this expression, noting that child guidance and teacher guidance both mean "the guidance of the child." He notes too that child command does not mean giving

¹Horwill, p. xxvi.
orders to children but the command of the child over the tools. The crux of the difficulty, of course, is that once the noun has been shifted to the attributive position, the reader or listener must guess as to what the expanded phrase would have been—for example, in the compounds above, "the guidance of the child," "the guidance by the teacher," and "the command of the child over the tools."

The traditional textbook of grammar gives no hint of the recent increase of words within this particular pattern, but occasionally a descriptive linguist takes note of it, as has Bryant in the lines below:

The [modern] English noun has one living inflection, the letter -s, which is used for both the plural and the possessive, having the spellings s, es, 's, and es'. . . . and the sounds [s], [z], and [z] . . . . English has no alternative way of forming a possessive other than the of phrase, which is being replaced more and more by expressions like beef soup, chair cover, executive order.

The critics who dislike the attributive noun as a compound member make a point of blaming it on what they term trends in "press English." It is true undoubtedly that the constant need to conserve space exerts a great deal of pressure on the writers and re-write men of a modern newspaper; they will shift words about in any possible way to save inches of valuable paper. Yet it seems impossible that the newspapers should be the sole cause of the rapid multiplication of this pattern of compounding in America. For one thing, the constant use of the pattern in the literature of

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2Bryant, p. 238.
psychology and of education, as noted in Chapter III, suggests that there are other reasons for its popularity. Certainly in textbooks of an educational nature there is no urgent need for compression of the phrase for reasons of economy of space. It seems much more likely that the new terms (attention span, grade level, reading readiness, parent participation, teacher reaction, etc.), form an occupational jargon of a sort, giving a consciousness of professional unity and solidarity to the group which uses them.

Another reason for the popularity of the attributive noun in the compound is the vogue for compactness of expression. McDonald gives an instance of a way in which the reduction of the long expression to the short one comes about. A professional group began its existence under the name, "Society for the Promotion of Education in Engineering," but became dissatisfied with the cumbersome title and changed it to "Engineering Education Society," a name which fits into the pattern of the short club-names in vogue in the twentieth century.

The compound made up of attributive noun-plus-noun is more often used with reference to something inanimate than to something animate. One can say the table's top, the top of the table, and the table top, but one cannot parallel this

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3See p. 104.

sequence with the man's head, the head of the man, and *the man head. If one says the human head, the expression is obviously different; it has changed to the adjective-plus-noun combination.

The following sets of examples are given for the purpose of exploring this differentiation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inanimate reference</th>
<th>Animate reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>the car's cushions</td>
<td>the boy's book</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the cushions of the car</td>
<td>the book of the boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>car cushions</td>
<td>*the boy book</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the store's windows</td>
<td>the girl's hat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the windows of the store</td>
<td>the hat of the girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>store windows</td>
<td>*the girl hat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the chair's legs</td>
<td>John's shirt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the legs of the chair</td>
<td>the shirt of John</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chair legs</td>
<td>*the John shirt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the box's top</td>
<td>Mary's voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the top of the box</td>
<td>the voice of Mary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the box top</td>
<td>*Mary voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the book's cover</td>
<td>the man's integrity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the cover of the book</td>
<td>the integrity of the man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the book cover</td>
<td>*man integrity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the wagon's seat</td>
<td>the boy's extravagance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the seat of the wagon</td>
<td>the extravagance of the boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the wagon seat</td>
<td>*boy extravagance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the stove's lid</td>
<td>the chicken's feathers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the lid of the stove</td>
<td>the feathers of the chicken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the stove lid</td>
<td>chicken feathers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5 Starred forms are hypothesized forms.

6 The examples given are not necessarily either neologisms or Americanisms.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inanimate reference</th>
<th>Animate reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>the island's scenery</td>
<td>the duck's eggs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the scenery of the island</td>
<td>the eggs of the duck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>island scenery</td>
<td>duck eggs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the room's temperature</td>
<td>the teacher's training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the temperature of the room</td>
<td>the training of the teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>room temperature</td>
<td>teacher training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the scene's beauty</td>
<td>the student's participation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the beauty of the scene</td>
<td>the participation of the student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*scene beauty</td>
<td>student participation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the country's wealth</td>
<td>the child's welfare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the wealth of the country</td>
<td>the welfare of the child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*country wealth</td>
<td>child welfare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the proverb's truth</td>
<td>the man's power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the truth of the proverb</td>
<td>the power of the man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*proverb truth</td>
<td>man power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the nation's might</td>
<td>the girl's ambition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the might of the nation</td>
<td>the ambition of the girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*nation might</td>
<td>*girl ambition</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A number of observations can be made from these sets of expressions. (1) When both nouns used in the compound are inanimate and material, the compound form can be made regularly (e.g., the first seven sets of expressions in the left-hand column). (2) When the first noun of the expression refers to a person and the second to a material object, the compound cannot be made (e.g., the first three sets of expressions in the right-hand column). (3) When the first noun of the expression is animate but not human and the second refers to something of a material nature, the compound can be made regularly (e.g., chicken feathers, duck eggs, cow hide, horse hair). (4) When the second noun is abstract, the compound cannot always be made, or perhaps
has not yet been coined. Hatcher noticed this point when she made a note of the fact that a speaker may say room temperature but may not say *room condition, and that the term will power is used but not *imagination power. Similarly it seems, from the lists above, that student participation and child welfare are possible compounds but that *man integrity and *scene beauty are not.

Steven Byington, a long-time observer of American English, looks with alarm upon the rapid increase of the noun-plus-noun compound in America. He says, writing for American Speech:

The headlines have a trick of syntax that is perhaps even more a matter of routine with them than the selection of the shortest word: they displace almost every "of" by the attributive position of the noun. They do, indeed, jettison other prepositions too . . . but as yet the general mauling of prepositions in the headlines shows no signs of being likely to affect the usage of the language elsewhere . . . With "of" it is different. [It] is attacked along a broader front.

Byington gives as an example the recently coined death chair (that is, recently coined in 1926), which may have been created on the analogy of death bed, coronation chair, and work table. This compound, he believes, is not entirely bad, since it is concrete; however, the abstract death threat is, to him, far less excusable because it has no parallel in

7 Hatcher, "Twilight Splendor," p. 444.

8 Steven T. Byington, "The Attributive Noun Becomes Cancerous," American Speech, II (1926), p. 34.
Byington is distressed about the effect of the current trends upon the younger generation in America.

After twenty years of headlines and after a new generation had grown up, this style seemed normal to them and it began to appear in the body of stories. It is now used, not as a convenience for space-saving, but as the only style which presents itself. . . . [It is] an idiom which has taken root as part of the native language of a generation.

Byington admits that the attributive noun is not unknown in England. He points out that it was used by Shakespeare, with a beautiful effect, in the following lines:

Those are pearls that were his eyes:
Nothing of him that doth fade
But doth suffer a sea-change
Into something rich and strange. 10

Byington fears that British speakers may get the habit of using these attributive noun combinations on a grand scale, as Americans are doing. His remarks below are of interest because of the light they throw upon the increasing popularity of Americanisms in England.

Since the War [World War I] the British have shown a surprising readiness to adopt Americanisms; and this particular Americanism, as we have seen from its spread among ourselves, is as contagious as the measles. That the new usage spreads by print rather than by voice, that its foci of infection are in the quarters to which the man in the street looks for his standard of correctness, that it spreads from the literate to the unlettered and not vice-versa, all these give it a prestige which the leaderless masses

9 Ibid., p. 37.
10 The Tempest I.ii.396.
are not likely to resist... It will be a miracle if England does not surrender as we have surrendered. 11

A quarter of a century has passed since Byington wrote with such concern about the attributive noun. In the meantime another generation has grown up and the new compound is taken entirely as a matter of course. It has even been the subject of scholarly work. The American most interested in studying this particular compound pattern is Professor Hatcher of Johns Hopkins University, who has been quoted repeatedly in this thesis. Unlike Byington, she is able to see good qualities in the form. A part of the analysis of what she calls appositional compounds is repeated below:

The great frequency today of appositional compounds in an inanimate reference is largely a phenomenon of journalistic literature (including advertising);... As a matter of fact, there may be noted an increase of appositional compounds of animate reference—again in journalism... It is well known that with compounds in general we find the development AB < B of A taking place today on a grand scale (circulation of the blood > blood circulation, etc. ... ) Why not, then, derive such compounds as island fortress from "a [veritable] fortress of an island;" traffic barriers from "the barriers of [represented by] traffic;" ... to which other examples might be added by analogy? Again, we could imagine "a beauty of a bag" (> bag beauty), "a classic of a suit" (> suit classic), and, perhaps, "a charmer of a coat" (> coat charmer). And such a development would be in line with current tendencies in the language, being a part of the general movement: B of A > AB. 12

11 Byington, p. 38.

12 Anna Granville Hatcher, "Modern Appositional Compounds of Inanimate Reference," American Speech, XXVII (1952), 3-7; hereafter referred to as "Modern Appositional Compounds."
Professor Hatcher presents an analysis of the subtle difference in meaning between B of A (guidance of the child) and AB (child guidance), a difference touched upon earlier in this chapter. In the same analysis she notes that, while the expression B of A is limitless as to coinage, AB expressions are limited; i.e., many of the possible AB compounds from B of A phrases have not yet been used (are as yet "uncoined"). The following passage gives the development of these concepts:

It will be, of course, basically the same difference as that found, with all types of compounds, between AB and B of A (blood circulation vs. circulation of the blood, will power vs. power of will, living cost[s] vs. cost of living); the formula AB lays great stress on "official classification." This is obviously the emphasis also of the journalistic tariff barriers (vs. "the barriers of tariff"), the commercial bag beauty (instead of "a beauty of a bag"), and of the new type victory wheel, tax clock—which contrasts so sharply with the poetic "wheel of fortune," "wine of victory." It is true that a similar emphasis may be present with B of A (state of war, state of matrimony—which still refuses to become *war state, *matrimony state)—but it is always present with the compounds AB. For, while the possibilities for creation within this appositional formula are enormous, they are not limitless, as are roughly speaking, the possibilities of B of A; such an expression as "the state of," for example, could accommodate innumerable variations. But the only compound with state of which I know is marriage state: there is no *confusion state, *despair state, nor, to my knowledge, have such expressions as "a sense [impression] of futility" or "a feeling of boredom" given way to *futility sense or *boredom feeling; compare also hardship case but no *misunderstanding case. All the examples of our compound AB, then, represent technical or official expressions (or imitations thereof); by the procedure of condensation we arrive at a handy formula by which we may isolate and label (uniformly) for the purpose of convenience and easy disposal, a distinct and familiar phenomenon (or one which we would present as such) which is considered as a
"factor" of our social or professional existence. Thus time element simply gives an official seal to the relationship contained in element of time (while, e.g., element of uncertainty has yet to be "recognized" officially with the formula *uncertainty element) but in both we find the semiautological procedure of referring the specific to the general.13

Since the AB compounds dealing with the abstract tend to take on a connotation of the professional, and of the generalized and permanent, it is an easy step to an understanding of the value of the AB compound in advertising. In dealing with an abstract quality in his products, the manufacturer of shoes is quick to sense that the compounds foot comfort, foot ease, and foot luxury in his advertising will help to promote the very connotation of desirability and of perfection that he is so eager to encourage. The exigencies of space on the printed page of the advertising section of the paper are met at the same time. Space-saving is less important, however, than the other factor—the power of these compounds to give a subtle connotation of desirability. They work constantly toward the building up of confidence in the product. This factor will be given more extended consideration in Chapter VII, a chapter devoted to the study of compounds found in current advertising, particularly in the New York Times.

