



THE UNIVERSITY
of LIVERPOOL

**A CORPUS-BASED INVESTIGATION OF NOUN
TO VERB CONVERSION IN ENGLISH**

Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements of the University of Liverpool
for the degree of Doctor in Philosophy by Ceri Davies.

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Declaration

This work is original and has not been submitted previously in support of any degree, qualification or course.

Signature:

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Abstract

Noun to verb conversion is a highly productive process in English, and is exploited regularly by English users for a variety of reasons. Previous studies of the phenomenon have concentrated on the formal issues raised by the process and have been theoretical rather than empirical. This thesis takes a corpus-based approach, and focuses on the use of noun to verb conversions in real language data.

The thesis takes the form of five related investigative studies: in the first study, 'partial' conversion is explored and new categories are devised to account for the phenomenon. In the second study, I investigate the possible variables affecting the productivity of proper noun to verb conversions, and establish a set of factors that help to show the reasons why some proper noun types are more susceptible to conversion than others. The third study investigates the factors inhibiting the productivity of the process and establishes a hierarchy of those factors. The fourth study explores new conversions in their immediate context and shows how users integrate these forms into text and the extent to which they require contextualisation for their comprehension. The final section explores the previous findings of the new and established conversions, and suggests a categorisation system.

The thesis shows, using corpus-driven analysis, how and why conversions are used by language users and the reasons why some nouns are more likely to be converted than others.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Calvin: 'I like to verb words'

Hobbes: 'What?'

Calvin: 'I take nouns and adjectives and use them as verbs. Remember when "access" was a thing? Now it's something you **do**. It got verbed. Verbing weirds language.'

Hobbes: 'Maybe we can eventually make language a complete impediment to understanding.'

Calvin and Hobbes, January 25th 1993¹

1.1 Conversion: an overview

Everyday language is full of 'verbed nouns', 'adjectived verbs' and other types of conversions, so even though some language users might reject new converted forms - 'verbing weirds language' - the conversion process has existed since modern English evolved² and has always been an important and productive method of creating words in English.

Conversion occurs when a word-form that has traditionally been confined to one particular grammatical word class is used in another word class, but without any overt signals indicating the change in grammatical function. The process is particularly productive in languages like English, where we have graphic identity between items belonging to different word classes. This overlap allows (and probably encourages) word play, as in the cracker joke below:

What did the sea say to the sand? Nothing, it just waved!

¹ Created by Bill Watterson, distributed to American newspapers by UPS.

² See Lee (1948); Kastovsky (1968); Biese (1941) and Marchand (1969) for evidence of conversion from Early Modern English onwards.

Moreover, this overlap enables language users to create new word forms from existing ones where they are needed, for example, to achieve brevity of expression.

Can you *tape* that programme tonight for me please? (put onto tape – conversion based on *tape*_(N))

Although language users have employed conversions routinely over the years, and morphologists and grammarians have documented its productivity, there have not been text-based studies of conversion investigating its nature and circumstance in performance or whether some bases are more likely to be used in other grammatical word classes than others. A text-based investigation allows us to study conversion in the contexts created by language users, to investigate possible motivations for using a conversion and to see if there are linguistic situations that invite or inhibit the use of a conversion.

This introductory chapter is divided into two main sections:

The first section:

- gives a brief overview of the literature, and
- introduces some of the controversies associated with conversion.

In the second section I have outlined:

- the aims of my thesis,
- the materials and methods used to carry out the research,
- the limitations of the thesis, and
- the plans for the rest of the thesis.

1.2 Background literature relating to conversion

Although conversion has been an important part of English word formation for centuries, linguists have argued over almost every facet relating to this process, even down to the term used to describe it. This section offers an overview of the different views in the literature regarding conversion; where necessary, more specific literature reviews are given in each chapter.

1.2.1 Definitions

Three different terms are applied to the process I am calling ‘conversion’: most current linguists use ‘conversion’, but others refer to the process as ‘functional change’ or ‘functional shift’, and ‘zero-derivation’ or ‘zero-affixation’. Each term is associated with a different connotation, theory and slightly different meaning.