To generalize at this point, it has been shown (1) that the conversion of the prepositional phrase represented by the

formula \( B_{of}\ A \) to the compound \( AB \) is taking place at the present time with great rapidity, (2) that the compounds so far created have by no means exhausted the possibilities—that this conversion may go on for a great many years, and (3) that the resulting \( AB \) compounds, although they have encountered resistance from some critics in the past, have been welcomed by many people in the professional and business world because of two qualities in which they are accounted superior to the \( B_{of}\ A \) phrase (at least to those who find it advantageous to use them). These two qualities are (a) the quality of brevity and (b) the capacity for expressing a sense of the professional on the one hand and a sense of the desirable on the other.

The second part of this chapter will be devoted to the statement of a conjecture as to the possible effect upon the language of the large-scale multiplication of compounds of the type formulated by \( AB \), e.g., child development from the development of the child.

The conversion represented in the \( AB \) compound is not always a conversion from a \( B_{of}\ A \) phrase, but often from a \( B_{for}\ A \) phrase, a \( B_{by}\ A \) phrase, or from other prepositional phrases. For example, bath house may be considered to be "derived" from the house for (taking) baths, and teacher guidance from guidance by the teacher. As Mr. Byington pointed out, the "onslaught" is not against the \( of \) alone although that preposition is the one most often eliminated; many compounds represent the conversion of other prepositional phrases.
It is important to notice that the change from B of A (a syntactic arrangement of words) to AB ("a short, grammatically manipulable substitute for a longer expression") is a shift from the realm of syntax to the realm of morphology. The compound word tends to wear down to the word with a suffix in time, as a result of the habit of English to stress the first element and to unstress the second (e.g., queenly, which was once queen-ly "queen-like"). Thus the change from B of A to AB will result in time in a drift back toward the inflectional, i.e., away from the analytical. In other words, if thousands of new compound words are formed, many with identical words for the second element (as in the sequences given in Chapter VII), the second element will in time wear away to a suffix, in line with the history of compound words in English. The observation is worth noticing because of the fact that the main drift of English has been toward the analytical during the period of Modern English.

George Kingsley Zipf of Harvard University has made a study of the frequency of occurrence of different words in English which may be of significance in the present instance. The material for his study was a sampling of newspaper English, made by R. C. Eldridge. A sampling for a language study involving frequency is said to be statistically 

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14 See p. 51.  
15 See p. 8.  
significant if it contains 10,000 words or more.  

The sampling which Zipf used contained 43,989 words in all. It represented the occurrence of 6002 different words. From his computation of the frequency of occurrence of different words, Zipf concludes that there is a high degree of orderliness in the distribution of words in the stream of speech and writing in American English. He calls this orderliness the **standard curve of English**.

Zipf's concept of the curve of frequency in English, briefly stated, is as follows: It is possible to conceive of the words in the vocabulary of the English language as ranked in the order of their frequency of use, e.g., the first most frequent word, the second most frequent, the third most frequent, the five-hundredth most frequent, and so forth. When the words of English are ranked in the order of frequency of occurrence, the "wave length" of the words can be computed. The "wave length" of a word in the stream of speech (not to be confused with the wave lengths of physics), is the average number of words which fall between its successive occurrences, i.e., the "wave length" of the most frequent of all words in English—the article the—is 10. In other words, between any two successive occurrences of the article the in English, there falls an average of 10 other words. Stated in slightly different form, one out of every 11 words (approximately) in the stream of English in America is the. The second word in

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frequency is the preposition of, which has a "wave length" of 20. That is, between every two successive occurrences of the preposition of, an average of 20 other words will occur, or, stated differently, the preposition of occurs approximately once in every 21 words. The third word in frequency has a "wave length" of 30, the fourth one of 40, the fifth of 50, and so on, following the equation n-th word equals 10 n. The most frequently occurring twenty five words in American English, standing in the order of their frequency, are as follows:

1. the 6. a 11. it 16. he 21. from 2. of 7. is 12. on 17. will 22. have 3. and 8. that 13. by 18. his 23. has 4. to 9. for 14. be 19. as 24. which 5. in 10. was 15. at 20. with 25. not

An interesting aspect of this curve of distribution is that Zipf is able to show at least two other languages with curves which are similar. It will be of value to give the words of Zipf in this connection:

In saying that the "wave length" of the n-th word in 10 n, we are speaking in terms of a harmonic series; hence, in this sense, English is a harmonic language nearly over its whole extent. Plautine Latin is harmonic up to about its 40 most frequent words, . . . If one plots similarly the frequencies for the Chinese of Peiping, one obtains a line falling between Latin and English in the upper ranges, but more nearly approaching English than Latin.  

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18 Zipf, p. 131.
19 Zipf, p. 46.
Zipf's conclusion, in full, is as follows:

The high degree of orderliness of the distribution of words in the stream of speech points unmistakably to a tendency to maintain an equilibrium in the stream of speech between frequency on the one hand and what may tentatively be termed variety on the other.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of this high degree of orderliness in the distribution of words in the stream of speech is this: we select and arrange our words according to their meaning with little or no conscious reference to the relative frequency of occurrence of those words in the stream of speech, yet we find that words thus selected and arranged have a frequency distribution of great orderliness which for a large portion of the curve seems to be constant for language in general. The question arises as to the nature of meaning or meanings which leads automatically to this orderly frequency of distribution. Whether this question can ever be completely solved quantitatively is probably doubtful, for meaning or meanings do not lend themselves to quantitative measurement. Yet, by the isolation of other factors which can be measured, we may gain a considerable insight into the nature of meaning, and perhaps finally apprehend something of its nature and behavior.20

In summary, if we assume that the standard curve of Zipf is a reality (or that other similar word-counts are valid),21 and if we believe that compounding on the AB pattern is taking place on a very large scale, then it is obvious that the compounding is certain, in time, to disrupt this curve of distribution. Such a conclusion seems inevitable because of


21It is not necessary to believe in the validity of Zipf's symmetrical wave lengths to understand the implications of this chapter. Other word counts have been made, e.g., by Gates and Thorndike of Columbia University. In all counts, the words the, of, for, by, etc., stand close to the top of the list of all words in English in frequency.
the fact that the very words which are eliminated from the
stream of speech by the AB conversion (i.e., the words the
and of, and to a less extent the prepositions for, by, from,
and others), are the words which stand highest in Zipf's
scale of distribution. If they are eliminated in great
numbers, there are two possibilities which may result, (1)
the curve of distribution will be changed, or (2) the
speaker will find other ways of putting in the "lost" words
to restore the balance. Since Zipf believes that the regu-
lation of the distribution is a more or less automatic thing
with the speaker, the second possibility may happen, and a
redistribution may be made.

At any rate, a word computation made from another
sampling of American English fifty years from now may give
an answer to the question: Is word compounding taking place
on a scale which is likely to disturb the frequency distri-
bution of the words in the language?
CHAPTER VI

THE NOUN COMPOUND COMPOSED OF VERB AND ADVERB

In addition to the compound-type discussed in the last chapter, there is another noun compound which is particularly popular in American speech. This expression tends to be colloquial and colorful. Its structure is verb-plus-adverb, exemplified by the thoroughly American term drive-in. The concept covered by this short expression is a long one, which may be defined as follows: "an eating place where motorists may drive up close, park, and be served in the car." It again demonstrates the use of "a short, grammatically manipulable substitute for a longer expression"—the kind of naming or tagging that is going on continually in America today.¹

The expression tryout is another such compound which has gained a place in American speech because of its usefulness. It covers a concept impossible to suggest by simple nouns such as test or trial. In this case, the usefulness and compactness of the term have been recognized in England and it has been taken over as an acceptable Americanism.²

¹See footnote 9, p. 51.
²See page 156.
Compounds of this nature represent the second step in a linguistic process. The first step is the use of a verb phrase such as to try out, rather than merely to try. The adverb (or preposition) is added in cases where the single verb is felt to be too general to cover the concept intended. For example, to test is not specific enough to cover the meaning of the locution "to hold a competition for the purpose of determining the best persons for the parts in a play."

To try out, in the transitive sense, has come to cover such a concept ("The director tried out actors for the part"), and in the intransitive sense, to cover the concept, "to compete with others for a part in a play."

After such a verb phrase as to try out has been used for some time, a noun compound (or an adjective compound) may develop, as happened in the case of the noun tryout. There is usually a space of time between the coining of the verb phrase and the appearance of the noun compound; there may be a lapse of many years. Furthermore, it is of interest to notice that many possible noun compounds are never made at all. For instance, in the vocabulary of telephoning, the verb phrase to call up is exceedingly common. ("Call me up tonight."
"I'll call him up in the morning.") Yet the entirely possible noun compound a call-up has never been evolved, as far as the writer has observed. Rather, a single noun of some kind is used. ("Give me a ring--a call--a buzz.")

The very fact that there is a time-lag between the appearance of the verb phrase and the noun compound will be
of interest in the development of this chapter, since a great many more verb phrases than noun compounds have been coined in America. Again, as in the case of the compound involving the attributive noun, the yet uncoined compounds give food for conjecture.

The purpose of this chapter is (1) to observe the nature of the noun compounded by the juxtaposition of verb and adverb, (2) to examine evidence of its rapid multiplication in America, (3) to consider a conjecture as to its influence upon the language, and (4) to present a collection of words of this pattern and study them particularly with reference to levels of formality and dates of first appearance.

Around the middle of the nineteenth century, William C. Fowler of the faculty of Amherst College was counted as one of the most diligent observers of the American branch of the English language. Fowler was often extremely critical of developments in America, yet, in regard to the development in question, he was not uncomplimentary when he described it in an article entitled "American Dialects," which appeared as a chapter of the volume The English Language published in New York in 1850. The verb-plus-adverb phrase was apparently increasing observably at that time, for Fowler commented upon "... certain colloquial phrases, apparently idiomatic and very expressive, as to cave in, to flare up, to flunk out, to fork over, to hold on, to let on, to stave off, to take on."³

³See p. 157.
During the twentieth century, the development resulting in verb phrases and noun compounds of the pattern described has had many observers. Mencken has already been mentioned in this connection and his comment about "... a swarm of verb-phrases of American origin," has been quoted. More recently, Bryant has taken particular note of the verb-adverb compound. She calls attention to the fact that, although the linguistic habits of English do not often cause its speakers to originate compounds that function as verbs, yet a great many verbs figure as members of compounds. "A very common current type," she says, "is the noun compound formed of the parts of a merged verb, such as pay-off, kick-back, lock-out, hold-up." 

Bryant also takes note of a similar type, in which the adverb is in the initial position, juxtaposed to a verb in the second position, as in the case of income, downpour, output, upkeep, undertow, upsurge, undersigned. She makes the observation that the adverb-plus-verb pattern is less modern than the reversed type, but that examples of it are still actively produced.

Very much to the point is an article which appeared in American Speech for April, 1947, under the somewhat mathem-

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4 See p. 157.
5 Bryant, pp. 298-299.
6 Ibid., p. 299.
Although signed by Professor Edwin Hunter of Maryville College, it is actually the collaborative effort of a group of teachers and students in the Department of English at Maryville. The purpose of the project, as stated by the authors, is "to demonstrate . . . the facility with which phrasal groups coalesce and become integral elements of the English vocabulary." The writers make no attempt to limit their word-collection to Americanisms.

The colloquial nature of the compounds under discussion is so well set forth in this article that some of the text should be quoted here.

The type dealt with here is the combination of verb and adverb which results in a substantive element (verb + adverb = noun). Many of these, indeed most, are on a level below that of accept­ance as part of the standard vocabulary. But they are all, we believe, in current use, on various levels of the language. Sports, industry, journalism, politics, the jargon of salesmen and promoters, and general colloquial, vernacular, and slang account for most of them. There are a few which are firmly established in the standard vocabulary, e.g., castaway, farewell, go-between, passover, runaway.

The article by Hunter and his associates contains a list of 223 compound words which conform to the pattern verb-plus-adverb. After each word an indication is given of the level of usage or the field of endeavor in which the term is used. "Level of usage" and "field of endeavor" are taken to be

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8Ibid., p. 115.
mutually exclusive in the tabulation, i.e., both the level of usage and the field of endeavor are never given for the same word, a point which seems a little illogical. The collaborators have not made any effort to indicate the relative age of their compound terms, nor to indicate which originated in England and which were coined in America. Indeed, a careful check of the origin of such compounds is difficult to make, for little has been done in the way of research in this particular area. The results of tracing these words are often surprising. For example, the terms bang-up and get-up have an American ring, yet both are actually British in origin. On the other hand, many terms which are quite familiar to the ear from daily speech or to the eye from the pages of the local newspaper (such as blaze-up) are not listed in any dictionary except perhaps a dictionary of slang.

The scholar next to be quoted is Arthur G. Kennedy, professor of English philology for many years at Stanford University. In an article entitled "The Future of the English Language," he analyzes the verb-plus-adverb compound and offers a guess as to the influence its rapid increase may have upon the language itself. Kennedy goes back of the compounds and discusses the verb phrases from which they have sprung. Some of his observations are given in the following paragraphs.
In the use of words and phrases, certain striking tendencies can be observed in Current English and these may play an important part in the development of the English of the future. During the past three or four centuries the earlier practice of forming compound verbs like outrun, overtake, withstand has almost altogether given way to the present very common method of combining a verb and a prepositional adverb somewhat loosely to accomplish the same ends, as in give out "fail," pull out "depart," give in "yield." By combining the more commonly used verbs of English, such as give, put, lay, get, and bring, with some sixteen combining particles like in, out, over, up, by, on, off,—it is possible to express a great variety of ideas with a relatively limited vocabulary. Hence there is a growing avoidance of many special verbs such as recover "to get over," exhaust "to use up," examine "to look over," and this disuse of such verbs threatens to cut down the active vocabulary of English very materially during the next few generations.

More serious yet in its encroachment upon the vocabulary of English is that process of "conversion" whereby one form can be employed as various parts of speech—noun as verb or adjective, or verb as noun, etc. . . . The verb-adverb combination is often converted in this way, such a combination as clean-up not only replacing verbs like reform but serving as a noun in the latest cleanup and as an adjective in cleanup days. . . .

If these . . . linguistic processes continue to hold a prominent place in the expression of ideas in English, it will result ultimately in a very marked decrease in the number of separate word-forms required to express our thinking. Is it possible that in the centuries ahead the English language may experience a reduction of vocabulary similar to the breaking down of its earlier more elaborate inflectional system? The accumulation of inflectional forms of noun, pronoun, verb, and adjective had become so cumbersome that the English people grew weary of the load, apparently, and dropped most of them in favor of syntactic uses—phrases, word order, etc. But since that sloughing off of inflection took place, the words comprised in the English dictionary have increased from some thirty thousand to a present-day half million, roughly, and now it begins to look as though the difficulty of keeping in mind a great number of different words will be met by juggling about a relatively limited number of
familiar words, just as the inflectional burden was eased through the improved methods of utilizing uninflected forms syntactically. This is at least an interesting matter to speculate upon.⁹

Kennedy's speculation—that the burden of remembering half a million words is great enough to make speakers of English prefer to juggle about a relatively small number of the easier ones—is an interesting idea to consider. Clark, however, makes the observation that all speech and writing in America has become more colloquial as a part of the increasing democratization of the nation. Even at the level of public speaking, phraseology has become more informal.¹⁰

The fashion at the present time is for the educated American to speak in a more relaxed manner than would have been possible a century ago. The fact that shorter, less pretentious words are now the style in America (and conversely that "high-brow" words are considered a mark of affectation), is probably a better reason for the shift to the verb-adverb phrasal unit and the verb-plus-adverb compound than the reason given by Kennedy. A comment by Louise Pound, written as part of the foreword to The American Thesaurus of Slang by Berrey and Van den Bark, will show her stand on the question. Although the examples she cites in this instance do not include the particular compounds under discussion, they do include the phrasal unit beat it which is of the same

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¹⁰Partridge and Clark, p. 211.
colloquial character as the verb phrases discussed earlier.

The older love for sonorous mouthfilling words, replaced by our present preference for the terse and vigorous, may be illustrated by such an evolution as that from early nineteenth-century "absquatulate" replaced in the Civil War period by "skedaddle" and in the twentieth century by "skidoo" to our present day forceful . . . "scram" or "beat it." . . . Present day writers of fiction rely more and more on colloquial informality of expression. 11

It may be of interest to drop back for a moment to the idea touched upon at the end of the last chapter—that the rapid increase of the compound involving the attributive noun (the table top replacing the top of the table) might result in a disturbance of the frequency distribution of the words in the language, as worked out by Zipf. The multiplication of the attributive-noun compounds results in the loss of some of the most frequently used words, listed on page 173. These words, it will be remembered, are also the shortest words in the language. However, the increase in occurrence of the verb-adverb phrase and the verb-adverb compound (so far as these replace longer and more learned words) results in the addition of some of the same kind of words as those eliminated by the attributive-noun compound, i.e., the short one-syllable words of the nature of prepositions, adverbs, etc. Indeed, some of the words gained by the verb-adverb combinations are the same words as those on Zipf's list, namely to (used

in lean-to, set-to), in (used in drive-in, fill-in, throw-in), and by (used in stand-by).

It seems entirely possible that, although many of the words of the highest frequency may be subtracted by the increase of one compound type, other short words of the same nature may be added by the increase of other compounds, so that the balance may be restored, or approximated. Although the words most frequently eliminated by the attributive-noun compound (the and of) are not restored by the verb-adverb combinations, yet other short words such as up, out, off, and in are increased in frequency. The end result is not likely to be a positive decrease in frequency of the shortest words of the language, but rather a shifting in the positions of those which stand near the top of the list, that is, a change in relative frequency only. This is at least a possibility. As one type of compound eliminates short words, another kind re-introduces them.

To summarize at this point, there has been in America a noticeably increased use of the verb-plus-adverb phrase to express ideas which were formerly expressed by a single verb; e.g., a speaker is more likely to say "I will stand by you, my friend," than "I will sustain you." The new expressions have been termed colloquial, expressive, and uniquely American by a number of observers. From these phrasal units, in many cases, noun compounds have been coined; e.g., the coinage made from the expression above is stand-by--"My friend is my stand-by." Kennedy has observed the trend with
interest and has suggested that the multiplication of this pattern may result in a decrease in the number of longer and more learned words used in English. It seems possible, therefore, that the added influx of short, particle-like words may have an influence upon the frequency distribution of the various words in the stream of speech.Oddly enough, this process of compounding adds short words, while the process described in Chapter VI eliminates them.

The next step in the study of this compound pattern (the type exemplified by drive-in), is the examination of specific words. There are at least two ways in which to study the words themselves. One is to consult a thesaurus of slang as a source of lists of examples. Certainly this is the most immediately productive method. The number of verb phrases listed (e.g., to play up), is very large. Some of these verbal units have produced noun compounds, but hundreds of them have not yet done so.

Another method of studying specific words is to collect a list and then check them through several dictionaries. The collection of such a list involves scanning newspapers and magazines and noting examples from conversations and from public addresses. After this the student should try to discover whether each word on his list has been recognized by one of the dictionaries. Dictionaries which should be consulted are of four kinds: (1) a thesaurus of slang; (2) an up-to-date unabridged dictionary; (3) a dictionary of Americanisms on historical principles (i.e., one which gives
the date of coinage), such as the DAE or the DA; (4) the Oxford English Dictionary, in cases in which the word is actually of British coinage. Lists made by both methods will be given here. The lists taken from a dictionary of slang will be given first.

The American Thesaurus of Slang by Berrey and Van den Bark is the result of a collection of words and phrasal units made by Professor Berrey at Los Angeles City College with the assistance of many faculty members and students. Van den Bark added a collection of his own to the total aggregation. The work was done between the years 1931 and 1942. The result is an amazingly large accumulation of words and expressions from current American speech, grouped in the fashion of a standard thesaurus, with some necessary modifications in headings. 12

The words in the lists below are the merest samplings from the Berrey collection. They are intended to be suggestive only. Further studies might well be made to follow up in detail some of the trends suggested by the entries in the book. The writer has here selected, quite arbitrarily, the two concepts to enter and to depart and has listed compound slang expressions from the thesaurus under each heading. It is interesting to notice the fact that many expressions meaning to enter are in the form of verbal units which may be analyzed as verb plus the adverb in. On the other hand,

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12 See footnote, p. 94.
many expressions meaning to depart are combinations of verb plus the adverbs out or off. Examples of such expressions are given in the lists following. However, the same expressions sometimes have other meanings which are considered standard or colloquial, e.g., to check in meaning to register.