1.2.1.1 Functional change or shift

This term is used, for example, by Kennedy (1935), Cannon (1987), and Lee (1948) and is defined as follows:

conversion makes no change in the form of a word but only in its general functions. (Kennedy, 1935:318)

From a linguistic point of view, functional shift does not add a new form to the lexicon; but the inflectability or noninflectability of the new function-shift requires it to be classed as a new form etymologically. (Cannon, 1987:67)

Functional change is the process whereby a word comes to be used in a new grammatical function with no salient change of form, i.e. without the addition or subtraction of a derivative syllable or other similar element. (Lee, 1948:2)

These definitions are based around the theory that the word-form is not changed in **any** way at all, so not only is there no derivational modification, but the word-form is fundamentally identical, but for a slightly different functional profile. However, Cannon remarks that as the word-form has a changed inflectional profile once used in the different function, the word-form acts as if it is an addition to the lexicon. This presents us with the first controversy associated with conversion: can the process be classed as word-formation? Linguists applying the term ‘functional change’ or ‘functional shift’ imply that the use of, for example, a noun with the grammatical functions and inflections usually associated with a verb is simply a borrowing of that word-form; it remains in principle a noun, but with the ability to be used as a verb. Another way of looking at the theory would be to say that word forms do not have grammatical class and any member of the paradigm belonging to the word-form is attached to one underlying classless form³; the form remains unchanged, and only the profile of the underlying form has enlarged, or more of the potential functions have been utilised.

1.2.1.2 Zero-derivation or zero-affixation

If conversion⁴ is viewed as a word-formation process, one theory is that it appears to run parallel to the derivational word-formation processes. Inflectional

³ The idea of the abstract underlying form is not new, for example, Chomsky and Halle (1968) talk about phonology in these terms, whereby the surface structure is a realisation of an abstract structure stored in the ‘deep structure’.

⁴ For ease of reference I will maintain the use of the term ‘conversion’ throughout.

affixes are said⁵ to be ‘class-maintaining’, whereas derivational affixes are ‘class-changing’. As the conversion process is ‘class-changing’, it is deemed to be derivation with a ‘zero-affix’ or ‘zero-morpheme’. This issue has caused debate amongst linguists and divides them into two camps: those who think that there is a zero-element involved in the process, and those who reject that theory⁶.

Prominent linguists who endorse the theory that conversion is a process involving the addition of a derivational zero include Marchand (1969), Lyons (1977), Jespersen (1946), Kastovsky (1968) and Allen (1978):

It is because of the parallelism with overtly marked derivatives that we speak of zero-marked derivatives or zero-derivatives, not just because of the added element of content which characterizes the transposition of the adj *clean* to the vb *clean*, etc. (Marchand, 1969:360)

(zero-derivation is) derivation by means of the affixation of an identity-element (Lyons, 1977:512)

It is clear that the zero element under consideration is a derivational suffix, hence attached to the basic word by a derivational word-formation rule. Not only is a lexical category change, typical of derivational suffixation, involved, but inflectional endings cannot appear inside the zero element. The zero must, consequently, be a derivational affix. (Allen, 1978:273)

1.2.1.3 Conversion

The term ‘conversion’ represents something of a middle ground between ‘functional shift’ and ‘zero-derivation’: ‘conversion’ is usually used where the linguist rejects the idea of a ‘zero’ element, but thinks that the process involves word-formation rather than just functional changes. It was, in fact, the term

⁵ See for example, Bauer (1983:29).

⁶ The theories concerning zero-elements vs. conversion are given in section 1.2.2.1 so I will not provide further details here.

originally applied to the process by Sweet in 1891, it currently seems to be the dominant theory and has been endorsed by, for example, Bauer (1983), Biese (1941), Zandvoort (1950), Pennanen (1971), Katamba (1993) and Don (1993):

the deliberate transfer of a word from one part of speech to another is technically known as CONVERSION. (Zandvoort, 1950:65)

Words may be formed without modifying the form of the input word that serves as the base. This head can be a noun or verb. This is called conversion. (Katamba, 1993:54)

Conversion is the change in form class of a form without any corresponding change of form. (Bauer, 1983: 32)

So, we have three different terms and theories to negotiate, and various other minefields of controversy associated with the process to account for in the investigation of conversion. The following section gives a brief overview of each of the major controversies and theories associated with the phenomenon.

1.2.2 Outline of the controversies associated with conversion

1.2.2.1 Controversy 1: 'Zero' vs conversion

Pennanen (1971) gives a comprehensive account of the argument concerning 'zeros' with regard to conversion and it is not my intention to engage in any great detail in the argument, but simply to outline the two points of view (for and against the presence of a zero-element).

1.2.2.1.1 Arguments for the presence of a ‘zero’ in the conversion process

Conversion can be seen as a process that competes with derivation. A language user wishing to construct a new form from an existing noun has a choice whether to construct it via the conversion process or through the addition of a derivational affix. If I wished to create a new verb with the meaning ‘put in a briefcase’, I could create:

1. a completely new word-form which is not connected to the noun; *ʔbrifse_(V)* for example.
2. a new derivation using productive derivational suffixes: *ʔbriefcasize*, *ʔbriefcasify*, or *ʔbriefcaseate*.
3. a conversion from the noun: *ʔbriefcase_(V)*