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<tr>
<th>To enter</th>
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<td>to barge in</td>
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<td>to shove off</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>to shuffle off</td>
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<td></td>
<td>to start off</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>to step off</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>to take off</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here we have a collection of verb phrases which seem to deserve their rating as slang. Yet some of them are beginning to make their way upward toward standard speech. Four or five of them have developed noun compounds which have attained some degree of standing in the language, e.g., check-in ("His check-in was at six o'clock."); take-off ("When is the take-off of the plane due?"); send-off ("Let's give them a big send-off."); fade-out ("The fade-out of the movie was
romantic.

Probably fully half of the other verb phrases above are converted at times into nonce-constructions such as "Let's do a shove-off," (or "a push-off," or a "check-out.")

One of the interesting aspects of the study of such expressions is that they are anything but static. The verbal units themselves are hovering below the level of good usage, yet most of them are heard in surprisingly good circles. Judging from the past, many of them will become standard. Noun compounds will be made from many of them. Such an area could be called an incubator of language growth.

The examples to be given next show noun compounds from the same thesaurus of slang, one list expressing the concept of improvement and two lists conveying the idea of deterioration. In these instances up is the adverb chosen to express improvement, while both down and out are used to express deterioration.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Improvement</th>
<th></th>
<th>Deterioration</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>build-up</td>
<td>break-down</td>
<td>conk-out</td>
<td>honk-out</td>
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<td>hike-up</td>
<td>come-down</td>
<td>fade-out</td>
<td>peg-out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>look-up</td>
<td>fall-down</td>
<td>fan-out</td>
<td>peter-out</td>
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<tr>
<td>perk-up</td>
<td>let-down</td>
<td>fizz-out</td>
<td>play-out</td>
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<tr>
<td>pick-up</td>
<td></td>
<td>fizzle-out</td>
<td>poop-out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>step-up</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>taper-out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shine-up</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the lists above the inference might be drawn that up in a compound tends in general to give the connotation of "good" or "better." The following lists show the adverb up in expressions with a decidedly different connotation.
Of all the adverbs used as the second member of verb phrases or of compounds, the adverb up is probably the one which occurs the most frequently and the one with the widest variety of meanings. A study of all the possible meanings and shades of meaning of up in its many possible combinations has never been made, to the knowledge of the writer.

A collection on a higher level of usage is now to be presented for study. Most of the compounds in the lists following are above the level of slang. Many are labeled "colloquial" by the dictionary, but the majority stand in entries without a tag as to the level of usage, indicating that they have arrived at the level considered standard. Because dictionary ratings are to be used in this study, it will be to the purpose to see how the dictionary itself defines the levels of usage. Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language, which is to be the basic reference in the study, gives the following definitions: Colloquial—"having to do with conversation--belonging to words, phrases,
and idioms characteristic of conversation and informal writing." Slang—"colloquial language that is outside the conventional or standard usage and consists of both coined words (blurb, whoopee) and those with new and extended meanings (rubberneck, sap). Slang develops from the attempt to find fresh and vigorous, colorful, pungent, or humorous expression and generally (1) passes into disuse or (2) comes to have a more formal status."

Since noun compounds of the verb-adverb pattern ending with the adverb up are especially numerous and interesting, they have been selected for special study. Similar studies could be made of compounds ending with down, in, out, off, on, over, away, around, about, and other words. One example is perhaps sufficient for the purpose of showing the nature of these words, and for the purpose of this thesis, which is to show general trends in compounding rather than to pursue such trends into all their ramifications.

The list below was collected by the writer over the period of a year and a half, from written and oral sources. Newspapers and magazines were the chief sources. The front page of almost any current newspaper will yield one or two of these words daily. The sports page will yield more, as will also the radio section and sections dealing with modern technology. Examples heard in conversation, on the radio, and in public addresses were added to the list. A number of words were added from the Hunter collection, referred to on page 180. Some words were added during a study of the dictionaries
mentioned in the next paragraph.

The collection of seventy-eight compounds thus assembled was then studied with the purpose of finding out whether each term had gained recognition in a standard dictionary, and if so, to what level of usage it had been assigned. The *Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language* is particularly good as a basic reference for such a study because its editorial policy is more liberal than that of older dictionaries, and therefore it contains a larger number of neologisms than a more conservative dictionary. A part of the statement of editorial policy follows:

Vocabulary entries should comprise much more than the customary literary, scientific, and technical word stock. There is hence a generous proportion of the idiomatic expressions, the phrasal units and the compounds in which our speech abounds, whose meaning cannot well be learned from the definitions of the individual components (for example, *act of God*, *black market*, *call into question*, *drive-in*, *hand up*).\(^{13}\)

After each compound listed had been traced through the *Webster's New World Dictionary*, it was traced in turn in the *DAE* or the *DA*, to see whether it was listed as an Americanism. The *DA* was relied upon more than the *DAE* because its publication date is the later of the two. When a word failed to appear as an Americanism, the *Oxford English Dictionary* was next checked. In some cases, given words proved to be of British origin. In several cases, words were not to be found in any of the books consulted. Such words stand with no entries

\(^{13}\) *Webster's NWD*, p. vii.
in the lists below. Those, however, which were listed in
the Hunter collection are marked H.

A Study of the Verb-Plus-Adverb Pattern of Compound
(Showing compounds ending with up)

Abbreviations used:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>WNWD</td>
<td>Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DA</td>
<td>Dictionary of Americanisms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAE</td>
<td>Dictionary of American English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OED</td>
<td>Oxford English Dictionary (British reference)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obs.</td>
<td>obsolete</td>
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<tr>
<td>colloq.</td>
<td>colloquial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>a word which appeared in the Hunter list</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v.p.</td>
<td>verb phrase (e.g., to try out)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.</td>
<td>noun (e.g., a try-out)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>adjective (e.g., the try-out results)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*</td>
<td>earliest dating found for the word-combination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#</td>
<td>compounds which were probably coined in America, (since they were not listed in the OED).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Compound Word</th>
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<th>DA or DAE</th>
<th>OED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>adj. 1 meaning slang</td>
<td>adj. 1825</td>
<td>adj. 1812*</td>
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<td>n. 2 meanings 1 colloq.</td>
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<td>v.p. 1660*</td>
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<td>n. 4 meanings</td>
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<td>v.p. 1795*</td>
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<td>v.p. 2 meanings</td>
<td></td>
<td>v.p. 1600*</td>
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<td>n. 1 meaning slang</td>
<td>n. 1927</td>
<td>v.p. 1400*</td>
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<td>Compound Word</td>
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<td>--</td>
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<tr>
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<td>not listed</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
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<td>catch-up</td>
<td>v.p. 5 meanings</td>
<td>n. 1844</td>
<td>v.p. 1325*</td>
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<td>n. 2 meanings</td>
<td>n. 1866*</td>
<td>2 meanings</td>
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<td>--</td>
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<td>v.p. 1602*</td>
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<td>n. 1904</td>
<td>v.p. 1475*</td>
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<td>--</td>
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<td>v.p. 1 meaning</td>
<td>--</td>
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<td>n. 1873</td>
<td>v.p. 1385*</td>
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<td># fold-up</td>
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<td>2 meanings</td>
<td>v.p. 1633*</td>
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<td>v.p. 1794*</td>
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<td># frame-up</td>
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<td>2 meanings</td>
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<td># fresh-up</td>
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<td>--</td>
<td>(v.p. 1874 &quot;to freshen up&quot;)</td>
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<td>v.p.</td>
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<td>push-up</td>
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<td>put-up</td>
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<td>v.p. 1847</td>
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<td>round-up</td>
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<tr>
<td>set-up</td>
<td>n. 4 meanings</td>
<td>v.p. 1848</td>
<td>v.p. 1330*</td>
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<tr>
<td>shake-up</td>
<td>n. 1 meaning</td>
<td>n. 2 meanings</td>
<td>v.p. 1430*</td>
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<td>slick-up</td>
<td>not listed</td>
<td>v.p. 1828*</td>
<td>v.p. 1836</td>
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<td>slip-up</td>
<td>n. 1 meaning</td>
<td>v.p. 1854*</td>
<td>v.p. 1856</td>
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<td>slow-up</td>
<td>n. 1 meaning</td>
<td>v.p. 1881*</td>
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<tr>
<td>smash-up</td>
<td>n. 3 meanings</td>
<td>n. 1856*</td>
<td>n. 1858</td>
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<td>speed-up</td>
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<td>adj. 3 meanings</td>
<td>n. 1897</td>
<td>v.p. 1122*</td>
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<td>step-up</td>
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<td>v.p. 1920</td>
<td>v.p. 1225*</td>
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<td>stick-up</td>
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<td>n. 1881</td>
<td>v.p. 1422*</td>
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<td>take-up</td>
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<td>talk-up</td>
<td>v.p. 1 meaning</td>
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<td>team-up</td>
<td>not listed</td>
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<td>think-up</td>
<td>v.p. 1 meaning</td>
<td>v.p. 1885*</td>
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<tr>
<td>tie-up</td>
<td>n. 2 meanings</td>
<td>v.p. 1530*</td>
<td>n. 1714</td>
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<tr>
<td>tilt-up</td>
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<td>n. 1842</td>
<td>v.p. 1607*</td>
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<td>obs.</td>
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<td>n. 1842</td>
<td>v.p. 1604*</td>
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<td>toss-up</td>
<td>n. 2 meanings</td>
<td>v.p. 1588*</td>
<td>n. 1891</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td># touch-up</td>
<td>v.p. 1 meaning</td>
<td>v.p. 1715*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td># tune-up</td>
<td>n. 1 meaning</td>
<td>v.p. 1701*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td># wake-up</td>
<td>n. 1 meaning</td>
<td>v.p. 1837*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>colloq.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td># walk-up</td>
<td>n. 1 meaning</td>
<td>v.p. 1804*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>colloq.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>adj. 1 meaning</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td># warm-up</td>
<td>n. 1 meaning</td>
<td>n. 1883</td>
<td>v.p. 1848*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>colloq.</td>
<td></td>
<td>US*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>adj. 1 meaning</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>colloq.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wash-up</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>n. 1887</td>
<td>v.p. 1751*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>n. 1869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>adj. 1884</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wind-up</td>
<td>n. 2 meanings</td>
<td>v.p. 1205*</td>
<td>n. 1665</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 colloq</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>write-up</td>
<td>n. 2 meanings</td>
<td>n. 1885</td>
<td>v.p. 1425*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 colloq</td>
<td></td>
<td>n. 1887</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Generalizations**

A study of the entries made by several different dictionaries for the seventy-eight compound words in the lists above reveals a number of significant facts. Those of particular interest to the present thesis have to do with
(1) the level of usage assigned to the words by the American
dictionary most recently published, and (2) the relative age
of the compound words, as compared to the verb phrases from
which they have sprung, and (3) the evidence contained in the
OED as to which compounds were coined in England.

Before summarizing the facts concerning the level of
usage assigned to the compound words, it is well to review a
statement previously touched upon—the theory advanced by
Webster's New World Dictionary that slang words either pass
into disuse or come to have a more formal status in the lan­
guage. The lists above could be expected to produce words
on several levels, i.e., (1) words so new that they have not
been entered in the standard dictionary, (2) words which
have passed out of usage (become obsolete), (3) words assigned
the rating of slang, (4) words assigned the rating of collo­
quial, and (5) words adjudged to belong to standard usage.

Of the seventy-eight words, seven are not listed by any
of the references given. They are blaze-up, call-up, change­
up, link-up, match-up, push-up, and team-up. Four words have
passed out of usage and are marked obsolete, i.e., die-up,
lev-up, tilt-up, and tip-up. The ratings assigned to the
rest of the words can best be shown in chart form.

| Number of compound words in the study | 78  |
| Number of separate meanings            | 87  |
| Number of meanings marked slang        | 10  or 11% |
| Number of meanings marked colloquial   | 21  or 24% |
| Number of meanings rated as standard   | 56  or 65% |

\[14\] See p. 191.
Combining the groups marked *slang* and *colloquial*, it is evident that 35% of these expressions are held to be below the level of standard usage, while 65% are rated standard. This seems to be a refutation of the statement of Hunter, quoted on page 180 of this chapter, in which he says "Many of these [compounds], indeed most, are on a level below that of acceptance as part of the standard vocabulary." All of Hunter's examples (of the type *verb-plus-the-adverb-up*) were included in the lists above. Thus it appears that either Hunter misjudged the level of his examples, or the dictionary has lowered its standards concerning this pattern since 1947, when the Hunter article was written. However, the outcome of the count is in line with the view, quoted from the *WNWD* on page 191, that expressions such as these tend gradually to gain an established place in the language.

As to the second aspect of the study, the relative age of the compounds, it is well to review again a few facts concerning the dictionaries used—for one thing, the fact that two types of dictionaries are being used. The *WNWD* is a current dictionary which makes no attempt to set a date for the first appearance of a word. The *DA*, the *DAE*, and the *OED*, on the other hand, are dictionaries compiled on historical principles; i.e., they set a date for the first written appearance of each word (and usually for several subsequent appearances). Most words, of course, have existed in the spoken language for a long time before they have appeared in print. Since the *OED* (the British reference), is very
comprehensive, it can be assumed that compound words on the list above which are not claimed by it as British coinages are probably American coinages.

By this reasoning, of the seventy-eight compound words in the study, fifty-four must have been American coinages, since twenty-four are claimed by the OED as British coinages. Of the older British compounds, the one which is the oldest of all in this pattern is wind-up. It first appeared in print in the Holy Citie by Bunyan in the year 1665. The excerpt from the text reads "This New Jerusalem shall be the wind-up of the world." The oldest compound used adjectivally on the list is (oddly enough) pin-up. It appeared in the London Gazette in 1677 in the fragment quoted by the OED, "One black Sarsenet Pin-up Petticoat." The oldest verb-phrase entered to explain the compounds (the verb-phrases being in a kind of parental relationship to the compounds), is to stand up, which appeared in the Old English Chronicle in 1122.

An analysis of the dates of the OED show clearly that the verb phrases antedated the compound words by a long space of time. The oldest verb phrase antedates the oldest compound word by over 500 years (from 1122 to 1665).

The manner in which these compounds are increasing can be seen from the chart below. This seems to be a confirmation of the statements made by Fowler, Menoken, Bryant, and Kennedy, quoted in the first part of this chapter, that compounds on the verb-adverb pattern are increasing very
rapidly. (Compounds referred to are only of the verb-plus-

Compounds coined between 1600 and 1699 2
Compounds coined between 1700 and 1799 4
Compounds coined between 1800 and 1899 24
Compounds coined between 1900 and 1952 42

Considering the fact that only a half of the twentieth
century has gone by, the rate of growth of this pattern is
very rapid.

To summarize, it has been shown by the sample study (1) that compounds of the type under observation (the verb-plus-

up), in a majority of cases, have been taken into the standard vocabulary of American English, if one relies upon the
judgment of Webster's New World Dictionary; (2) that the
majority of the compounds on this pattern have been of
American origin, although the verb phrases from which they
have sprung are very old in England.

It has been pointed out also that a thesaurus of slang
contains a great many additional examples which have not yet
been considered seriously enough to be entered by WNWD, even
under the label of slang. As a kind of word which is "making
its way up," as Mencken expressed it,\textsuperscript{15} the verb-plus-adverb
compound is a fruitful field for further study.

\textsuperscript{15} Mencken, p. 558.
CHAPTER VII

INVENTION, PROLIFERATION, AND VOGUE IN COMPOUNDING

The invention of an absolutely new word which meets with sufficient popular favor to be adopted into the language is not a frequent occurrence. Some linguists have held that it is extremely rare. Jespersen was of the opinion that it was not so rare as it was usually supposed to be. He found many instances of invention in the speech of children.\(^1\) Gray and Wise have pointed out instances of successful invention.

Kodak is said to have been Mr. Eastman's version of the camera click; zoom is onomatopoetic; Nabisco is an acrostic from National Biscuit Company; etc. Lewis Carroll's chortle (possibly a portmanteau word based on chuckle, since the nearby gallumphing looks like a blend of gallop, jump, and perhaps puff), Gelett Burgess' blurb and van Helmont's gas have become permanent additions to the language.\(^2\)

The invention of a new compound word is, of course, much less rare than the invention of a single word. If a new combination of words is strikingly successful at catching the fancy of the American people, or if it gets wide currency by means of the radio or through advertising, it may become the prototype for a great number of offspring. A familiar

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\(^2\)Gray and Wise, pp. 497-498.
instance is the succession of terms which followed the appearance of the name Rose Bowl. The intense interest in the Rose Bowl games of California resulted in a widely practiced duplication of the idea in other states and a succession of terms on the pattern of the magic name. Some of the compound names which followed were Cotton Bowl, Sugar Bowl, Pineapple Bowl, and the Hawaiian version, Poi Bowl. The term Dust Bowl, used to designate certain unfortunate states of the Union, was an anti-climax in the proliferating process. It is to be noticed that in these successive coinages the second term of the compound remains constant, while the first varies.

In the field of international politics, the term iron curtain was the prototype for a number of similar terms. Probably the one with the widest use at present is bamboo curtain. Two local adaptations of this pattern (which seems to be an international one), have come to light. One is from Yugoslavia and the other from Hawaii. In Writer's Digest for April, 1953, there is an account of a woman of German descent who lived in Yugoslavia. After an experience in prison in the Ukraine she escaped. She recounted her flight in these words: "Several years later I slipped through the 'green curtain,' as we call the forest and pasture frontier, into East Germany and from there into West Germany." The green

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^ Poi is a staple food of the Hawaiian people, made from the root of the taro plant.

^4 See p. 109.
Curtain apparently lies between Yugoslavia and East Germany.\(^5\)

Across the world from Yugoslavia, Hawaii has its own version of this expression in the compound lauhala curtain, which has appeared repeatedly in the newspapers during 1952 and 1953.\(^6\) It is used in local politics in word-battles between the Democrats and the Republicans when one side accuses the other of putting up a lauhala curtain for the purpose of carrying on conferences closed to the public.

Another cluster of compounds was introduced by the term corn belt, which appeared in 1882. This was followed by wheat belt, cotton belt, storm belt, and mosquito belt.\(^7\) When Mencken added the term Bible Belt in 1925 (another example of an outright coinage by one man), the term slipped over into the metaphorical.\(^8\) One of the most recent accretions is blizzard belt, coined in 1949 to designate the five midwestern states which were marooned for a time by an unusually severe snowstorm.

Starting presumably from the slang expression slap-happy, there was a mushroom growth of similar compounds in the period just after World War II.\(^9\) Some of these were:

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\(^5\)"The Lady or the Censor," Writer's Digest, XXXIII (1953), p. 15. The German term for the line of demarkation between the Russian Zone and the Western Zone has since 1945 been die grüne Grenze (the green border-line).

\(^6\)Lauhala is a mat-like material woven from the leaves of the hala or pandanus tree.

\(^7\)Horwill, p. 27.

\(^8\)DA, p. 110.

The meaning of -happy in the compounds above (as defined by *American Speech*) is in some instances "bored, fed-up, slightly goofy, jittery," e.g., *island-happy, battle-happy.* In other instances it is "showing an extreme interest in," e.g., *rank-happy (officers), souvenir-happy (G.I.'s).* In fact, the second meaning seems to be almost the antithesis of the first.

Although the casual observer may be inclined to pass these off lightly as "zany," a second look will show that this is actually an interesting development, in that it is a compound functioning as an adjective, struck off on the noun-plus-adjective pattern. The adjective standing after the noun is always a rare pattern in English. Again it is an example of compression. The expanded phrase from which *battle-happy* was "derived" might be extended to half a dozen or more words, i.e., "fed-up and jittery from too many battles."

The term *air-borne* is not an Americanism in itself, yet it became the model for a long list of American war terms which sprang up principally during the period from 1943 to 1944. These terms, widely used in newspapers and magazines,

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10 *Air-borne, according to the OED, dates back to 1641 in England.*
included carrier-borne, foot-borne, glider-borne, mule-borne, insect-borne, and rat-borne. The term chair-borne, in the phrase "the chair-borne troops in the Pentagon," was a witty climax to the set. This final twist into the humorous is a regular feature of the progress of clusters of compound terms in America. The American G.I. takes particular delight in adding the humorous climax.

Bryant observed that, although compounds functioning as verbs are infrequent in English, verbs serving as members of compounds are very numerous. An example can be found on the shelves of the modern grocery store where the -mixes have proliferated almost beyond bounds. The sequence must have started from cake-mix, a noun-plus-verb compound serving as a noun. This neologism stood for a new idea in America, the scheme of tossing the measured ingredients of a cake together and selling them thus prepared to the American housewife. The product and the word rose in popularity together, and from this beginning there is today a bewildering number of mixes. Frequently an entire shelf, and sometimes an entire section, of the modern "supermarket" is given over to the ready-made mixes. A representative store yielded the compound terms listed below.  

\[\begin{align*}
    \textit{cake-mix}, & \\
    \textit{shelf-mix}, & \\
    \textit{chop-mix}, & \\
    \textit{bake-mix}, & \\
    \textit{stir-mix}, & \\
    \textit{mix-mix}. & \\
\end{align*}\]

\[\text{Bryant, p. 298.}\]

\[\text{The compound terms listed were taken from the shelves of the Chun Hoon Kaimuki Market, Honolulu, Hawaii, April 25, 1953.}\]
Someone has tried to start a new pattern by coining the name *Dixie Fry* for a certain new batter mixture, to be used in the preparing of fried chicken. The connotation of the term is forceful, with its telescoped metaphor, which, expanded might read, "a batter to make it easy for you to fry chicken which is just like the famous Southern fried chicken."