Option 1 does not utilise the original base form and, although it is a process which competes with options 2 and 3, is not a process parallel to derivation or conversion. Option 2 involves taking the original noun and adding an overt verbal suffix in order to signal the change made to the base. The resulting verb looks and has a different function from the original base noun. Option 3 similarly uses the original noun as the base for the new verb, but there are no overt signals indicating the change made. Linguists subscribing to the ‘zero-derivation’ theory postulate that there is an extra element present in the new verb form, but that this ‘zero’ element is simply not graphically or phonologically expressed:

By derivation by a zero-morpheme I understand the use of a word as a determinant in a syntagma whose determinatum is not expressed in phonic form but understood to be present in content. (Marchand, 1969:359)

This can be expressed as follows:

$$N + \emptyset \rightarrow V$$

This parallels the overt derivation process, which can be expressed as follows:

$$N + ify \rightarrow V$$
$$N + ise/ize \rightarrow V$$
$$N + ate \rightarrow V$$

The theory of the zero-element allows conversion to fit neatly into a description of word-formation within the remit of derivation. Without this zero-element we need to find another explanation.

1.2.2.1.2 Arguments against the presence of a ‘zero’ in the conversion process

The major problem with the idea of having a zero-element present in a process is that we can never prove that it exists, whether it is a prefix, infix or suffix, or how many different zeros we might have to postulate. Conversion is less semantically restricted than any of the overt derivational processes, so it might be said that we need a few different zero-morphemes in order to ensure that there is a zero-morpheme to express each of those different meanings associated with the process. Lieber (1973) suggests that if we introduce the concept of a ‘zero’, then we are likely to need a different zero affix to express each pattern available to language users exploiting the conversion process (a noun converted into a transitive verb might involve a different zero from another conversion resulting in an intransitive verb for example).

Aronoff (1976) rejects the idea of using a zero for similar reasons:

But the concept of a formless phonological substance like this is abhorrent, even ridiculous when we realize that for every WFR [word-formation rule – my addition] which has no associated phonological operation (and there are several in English (cf. Marchand (1969: 359-389))), we must posit a

separate such entity, with a resulting proliferation of zeros, one for every rule: $\emptyset_1, \emptyset_2, \dots \emptyset_n$. (Aronoff, 1976: 71)

Haas (1957) says that two conditions have to be satisfied in order to be certain that we are dealing with a zero rather than nothing at all:

1. there must be a distinctive omission of overt forms, and
2. there must be overt alternants to the operation.

As there is more than one overt alternant to the potential zero-element in the case of conversion, we cannot say that there is just one zero involved. As a result, we would need numerous different zero-elements, which makes the process unnecessarily complicated. It seems that, from a theoretical point of view, zero-elements make the explanation of conversion more complicated, not simpler. An in-depth explanation is unnecessary here as this controversy has been covered many times, see for example, Pennanen (1971) and Plag (2003).

1.2.2.2 Controversy 2: Is conversion a word-formation process?

As mentioned in the section above discussing the term ‘functional change’, it is debated whether conversion creates a new word-form or whether it involves the reuse of an existing form. On the side of the word-formation argument is the fact that there are semantic and functional differences between the base form and converted form, lending weight to the idea that the converted form is an independent word form. For example, if you regard the phenomenon diachronically, the verb *lynch* was converted from the proper noun *Lynch*, an Irishman who hanged his son as punishment for a murder. Nowadays, most users would regard *lynch* primarily as a verb, and from a synchronic point of view, it no longer acts as a converted form, as its base has disappeared.

The other side of the word-formation argument hypothesises that a form is only used or borrowed in a slightly different grammatical function, but that there is no conversion ‘process’ taking place. An example in support would be the use of adjective to noun ‘partial conversion, for example ‘the *rich* are getting richer and the *poor* are getting poorer’. It could be argued that *rich* and *poor* are only functioning as nouns, but do not really belong to the nominal category.

It seems logical to suggest that we are unsure of how word classes interact and where the boundaries lie. If these were clear-cut, conversion would be more clearly a word-formation process. One suggestion might be that there are clines between the word classes and that users instinctively make a personal judgement as to when a form has fully converted, from its contexts and frequency of use. As Pennanen (1971: 50) says, the definition of conversion as the transposition of a word into a different word class ‘does not result in tidy limits’. In order to clarify this further, we need to look at the literature concerning grammatical word classes.

1.2.2.2.1 Grammatical word class⁷

Word-forms have traditionally been grouped into categories on the basis of their syntactic and functional similarities. However, as many linguists have pointed out, these categories are not ideal, as some word-forms do not entirely conform to and belong in one particular category. Conversion is at odds with the traditional parts of speech categories, as the phenomenon is concerned with

⁷ This area of controversy is revisited and expanded upon in the next chapter, Partial and Full Noun to Verb Conversion, section 2.2.

movement between the different categories without any overt warning signs, and with forms that seem to exist in more than one category.