This is an example of the power of suggestion possible in the cleverly compounded name of a product. It is exactly this connotative force that has made the compound word an effective tool in the hands of the commercial advertiser.

The combination *Dixie Fry* recalls the far older *fish fry*, an Americanism which first appeared in print in 1830. *Fish-fry* and *clam-bake* were compounds coined to designate activities or social functions, and hence they could not be called the prototypes, semantically, of the recent mixes.

A recent popular favorite is the term *coffee break*. Here it is to be noticed again that the expression and the thing named have risen to popularity together. The expression carries the meaning that the day's work is broken by the drinking of coffee. Additional connotations are that the

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13 *DAE*, s.v. *fish-fry.*
drinking is usually done with other people and always with pleasure. The term is frequently seen in print, as in the case of the following excerpt taken from the Honolulu Star Bulletin for March 2, 1953.

While some employers fret about the business institution known as the "coffee break," one company has been aiding and abetting the custom. Each morning for the past two years, this firm has served each of its 100 employees a cup of coffee and a piece of pastry--on the house!

The term coffee break has been duplicated in the vocabulary of the college campus by the expression semester break, used to designate the free time between semesters. It is possible that this term might have stemmed from the break in a dance program. The term has taken on an additional adjectival form in semester break camp, an expression which means a retreat to which the students may go to shake off every thought of books, term papers, and professors. The expression has been so frequently used, at least at the University of Hawaii, that it is in the process of being reduced. A notice reading Break Camp January 27--Sign Up Today appeared on classroom bulletin boards during the week of January 19-24, 1953. This is a curious example of an expression which has taken on a meaning almost exactly the opposite from the meaning once held by the same words. In the days of the Old West, the words to break camp, used as a verb, meant to end an encampment. In the bulletin just quoted, the expression meant that the camp would begin on January 27.

Many observers of language have watched with amusement the proliferation of the pseudo-compound hamburger. This
word can be analyzed into two parts: Hamburger (the name of a city in Germany), plus the suffix -er. Thus Hamburger is not a compound at all but a derived word. When it first appeared in connection with a kind of food in America, it was used to designate meat only, the Hamburg steak. By a later development the word hamburger, without capitalization, came to be fixed upon the familiar hot bun sandwich made with ground meat. The sandwich has become as typically American as Coca Cola. Consequently, in recent years, wherever GI's have been sent they have managed to concoct something in the semblance of a hamburger. By a process of false etymology, the two parts of the word have been taken to be ham and burger. One of the first offspring, when the duplicating process began, was the cheeseburger. One of the most exotic was the gazelleburger. The story of this word is that a certain American sergeant, stationed in northern Iran, shot two gazelles one day, ground up the meat, mixed it with Spam, and sold sandwiches made from the mixture as gazelleburgers. On the other side of the world, a similar idea flashed through the mind of another American service man stationed in the Philippines and he turned out caraburgers, made of caraboa meat.

A collection of "hamburger progeny," assembled from Taylor's The Language of World War II and from American

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14 Webster's s.v. hamburger.
15 "Among the New Words," American Speech, XIX (1944), 308.
Speech is given below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>beanburger</th>
<th>fishburger</th>
<th>porkburger</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>beaverburger</td>
<td>gazelleburger</td>
<td>potatoburger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beefburger</td>
<td>glutenburger</td>
<td>rabbitburger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buffaloburger</td>
<td>healthburger</td>
<td>raisinburger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caraburger</td>
<td>horsemeatburger</td>
<td>seagelburger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cheeseburger</td>
<td>jamburger</td>
<td>spamburger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chickburger</td>
<td>lambburger</td>
<td>shrimpburger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chickenburger</td>
<td>Mexiburger</td>
<td>turtleburger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chuckburger</td>
<td>nutburger</td>
<td>whaleburger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cornburger</td>
<td>pigburger</td>
<td>whinnyburger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dogburger</td>
<td>pickleburger</td>
<td>wineburger</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The term sandwich has been the object of the same kind of false etymology which began the proliferation of the hamburger group. The true origin of the term is in the name of the Earl of Sandwich, a man who is said to have been unable to leave the gaming table long enough to sit down for lunch, and thus to have been induced to invent the portable meal which bears his name. Recently in America this word has been taken to be a compound (as, of course, it was in the beginning, since it was composed of sand plus wick "village"), and it has become the progenitor of a group of offspring such as spamwich, turkeywich, duckwich, and others.17

Examples of this tendency toward invention and subsequent proliferation are legion. Those given here can serve only as key examples of the linguistic activity which goes on

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16 The issues of American Speech between 1939 and 1944 carried many notes on the proliferation of hamburger. See particularly the reference in the note above.

17 "Among the New Words," American Speech, XIX (1944), 302 and 308.
in America continuously, whereby words such as *jitterbug* are invented, are repeated over the length and breadth of the land, and are soon followed by their echoes, coined by analogy. The cluster of terms centering in *jitterbug* reflects the spirit of joy with which the Americans play upon this linguistic possibility. On the analogy of *jitterbug* American speakers have coined *glitterbug* as a name for a member of the Hollywood set, and *litterbug* to designate the person who scatters papers and trash about. The camera fan has been called a *shutter-bug*. It is amusing to notice that the British themselves have coined a term upon this pattern. It is a *chatterbug*, used to denote a civilian who spreads military information. This instance is all the more surprising in view of the fact that the term *bug* has been considered an off-color word in England until recently. It is only one of many indications that the resistance to Americanisms, kept up for so many years in England, is breaking down.

All the examples of clusters of compounds so far given have been alike in that the second member has remained constant while the first one has changed, (*glitterbug, litterbug*). A rarer occurrence is the compound cluster of the reversed order, in which the first member is the static one. The

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vocabulary of the Navy during World War II has furnished an example of the reversed order, given below. Such words are usually code-words, coined to suggest anything except the real meaning of the term. Yet in a few instances (e.g., Operation Stork, Operation War Brides), it is apparent that the term is a jocular one.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Operation Annie</th>
<th>Operation Musk-Ox</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Operation Berlin</td>
<td>Operation Pluto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operation Crossroads</td>
<td>Operation Polar Bear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operation Eclipse</td>
<td>Operation Roll-Up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operation Eskimo</td>
<td>Operation Selection Board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operation Exodus</td>
<td>Operation Stork</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operation Hornblow</td>
<td>Operation War Brides</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The duplication and reduplication of words upon a pattern-word is summed up by Greenough and Kittredge, who comment upon the tendency as follows:

Nothing is so freakish as language in [the making of] new formations by analogy, but many of the new formations have become good English and the number is increasing.

The pleasure in the apt compound in America is in no way an academic thing. It is not an activity of written language, but a spontaneous budding process in American speech itself. It is a direct product of the native invention of the people. The erudite man is inclined to use an established, learned word, whereas the man in practical life is likely to put two

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20Taylor, pp. 147-148.

strong, simple English words together and thus to produce a new compound term, which, in many instances, has successfully caught the flavor of the exact occasion for which it was coined. Once a new combination has been formed and has caught the popular fancy, the game is to copy the pattern but change one member of the combination, and the game seems to include getting humor into the coinage whenever it is humanly possible.

Writers in the field of advertising have been quick to notice the power of the compound word in American speech, the facility with which it can multiply, and the aptness it has for conveying meanings. When another overwhelming advantage to the advertiser is added—the fact that the compound word is almost always a space-saving device (in that it usually takes the place of a prepositional phrase or of an expanded metaphor)—it is abundantly clear that the writer of newspaper and magazine advertisements has had a good many reasons for taking word-compounding into his bag of stylistic tricks.

Someone in the world of women's fashions hit upon the term New Look in the middle 1940's. From that beginning the pattern has fixed itself upon the phraseology of fashion writers. A variation of the New Look appears with each succeeding season. American Speech for October 1951 called attention to the use of the cigar look and the guitar look. Time for August 18, 1947, reported the fact that the American Look was popular abroad. Some of the other "looks" collected from advertisements in the New York Times from
1950 to 1953 are listed below:

- the casual look
- the couture look
- the flat-top look
- the high-covered look
- the light-footed look
- the linen look
- the little girl look
- the long look
- the long-haired look
- the new-season look
- the one-color look
- the stomach look of 1952
- the strictly American look
- the tweed look
- the whittled waist look
- the wool look

It should be pointed out that much of the compounding done by the writers of advertising copy for clothing is on a higher level of excellence than the list above would lead one to believe. An extended study of the use of compounding in advertising would be well worth making. The copy turned out by sales writers in the field of women's clothing offers an abundance of material for observation. The observer is not long in concluding that the large department stores and the so-called "exclusive" dress shops in cities are a source from which the most imaginative language appears. This probably means that the large and expensive stores are the ones which can afford to pay first-rate copy writers, skilled and imaginative enough to turn out expressions in the current idiom—expressions which can catch the eye of prospective women customers and lure them downtown by mid-morning to look at the clothing described in the newspapers on their breakfast tables.

Hatcher, who has already been quoted in connection with the language of advertising, makes the following guess as to the person who writes the ads:

It is surely not difficult to imagine that the first writer of smart advertising to coin expressions of this type was a young college graduate.
who still remembered her sophomore course in "British Poets of the Nineteenth Century." 22

The remaining section of this chapter will be devoted to a collection of compound words which the writer has made from the advertisements which have appeared at various times during 1952 and 1953 in The New York Times, The Washington Post, and The New Orleans Times-Picayune. A study of the collection shows certain well-defined tendencies and certain patterns of word coinage, some successful in connotation and some not so successful. It is necessary to remember at the outset that the connotation which the salesman for women's clothing wishes to convey to the reader of the newspaper is that the dresses or suits sold by the particular store are desirable because they are (1) up-to-date in style, (2) becoming to the wearer, (3) slenderizing, (4) sensibly priced, (5) not too difficult to keep in good condition, and (6) highly appropriate for the occasions for which the woman may wish to wear them.

Probably the most effective of all the compound words used by the copywriters to conjure up the chic and the desirable in clothing is the compound which contains a metaphor. Thus a picture of a flared skirt below a tiny waist with the words, "the dress with the wedding-ring waist," is probably even more subtle in its power of suggestion to the feminine mind than was the expression wasp waist which gained such

currency a few seasons ago. "a waist which is as tiny (and dainty) as a wedding ring," is the expanded comparison contained in the expression. Aided and abetted by a skillful commercial artist, this copywriter probably brought a great many customers to the store on the day of the appearance of this advertisement in the pages of the New York Times.

Newly-coined expressions of this type are numerous. Many are nonce-words, to be sure, but the pattern goes on and on in the advertisements of metropolitan newspapers. Other examples of compounds containing a condensed simile or metaphor are listed below. It is to be noticed that the compound word coined for this purpose is often an adjective.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>card-crisp fabrics</th>
<th>balance-wheel skirt</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cucumber-cool dress</td>
<td>cat's whisker bow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glove-soft suede</td>
<td>doll-waist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feather-soft textures</td>
<td>pancake heels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jonquil-fresh coats</td>
<td>peach-down fleece</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lettuce-crisp cloth</td>
<td>petal-collared coat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wand-slim waist</td>
<td>saucer buttons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>snowflake wool</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sphinx silhouette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tear-drop buttons</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

In the first list above, the expansion of the expression compressed in \textit{card-crisp fabrics} is "fabrics which are as crisp as a card." It is worth noting that this kind of compression produces the compound of the noun-plus-adjective type, reversing the normal adjective-before-noun word order of English and producing something which resembles the French habits of expression. Although this reversed word order is still unusual in English, it will soon cease to be so if compounds of the kind represented by the first list above are
created on a large scale. In the case of the second expression, *cucumber-cool dress*, there is, besides the compressed simile, the added attractiveness of a familiar figure of speech--the well-known "as cool as a cucumber," given a new twist.

Another aspect of desirability in clothing for women, as noted above, is the entire appropriateness of the garment for the occasion, an ideal in dress which is almost a fetish in city life in America. Some writers manage to get into a very few words this connotation of the appropriateness, the absolute *rightness*, of the garment in the world of fashion. Some expressions of this kind are the *after-dark dress*, the *cross-season cotton* (the cotton dress which will span the time between summer and fall), *dusk-time fashions*, *day-time styles*, the *day-timer*, the *go-anywhere suit*, the *night-blooming beauty*, the *five-o'clock floater*, the *nine-to-five dress*, the *stay-out-late dress*, the *all-hour dress*, the *round-the-clock dress*, the *year-rounder*, *occasion-right styles*, *dawn-to-dusk clothes*, *all-weather wear*. Expressions which denote the place to which the garments are to be worn are *campus-career shoes*, *college-career shoes*, and *patio denims*. These terms are unquestionably more effective, and more likely to be read, than their expanded equivalents: "the shoes for your career in college,"--"denim clothes for you to wear on the patio during informal occasions."

Compound words which attempt to give a thumb-nail impression of the ease with which garments may be kept in
repair seem to be less effective than those discussed above. It may be because a utilitarian note is sounded in the connotation. A few of these expressions are resist-a-sпот rayons, tubfast colors, washable wonders, speed-drying blouses, crease resistant fabric, water-repellent material, wrinkle-shed cloth, shrink-resistant cloth, suds-loving clothes, soap-and-water dress, little-unkeep nylons.

Two curious new compounds are clutch bag and shrug cape. The first is very evidently a compression of the phrase "a bag which can be clutched in the hand." However, the second one defies a similar analysis. The writer can untangle it only as far as to guess that it may mean "a little cape which covers only the shruggable part of the shoulders" (or perhaps, "gives the effect of shrugging the shoulders").

A popular compound which originated in the beauty shops is poodle-cut, another compressed metaphor, "hair cut to look like a poodle's hair." It was followed by poodle-do, petal cut, leaf cut, autumn-leaf cut, and pony-tail.

A much rarer compound than the metaphorical one is the compound which uses rhyme as a device for effectiveness. Examples are fringe-binge, glad-plaid, and under-wonders. Much more numerous are those which use alliteration, such as wasp waist, waste-away waist, glitter girl blouse, and washable wonder. Once in a while a curious compound occurs which depends for its effect upon a pun-like allusion. Such a compound is Flying Saucies, used as the trade-name for a kind of shoes. A similar example is Strypeese, another
trade-name, designating a product which is used for removing paint from woodwork.

The coiners of compound names for household equipment are not getting such interesting results (in the opinion of the writer), as are the ad-writers who are employed in the clothing business. It is rather striking to notice how much the manner of compounding differs from that of the clothing industry. As can be seen in the list below, the manufacturer of kitchen and other household equipment appears to prefer a compound based on the use of a combining form employing -a- or -o- as the adhesive element. Since this is a Greek method of compounding, and not an Anglo-Saxon one, the results are not actually native to the language. They are perhaps too obviously contrived, although this is a matter of opinion. The examples listed below were gathered from the advertisements for household equipment in the New York Times over a period of months.

- step-a-light (floor lamp)
- pack-a-bed (day bed)
- easy-off cleaner
- expand-a-shelf (adjustable shelf)
- hold-a-brush (utility cabinet)
- step-on garbage can
- easy-aid silver cleaner
- touch-up dry cleaner
- hide-a-bed (folding bed)
- vap-o-matic (vaporizer)
- roll-a-file (letter file)
- expand-a-drape curtains
- no-sag spring sofa
- boltaxflex plastic
- add-a-unit furniture
- swing-a-way automatic can opener
- flav-o-fresh food container

Another observer has also noticed the difference in effectiveness of various commercial compounds. Hatcher points out the variation.
There are levels of excellence in this commercial labeling...there is a tastefulness in sandal simplicity, a verve in bolero brilliance...23 whereas coffee goodness and hand beauty are flat.

Speaking again of the field of clothing salesmanship, there is still another way in which the compound term is used with successful effects upon the American buyer. It is in the designation of new colors and shades of color for the fabrics and ready-made garments in the shops. There was a time when the colors of the spectrum were used in their own simple terms—red, orange, yellow, green, blue, indigo, and violet. This is no longer true. Colors today are more often than not given a slightly exotic effect, or at least an exciting connotation, by the device of compounding a word so that it contains a condensed metaphor or an allusion. No longer is a woman’s suit blue, but Adriatic blue—"as blue as the Adriatic"—and although the customer in most cases cannot vouch for the blueness of the Adriatic, the magic of the word works and the suit is more desirable than it would be with a single-word color name. (A rose was once as sweet by any other name but now it is still sweeter with a compound name, such as the Empress Eugenie Rose).

Of course it must be admitted at once that the idea of using compound color names is not new by any means. Some of the older ones, perhaps the prototypes of the host of new ones, are robin’s egg blue, Navy blue, Nile green, bottle

green, steel gray, midnight black, nut brown, lemon yellow, ruby red, and Turkey red. All of these examples except Navy blue and Turkey red contain a simile, hence most of the current examples used today in advertising are exactly in the tradition of these ancestors. The astonishing thing about the current terms is the extent of proliferation, not the novelty of pattern.

The writer has made a collection of 237 compound names of colors (or shades and values of colors), which have appeared in print during 1952 and 1953 in three newspapers, the New York Times, the New Orleans Times-Picayune, and the Honolulu Star Bulletin. Other sources from which examples were taken were the signs in shop windows and the vocabulary of advertising leaflets. Many of these compounds are undoubtedly creations of the current time, yet certain old-time favorites, such as sky-blue, are to be found in the list. Old and new terms alike have been included. The great majority of these color-terms are condensed metaphors or similes. As such, they have the advantage of giving a poetical suggestion of beauty without elaboration to the point of being too obvious. For example the expression "as blue as the sky" is outworn to the extent of being called a cliché, yet the condensed term sky-blue, because it only suggests, is a

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24 Turkey red, which the OED lists as first recorded in 1789, is not based on a simile, i.e., it does not mean "as red as a turkey." It refers to the red dye which distinguished the cotton manufactured in the Ottoman Empire, introduced into Western Europe by the Germans.
simple and effective name for a color. In the case of West Point blue and horizon blue, the simile itself is new.

The popularity of the respective colors at the present time is suggested by the comparative frequency of the colors in the lists below. Blue leads with 19% of the entries; green has 16%; brown, 13%; pink and gray have 10% each; red, 9%; yellow, 8%; white, 7%; black, 3%; purple, 2%, and orange, one entry only. However, had the endless examples of compounds using beige and taupe been included under brown, that color would have been far in the lead. The compounds with beige, taupe, and other neutral shades were too extravagant to admit of tabulation. This is probably because the manufacturers of nylon hose, in order to designate the countless unnamable shades of stockings, attempt to coin compounds which are extremely vague in connotation.

Compound names designating shades of blue

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adriatic blue</th>
<th>faded blue</th>
<th>pastel blue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>angel blue</td>
<td>forget-me-not-blue</td>
<td>Persian blue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aqua blue</td>
<td>French blue</td>
<td>powder blue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>azure blue</td>
<td>heather blue</td>
<td>robin's egg blue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baby blue</td>
<td>heaven blue</td>
<td>rocket blue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahama blue</td>
<td>horizon blue</td>
<td>royal blue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capri blue</td>
<td>ice blue</td>
<td>silver blue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ceoil blue</td>
<td>larkspur blue</td>
<td>skipper blue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cloud blue</td>
<td>Lido blue</td>
<td>sky blue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cornflower blue</td>
<td>magnetic blue</td>
<td>slate blue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cotillion blue</td>
<td>midnight blue</td>
<td>soldier blue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crystal blue</td>
<td>mink blue</td>
<td>sunlit blue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blue haze</td>
<td>Navy blue</td>
<td>surf blue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>briny blue</td>
<td>Norway blue</td>
<td>sweet pea blue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>parrot-oriental blue</td>
<td>West Point blue</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Compound names for shades of green

- apple green
- almond green
- avocado green
- bottle green
- bud green
- Carib green
- celadon green
- fern green
- forest green
- foliage green
- gardenia green
- green spray
- hunter green
- hunter's green
- jade green
- jungle green
- lagoon green
- leaf green
- meadow green
- mint green
- minuet green
- moss green
- mossy green
- new-wheat green
- Nile green
- olive green
- parkway green
- pastel green
- pistachio green
- Scotch green
- sage green
- spruce green
- sprout green
- water green
- winter green

### Compound names for shades of brown

- antique brown
- autumn brown
- autumn rust
- autumn spice
- café au lait
- chocolate brown
- cocoa brown
- coffee brown
- bark brown
- beaver brown
- brown earth
- brown mist
- brown ochre
- brown sugar
- burnt sugar
- butternut
- French mocha
- forest brown
- hazelnut brown
- heather brown
- hickory brown
- Indian brown
- island brown
- maple brown
- nut brown
- nutmeg brown
- sandalwood brown
- shadow brown
- woodland brown