There have been a number of suggestions in the literature of how best to describe forms that do not fit into the conventional categorisation.

1.2.2.2.2 Refining the categorisation system

Advocating an adjustment to the current recognised parts of speech system are linguists such as Hockett (1994) and Crystal (1967), who suggest similar solutions: Crystal (1967) says that 'bridge classes' could be introduced, in order to include those forms that seem to fall between two of the conventional major word classes. Similarly, Hockett (1994) introduces intermediate categories of, for example, 'NV', to include forms occurring both as nouns and verbs in the language. The problem with these approaches is that although they might account for the cases of partial conversion described above in section 1.2.2.2, they do not explain what happens when a form is fully converted and a user either chooses the noun form or the verb form, depending on his/her needs: if a process of word formation has taken place, then it is logical to assume that two forms exist, one categorised as a noun, and one as a verb, rather than one form existing in an in-between noun-verb category. Perhaps a more pragmatic view of word-classes is that taken by Hopper and Thompson (1984) and Evans (2000), who state that some word forms are prototypical examples of a particular word class and their properties are as far removed from the properties of prototypical examples of the other classes as possible. This idea leaves room for the peripheral cases, those that do not display all the defining characteristics of one

class and/or those that display features of more than one class, to be accommodated on the cline between the word classes.

1.2.2.2.3 Another explanation of conversion and parts of speech

Another approach taken by, for example, Pennanen (1971) and Borer (1999), is to maintain that forms are not nouns or verbs until they are used; an underlying form is classless, and it is the functional and syntactic situation in which they are used that defines its word-class of the form in that particular context; there is no need for any bridging classes or indeed any parts of speech as it is the syntactic environment dictating the characteristics of the form, not a word class. For example, Borer says:

Ø-marked N↔V alternations are not derivational, but represent category neutral EIs (Encyclopaedic Items) inserted in different syntactic environments. (Borer 1999: 12)

Pennanen also advocates this idea that language users realise the part of speech through context and syntax rather than the form having an innate grammatical class:

the basis of conversion on the level of language is a morpheme or a group of morphemes, actualized in speech as a word. These morphemes have by definition meaning, but in the sense that “the part of speech” is not specified. (Pennanen 1971: 53-54)

If, as Pennanen and Borer suggest, word-forms are not stored with any grammatical class, then parts of speech only relate to different syntactic functions rather than to a form itself. This might be true to a certain extent, but language users are aware when a form is used with the characteristics of a different part of speech. Perhaps an explanation for the process would be that as we become accustomed to seeing and/or hearing a particular word-form occur in a given syntactic position and with a particular grammatical function, and with

inflections that co-occur with that position, we store that information, together with the semantic meaning and associated collocations. As a result, although there are few real restrictions on a form being used in any part of speech, we tend to adhere to the conventions. This means that when conversion occurs and a word is used in a different part of speech, we have to learn its new meaning, collocational profile and inflections; it is as if we have added a new form to the lexicon. So, even if conversion does just extend the profile of an existing form, we still process the new profile in the same way that we would any other form created by a word-formation process, making conversion, to my mind, a word-formation process.

1.2.2.3 Controversy 3: Stress differences between base and converted form

If conversion involves a new word-form being created from an existing one without any change in form, then it can be argued that the stress on each of the forms should be identical. However, taking the pairs *contest*_(N) and *contest*_(V), and *compound*_(N) and *compound*_(V): although the noun and verbs are orthographically identical, the noun forms are pronounced with the stress on the initial syllable and the verbs with the stress on the final syllable.

The stress difference can be explained in two ways: either the stress acts as a derivational marker to indicate that a new form has been created from the conversion process; or it is deemed to have been added after conversion has taken place. If stress is used as a derivational marker, then we have to isolate any examples where this occurs as being derivations rather than conversions.

However, the general consensus⁸ in the literature is that stress difference emerges **after** the conversion process and serves to distinguish between base and conversion in some cases. Bauer (personal communication) points out that stress differences are not necessarily consistent between different forms of English: American English and New Zealand English have idiosyncrasies concerning stress, so it is unlikely that there is an intrinsic difference between those forms with stress distinctions and other conversions.

Marchand (1964: 11) claims that stress distinction (and absence or presence of voice – see section 1.2.2.4 below) is derivationally irrelevant, serving only to be a categorial marker, and are adopted to distinguish between the two forms. Bauer (1983) was originally slightly more cautious about their inclusion as conversions, labelling them ‘marginal’ cases, but seems to have withdrawn this reservation in recent years. My view is that any stress distinction between a base and converted form occurs after conversion has taken place and therefore does not prevent the inclusion of these examples as conversions, they simply constitute a subset of the examples, membership of which may vary across regions and dialects.

1.2.2.4 Controversy 4: Etymologically excluded pairs

Although conversion is documented to have occurred readily as inflection waned in English, linguists differ in opinion over the status of forms that would have had derivational differences in Old English, but that have evolved to look

⁸ For instance, Adams (1973) and Marchand (1969) both include pairs with stress differences amongst their examples.

identical. These forms are usually termed ‘etymologically excluded pairs’, and their inclusion or exclusion depends directly on whether the diachronicity of language is taken into account or whether language is viewed purely as a synchronic entity.

A linguist, for example Štekauer (1996) taking a strictly diachronic view, would claim that any homonymous pairs that have not arrived in the language via conversion, but rather by the phonological and orthographic convergence of both forms, should not be included as examples of conversion. Examples of this phenomenon are rife in the language and include most of the homographic pairs stemming from Old English, like *bed*_(N & V), *book*_(N & V), *love*_(N & V). This is all very well in theory, but the etymological difference between *bed*_(N & V) and *bottle*_(N & V) is not obvious to any language user or indeed any linguist who had not researched the etymological origins of the current forms. From a synchronic point of view, any homographic pair of base forms, related semantically, is allowed to be included as conversions. As Valera (2000:149) points out:

to include under conversion homograph pairs whose formal identity is caused by loss of formal marks is synchronically right, but misses the differences between word-formation processes and diachronic evolution.

Related to the ‘etymologically excluded’ pairs are the forms where one of the pair contains a voiced consonant and the other a voiceless one. An example of this is *belief*_(N) and *believe*_(V), where both forms have evolved (like the etymologically excluded pair examples described above) and have been accommodated into modern English, but with a trace of their original derivational markings still visible. Historically, these voiced/voiceless pairs have the same origins as the etymologically excluded pairs that now look identical, so

it is difficult to decide whether to treat them differently. They are sometimes referred to as ‘partial conversions’, for example by Jespersen (1942) and Bauer (1983), thereby designating them a related but different set of conversions. I think this particular use of terminology is confusing⁹ and prefer to see them as a subset of the etymologically excluded pairs, and so the decision as to whether to include them lies with the difference between synchronic and diachronic approaches to linguistic study. It is my view that although etymology is interesting for linguists and helps us understand certain patterns of development, it is not relevant to the vast majority of language users. As the voiced/voiceless pairs are discernibly different, I prefer to regard them as marginal cases of conversion. Since most of this thesis deals with new conversions, the problem does not arise frequently, but where I have used the established conversions listed by other linguists, I have allowed the voiced/voiceless pairs to remain, as they make up a tiny minority of the lists.

1.2.2.5 Controversy 5: Direction of conversion

Unlike forms created by a derivational process, converted forms do not contain any markings to show that they were created from another form. It is therefore difficult to ascertain which form has been converted from which, where the etymology of the two forms is unknown. As Adams (2001:21) says:

Historical evidence, such as it is – lexicographical records cannot always tell us all we want to know – may not be helpful, and we should not expect it to be, since we are not usually aware of the history of words when we use them.

⁹ Definitions of ‘partial conversion’ will be discussed in chapter 2 (section 2.2) of the thesis.

Marchand (1974) claims that the direction of conversion can be ascertained by looking at a number of factors, including ‘semantic range’, ‘semantic dependence’ and stress, but it is questionable as to how important this information is. Once both forms are ensconced in the lexicon, users would not stop to check their etymologies as we do not need to know how a form has been created before we use it. Indeed, Lieber claims (1973:127) that: ‘Neither member is derived from the other; both members are basic and have entries in the permanent lexicon’. This thesis is not concerned with theoretical arguments over the importance of the direction or lack of it; I used historical evidence to ascertain the validity of the noun to verb conversions listed by Marchand and Adams in order to examine them, but have used the noun to verb category simply as a categorisation device in order to study a select group of the different conversion processes rather than as reflecting a particular theoretical standpoint.

1.2.2.6 Controversy 6: Nonce forms

Conversion is frequently used to coin puns and one-off nonce forms that are designed for a specific context; for example:

He could beet (sic) Hitler over the head with a vegetable crop until he *artichoked* and his pulses ceased.¹⁰

The conversion, *artichoked*, makes use of the graphic and phonological similarities between the noun form *artichoke* and the verb *choke* in order to create a pun. It is unlikely that the coiner of the pun imagined that the form would ever be used again, or that it would become common parlance, and some linguists would argue that this deliberate, ephemeral form is not a true word-

¹⁰ From *The Independent*, August 1998.