### Compound names for shades of gray

- banker's gray
- charcoal gray
- cloud gray
- Confederate gray
- dove gray
- dusk gray
- forecast gray
- elephant gray
- field gray
- French gray
- heather gray
- mid-gray
- Oxford gray
- pearl gray
- peat gray
- pewter gray
- pussy gray
- silver gray
- slate gray
- slate mist
- smoke gray
- stone gray
- steel gray
Compound names for shades of pink

ash rose  
bud pink  
carnation pink  
Chantilly pink  
cherry flip  
cloud pink  
dawn pink  
dusty rose  
famille rose  
ice cream pink  
lightning pink  
mauve pink  
peach bloom  
pirate pink  
petal pink  
portrait pink  
really pink  
rose dust  
rose glow  
shell pink  
strawberry pink  
veil pink  
winter rose

Compound names for shades of red

antique red  
berry red  
camellia red  
cardinal red  
cherry red  
Chinese red  
coral red  
engine red  
flame red  
flamingo red  
flash red  
holly red  
lip red  
mandarin red  
right red  
rose red  
ruby red  
South American red  
Tartan red  
tulip red

Compound names for shades of yellow

antique gold  
aspen gold  
avoaut gold  
buttercup  
buttercup gold  
buttercup yellow  
canary yellow  
chariot gold  
goldenrod  
golden wheat  
Havana gold  
Highland gold  
honeysuckle yellow  
jonquill yellow  
lemon-peel yellow  
Ming gold  
mimosa yellow  
signet yellow  
sun yellow  
sunflower yellow  
sunset gold  
suntone

Compound names for shades of white

bridal white  
chalk white  
cloud white  
eggshell  
frost white  
ivory white  
ivriwhite  
lily white  
moon white  
oyster white  
off-white  
snow white  
vANILLA white  
winter white  
white iris  
white wine  
WONDER white
No examples in the lists above were taken from mail order catalogues. Charles E. Bess has covered that source, at least very briefly, in an article entitled "Glamour Words (Sears Roebuck and Montgomery Ward)." In his treatment of the subject, Bess lists 64 color names from the Montgomery Ward catalogue, 62 of which are compounds. From the Sears, Roebuck and Company catalogue he lists 35 color names, 34 of which are compounds. He does not mention the fact that such a large proportion of the terms are compounds or combinations, since he is not interested in that aspect of the study. However, the extremely high percentage of compound terms in his lists serves to corroborate the statement made earlier in this chapter that compound color terms are in style. Bess treats the words from the standpoint of the attempt obviously being made by the manufacturer to glamorize the product. He makes several comments which are very well worth noticing. One of them is that the inspiration for the vast multiplication of the names of colors may have been the advances made...
recently in color printing. He says in part:

Open your copy of the Sears Roebuck or Montgomery Ward catalogue. You will not turn the pages fast; the color will hold you. Furthermore, to keep pace with the advancement in color printing, the copy writers have turned some neat tricks with glamour words.

Another interesting comment made by Bess concerns his estimate of the influence of such a development upon the people who read the catalogues.

It seems reasonable to assume that the mail order catalogue has a considerable influence on our language. According to Jo Hubbard Chamberlin, "It [the Sears catalogue] is read by more people than any book published except perhaps the Bible—some 7,000,000 copies are dumped on the nation's doorsteps twice a year." ("Catalogue of our Times," Reader's Digest, June 1939, p. 71). Furthermore, it is read under conditions conducive to impressing words on the mind, that is, when one is pondering, comparing, and wishing. To millions it is the "wish book." Last, but by no means least, is the fact that the customer is forced to use many of the words when he writes out an order. Some of these words—this poetry of advertising—may stay in our language.

To summarize, it seems evident that there is a strong tendency toward the invention of compound words in American speech today. A popular new compound may spring up in the speech of the people at any time, and, if it is an effective combination, may gain wide currency in a short time. The next step is the reduplication of the combination, usually with the first member changed and the second remaining constant, i.e., air-borne, sky-borne, carrier-borne. Only occasionally is the order reversed, e.g., Operation Flintlock, Operation Main-Brace, Operation Spellbound. The sequence of duplicates may go on in a serious vein for some
time and then be followed by a humorous "last word," as in the case of *chair-borne (troops)* in the sequence above.

Commercial advertising has been quick to realize the power of such compounds. Among their advantages are (1) the fact that they are a space-saving device in an advertisement, and (2) the fact that they are heavily charged with connotative force, in that they may contain a compressed simile. Even so, there are degrees of excellence in the examples of the compound words used in advertising. Although some coinages are efficacious, others are on a rather low level of effectiveness.
Although much scholarly work was done on the subject of word-compounding by ancient grammarians in connection with Sanskrit, Greek and Latin, not much in the way of investigation has been undertaken in modern times, either in connection with the English language or with modern European languages.

English is notable in that it has a wide variety of patterns for word compounding. Among its many compound patterns, the greatest number function as nouns or adjectives; the fewest function as verbs. All the patterns for compounding go back to Old English prototypes. If one speaks of new compounds today, he means that certain existing types are popular and have many new coinages, not that a new pattern has been created.

The American colonists who came to the New World were simple people with simple habits of speech. The influences upon them were those centering in pioneering and agrarian activities. The compound noun composed of adjective plus noun (e.g., redbird), suited their needs very well as they set about naming the plants and animals in their new home and as they began giving names
to their new ways of life. The noun-plus-noun compound was also useful; e.g., alder swamp, cedar brake. By 1900 there was a large auxiliary vocabulary of Americanisms available to the English-speaking citizens of the United States. A relatively small percentage of these words were loans from foreign languages, if place names are excluded. The majority of the new terms were compound words or collocations.

With the twentieth century, the influences upon the Americans have been in the direction of urbanization. Speech, however, rather than becoming more complicated, has become more colloquial and relaxed, probably because of the influence of the masses. It is noticeable that Americans no longer look to England for their standards of correctness in speech, but take American norms very much as a matter of course. As to vocabulary, a vast accumulation of new words has entered the language; many of these neologisms can be traced to the advent of new material things such as the automobile, aviation, the radio, and talking pictures. Many words can be traced to the effect upon the nation of three great wars. Among the new words one may find a large percentage of compounds, many of which display the same simple naming habits of pioneering days (e.g., road hog, band-wagon). The American G.I. particularly has carried on the ways of folk speech which were noticeable before 1900.

On the other hand, there have been sophisticated
influences at work, which have produced many words not simple in connotation. In the use made of the attributive noun in compounds, an observer can often detect a sophistication and a straining for effect, as in research investigation, field secretary, word study skills. Although euphemism has declined, grandiloquence has increased somewhat (as pointed out by Clark), especially in regard to the naming of professions.

Again in the twentieth century the noun composed of noun plus noun is given heavy duty, and, as a means of saving space in newspapers and magazines, great numbers of prepositional phrases are converted to the compound containing the attributive noun. Thus in news stories a title such as "Dr. John Richards, president of the University," is frequently compressed into the compound expression "University President John Richards." Besides being used as a space-saving device, the attributive noun in compounds is employed also to give a certain professional tone of solidarity, as in the term efficiency expert, or to convey a sense of desirability as in the commercial examples foot ease and foot luxury. The conversion of prepositional phrases into noun compounds is being carried on to such an extent as to cause some concern among observers. The words eliminated by this conversion, i.e., the, of, for, by, and similar words are the key words by which an analytical language operates. By eliminating words of this kind and increasing the number of compounds (which in time
will become words with suffixes, following the history of compound words in English), the end result may be a step back toward the inflectional status of Old English. The theory of Zipf (to the effect that the short words which figure in syntax are very evenly spaced throughout the stream of speech), supports the idea that large-scale compounding is likely to have a disturbing effect upon the language.

Although the attributive noun in compounds is used with a rather sophisticated connotation (originating, as it does, in educated circles), the verb-plus-adverb pattern is colloquial in effect. The vocabularies of the sports world and of popular technology are filled with expressions such as kick-off, knock-out, pick-up, strike-out, wash-out, walk-out, build-up, and speed-up. These compounds, functioning as nouns and adjectives, have all had their genesis in verb phrases, e.g., the noun compound pick-up in the verb phrase to pick up. The use of a short, one-syllable verb plus a particle-like word is itself a characteristic American trait. This verb phrase often displaces a longer, more learned word, e.g., to kill off displaces to exterminate. Thus it is easy to see that the popularity of the verb-adverb combination is a victory for the colloquial style over the formal style. A considerable number of verb-adverb compounds are classified as slang at the present time, but observation shows that
the terms are making their way rapidly into standard usage.

A comparison of a large number of compound expressions with the equivalent forms used in England shows clearly that in America there is a marked tendency to dispense with inflectional and derivative endings within the compound word; for example, speakers in England use the compound barber's shop, but Americans prefer barber shop. Again, British speakers use the form sailing boat, while Americans prefer sailboat.

The coining of compound words by analogy is a field for observation in the United States today. Although a single, absolutely new word is rarely coined, a cleverly contrived compound is a fairly frequent occurrence. Once a new compound has been coined and made popular by radio and screen, a subsequent linguistic activity is the coining of similar words on the same pattern, as in the case of carrier-based, shore-based, Aleutian-based, Saipan-based, and Leyte-based.

Compounding is a very active process in American speech today, and it is to be hoped that more studies will be made on the subject; for example, compound words which function as verbs should be further observed.


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Elizabeth Bell Carr was born in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma where she attended the public schools. At the University of Oklahoma she received the B.A. degree in 1929 with a major in English and a minor in French. She taught English, coached debate teams, and supervised children's auditorium activities in several schools of Oklahoma City for a time and carried on work for the master's degree during summer sessions at the University of Oklahoma.

In 1935 she moved to Honolulu, Hawaii, where she assisted in the organization of remedial speech work and helped to conduct a hearing survey in the public schools. During 1936-1937 she returned to the mainland to study speech at Columbia University and the University of Wisconsin. In 1940, the M.A. degree was granted to her in absentia by the University of Oklahoma. In 1943 she began teaching at the University of Hawaii in the Department of Speech, where she is now an assistant professor. During 1948-1952 she worked toward the Ph.D. degree at the University of California at Berkeley. During the summers of 1948-1950 she taught on the islands of
Guam and Truk. In 1951-1952, on Sabbatical leave from the University of Hawaii, she studied again for the doctorate, this time at the Louisiana State University. She is a candidate for this degree at the present time.
EXAMINATION AND THESIS REPORT

Candidate: **Elisabeth Ball Carr**

Major Field: **Speech**

Title of Thesis: **Trends in Word Compounding in American Speech**

Approved:

[Signature]

Major Professor and Chairman

[Signature]

Dean of the Graduate School

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

[Signature]

[Signature]

[Signature]

Date of Examination:

**July 29, 1953**