formation. For example, Jovanović (2003) rejects the inclusion of nonce forms as ‘conversion proper’:

every kind of change in word function cannot be considered as conversion proper. It is often the case that the speaker, for the purposes of immediate communication of certain facts or ideas, uses certain words in a way they have never been used before. Such words have no tendency of becoming permanent lexical items registered by lexicographers in the most important dictionaries of the language, and can be said to serve one-time purpose only. This kind of formation is referred to as *nonce* formation of words, which can be characterized as a kind of “temporary conversion”. (Jovanović, 2003: 425-26)

It seems to be that there is a fundamental flaw in the above argument: there are no structural differences between those conversions designed to be used once and those that manage to survive for centuries; the only variable occurs in the intention of the original user, something that is impossible to discover from text. Even if we could deduce intention, there is nothing to stop a form that is intended to be ephemeral from being adopted by other language users and becoming a part of the lexicon. This view is endorsed by Clark and Clark (1975) and Aronoff (1980); Clark and Clark create the term ‘contextual’ to cover new forms, which is rejected by Aronoff, but they still include them as examples of conversion:

innovations and well-established verbs are really two ends of a continuum, with no sharp dividing line between them... the words that are at present well established as verbs were themselves once innovations. (1975: 769)

It is my view that neologisms (including so-called nonce forms) provide a valuable insight into conversion as we can see the word formation process in action and from them we can conjecture some of the motivations for the creation of new conversions. The creation of nonce forms is one of the important functions of conversion and is one of the reasons why conversion is so prolific in English; this deserves recognition rather than relegation.

1.2.3 Other research undertaken

Although conversion usually gets a brief mention in the literature on word-formation, it has rarely been the focus of a lengthy study. Those that have investigated conversion in any depth have tended to concentrate on the theoretical side of the phenomenon, for example, Štekauer (1996) investigates how conversion might fit into an onomasiological theory of language, and Twardisz (1997) explores conversion in terms of cognitive theory. In addition, the problems described above of whether conversion can be said to be a word-formation process and if it involves a zero have received much attention in the literature. Conversion has caused problems in terms of explaining the phenomenon, so the literature has not really advanced beyond attempted reconciliations of the different theories or incorporation of the phenomenon into research of the wider field of morphology and word formation (see for example, Adams 1973, 2001; Bauer 1983, Marchand 1960). This thesis looks at conversion through text-based investigations, so that we can observe conversions in real text examples, rather than theorising about lists of words.

1.3 My thesis

1.3.1 Aims

The principal aim of the thesis is to undertake a text-based study of conversion in order to understand more about why conversion is prolific, which nouns are used to construct new forms and how they are used in the language. The use of large corpora means that I can look at examples of conversions that are well-established as well as those occurring on the peripheries of the lexicon, in order to find out if there are differences between them. By examining the contexts

surrounding the forms, it is possible to gain some insights into how language users use these forms and integrate them into their text.

1.3.2 Noun to verb conversion

Of all the conversion processes represented in English, it is acknowledged, and shown by, for example, Biese (1941), that creating verbs from nouns is the most productive. As in-depth analysis of all the different conversion processes is beyond the scope of a thesis, it seems logical to begin a text-based study of conversion there. The trends and discoveries applying to noun to verb conversion can serve as templates for investigating the remaining conversion processes at a later stage.

1.3.3 Materials and methods

The majority of the research has been carried out using large-scale corpora and various software applications designed to help navigation of these text collections. A corpus-based study allows the linguist to investigate a phenomenon in its natural habitat within the text. As Bauer and Renouf point out:

It is long established that corpus based studies force the linguist-analyst to come face-to-face with a number of phenomena that might easily be overlooked in an armchair study. (2001: 101)

Previous studies have not undertaken an investigation of conversion using corpora and have therefore been in the position of looking only at conversions that they could obtain from dictionaries, intuition or those gathered by previous linguists. This is an unsatisfactory method of collecting conversion examples as it means that neologisms and rare items, which might reveal just as much about

the process as established forms, are neglected. Corpora enable us to observe conversion as it is used by language users, and allows us to look beyond the theoretical problems to the realities of its use.

1.3.3.1 The corpora used

The two corpora used in the thesis are the BNC (British National Corpus), a large database of modern British English speech and text, and a newspaper corpus developed by the Research and Development Unit for English Studies (RDUES). The BNC consists of texts from a wide range of genres and styles¹¹ and is relatively large at just over 100,000,000 words. The main advantage of this corpus is that it is fully parsed, so that it is possible to find nouns and verbs that look identical, but it is also useful for its range and variety of different texts, which allows a broader investigation of conversion in British English.

The corpus designed by RDUES (henceforth *Independent/Guardian* corpus) consists of just over 300 million words of newspaper text, created from *The Independent* (1988-1998) and *The Guardian* (1999-2003), a far larger and more up-to-date corpus than the BNC. It also has the advantage of consisting of many different article types and subject matters, but without crossing genre boundaries, so whilst the BNC is useful for information concerning English in general, the *Independent/Guardian* corpus allows us to carry out a narrow and focused investigation, eliminating the genre variable. Crucially, this corpus is chronologically encoded, which allows the identification of new forms occurring

¹¹ Full details of the BNC can be seen at <http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk>.

in the corpus, and allows us to trace the frequency of occurrence and contexts associated with a word form over the period of the corpus.

Where examples from the *Independent/Guardian* corpus are cited, I have included the newspaper, year and month in brackets after the quotation. For example, (Ind9807) would indicate that the quotation has been found in the *Independent* newspaper, July 1998.

1.3.3.2 Tools

The BNCWeb tool¹² was used to navigate the BNC since it provides a parsed search, vital for the study of conversions. In order to search the *Independent/Guardian* corpus, the software set up by RDUES was employed. AVIATOR and ACRONYM¹³ were used to analyse the corpus for conversions and their immediate contexts, and APRIL allowed the identification of neologisms.

The software tools used in this research were developed as a result of the work done over the last fifteen years by software engineers in the Research and Development Unit for English Studies. The more basic, but useful, tools used were developed for extracting patterns from text as a result of work carried out on major research projects. The first major analytical system, AVIATOR project (Analysis of Verbal Interaction and Automated Text Retrieval), built up collocate databases containing frequency lists of the words appearing within a given span

¹² Details of the BNCWeb tool can be found at <http://homepage.mac.com/bncweb/home.html>.

¹³ See Renouf (1993, 1996) and Collier and Pacey (1997) for details of the software.

of the target word. The second of the projects, the ACRONYM project (Automatic Collocational Retrieval of Nyms), looked at the extraction of words with similar collocational profiles as the target word. Different commands were developed to help extract patterns and particular words: the 'mc_retrieve' command allows the retrieval of word forms with a specified context span either side of the word and 'wc_lookindex' identifies the frequencies of similar word forms, by matching letter strings. In addition, I developed a command which identified and extracted patterns of text, the 'mc_phrase' tool. This could identify phrases containing the target word alongside one of a set of specified words; for example, the tool could find a particular form occurring after a modal verb. This allows examples of base form conversions to be found without having to resort to manual filtering.

One of the principal reasons that conversion has not been studied using corpora is the difficulty attached to extracting conversions from corpora: as the noun and verb base forms look identical, it takes far too long to sort out and extract the verb forms manually. A solution was to use the BNC to find the contexts for established forms that I already knew to be conversions, but find neologisms using the diachronic *Independent/Guardian* corpus. The APRIL software could automatically extract strings of letters that had not appeared previously in the corpus, or in a test corpus of newspaper data, but this would not identify any new conversions occurring as base or -s forms of the verb as they would exist as base or plural forms of the noun. To overcome that problem, I extracted all the inflected forms of the verbs and searched for all possible verb forms (using the mc_phrase tool) in order to find any base or -s forms of the verbal paradigm.

The list of the new noun to verb conversions found in the *Independent/Guardian* corpus is printed in Appendix 2.

A consequence of the base noun and base conversion being identical is that tagging tools are incapable of achieving a sufficiently accurate rate of differentiating neologistic conversions from their base noun. The APRIL software uses a TnT tagger, which works by using a ‘trigram’ approach (the two words occurring before the word being tagged are examined and the word class is guessed on the basis of the probability of the different word classes occurring in that particular position). Although the TnT tagger was found to be the most accurate for neologisms, I found very quickly that the accuracy was too low to be reliable enough to find new conversions and had to discard this approach for finding new conversions. This is certainly an area that could be improved substantially with further research into how to make taggers more accurate, particularly with neologisms and forms where word class is difficult to predict, as is the case with conversions.

In addition to the APRIL software, I carried out a check to ensure that the ‘new’ conversions were not just rare forms or spelling errors that had not occurred previously. The on-line version of the Oxford English Dictionary (OED) was used to eradicate these anomalies; it is updated regularly and contains valuable and relatively accurate historical information concerning obscure and obsolete terms.

1.3.4 Limitations of the research

Although corpora can tell the linguist a great deal about language in action, there are disadvantages in relying too heavily on any one particular corpus. In any corpus study, a linguist will only have access to the language represented by that particular corpus; for example, the newspaper corpus used for some of the studies presented here can only tell us about the language of journalists writing for the specific newspapers (here 'The Guardian' for 1999-2003 and 'The Independent' for 1989-1998). This means that any extrapolations to explain the wider use of English have to be made with caution as the corpora used to study noun to verb conversion are by no means exhaustive or necessarily representative of the language used by all English speakers or writers. However, corpora provide a slightly less limited view of a phenomenon than would be achieved through examination of intuition.

There are also some obvious limitations on this study of noun to verb conversion: the starting point of the research was an empirical study of conversions in context, and this thesis represents five text-based studies of the issues that seemed most interesting and important, rather than an a-priori theoretical treatise on conversion.

1.3.5 Research questions

The following research questions, resulting from an initial examination of examples and an awareness of the absence of research in these areas, structure the thesis:

1. Are nouns that are converted into verb forms fully accepted into the verb class?
2. What kinds of proper nouns are used as bases for conversion?
3. Are there any restrictions on the process of noun to verb conversion?
4. How do language users comprehend new conversions?
5. How and why are conversions used?

1.3.6 Organisation of the thesis

This first chapter has provided the background literature and controversies associated with conversion. I have discussed various different views taken by linguists and weighed up arguments for and against each of those views, and established my views on each of these important aspects. The corpora and tools used to investigate each of the research questions are explained and I have identified areas of investigation that will be researched in order to provide linguists with a clearer idea of how and why conversions are used by language users.

Chapter two investigates whether converted forms can be considered to be prototypically verbal, and to what extent the term 'partial conversion' is appropriate to noun to verb conversion. The relevant literature is examined, and then criteria for the categorisation of 'partial' and 'full' conversions are developed in order to pinpoint the extent to which established conversions occur as 'full' and 'partial' conversions.

Chapter three examines the role of proper nouns in conversion and investigates whether there are trends indicating that some types of proper nouns are more likely to be converted than others, and the possible reasons for this. Different categorisation systems are established in order to investigate the variety of factors that might influence the use of a particular base in the conversion process, and the interaction of these variables are observed. The study also observes the possible links between different types of proper nouns and the relationships that are formed linking the base noun and converted form.

Chapter four explores the hypothesis that conversion is uninhibited by the restricting factors impeding other word-formation processes. The relevant literature is examined and the factors that are potentially inhibiting are identified. The inhibiting factors are ranked in terms of their restrictive ‘power’ over the conversion process and combinations of the factors are investigated in order to find out whether the presence of more than one inhibiting factor decreases the likelihood of a conversion being created.

Chapter five investigates whether new conversions are treated differently from other neologisms in terms of how the meaning of the new form is anchored in a text; the study uses the findings of previous investigations of neologisms to see whether new conversions are considered to be more or less semantically transparent than other neologisms. In addition, the study observes how users combine contextual clues, and where they place these clues in order to achieve semantic clarity.

The final study (chapter six) examines why conversions are used and are so prolific. Two levels of categorisation are developed in order to help to identify the different roles conversion plays in the language, as well as revealing the specific uses of the forms. These functions are measured against theories of effective communication, to see whether the conversion process can be said to fulfil the requirements set out in those theories, and to establish potential reasons for the productivity of noun to verb conversion in English. Potential differences in function between the established conversions and neologisms are also observed.

Chapter seven concludes the thesis; I revisit the research questions outlined above, and draw together the conclusions from the different studies in order to establish the advances made by the thesis. The concluding chapter also indicates the possibilities for related future research which have been uncovered by this project.

**CHAPTER 2: PARTIAL AND FULL NOUN TO
VERB CONVERSION**

2.1 Introduction

Classification systems are devised in an attempt to explain individual phenomena, by grouping them according to a number of shared properties. Although, given a perfect system, there should be no exceptions, in practice the properties selected as criterial are usually only a subset of the possible total range. The result is that some phenomena do not quite fit the selected criteria and have to be regarded as 'exceptions'. The classification of words into word-class categories is a case in point. Words are regarded as verbs if they comply with a set of characteristics that are culturally assigned, i.e. that they can attach the requisite tense, number and case markers and that they fit into the 'correct' grammatical place in an utterance/text. Actually, words do not often fit neatly with this mode of classification; noun to verb conversion, where the words are precisely those on the borders of word class categories, is a case in point. Language is constantly in flux, and noun-verb conversion is one area where changes in English manifest themselves, making a general classification system of the phenomenon challenging.

Corpus linguistics helps to call into question existing classification systems; perceptions of language behaviour can be fragmented by the number of context-specific properties that emerge from the in-depth study of individual words and their behaviour in the language. Corpus linguistics also broadens the focus on the phenomenon as we are able to look at it as it has been used by a range of speakers and writers.

Until now, noun to verb conversion has been considered in terms which are rather black and white: in fact there are different stages at which a word can stand between being used as solely a noun and being adopted as a full member of the verb category. A corpus linguistic study allows us to begin to see where each particular form stands in relation to the two classes it is being shifted between and to what extent that word could be said to have undergone the process of conversion. This chapter deals in more detail with those conversions that fall somewhere between the two categories of noun and verb, and suggests a finer classification which can account for their use in the language captured by the corpora used.

2.2 Background literature

There have been several categorisations of noun-verb conversions in the literature which have been based on a variety of criteria: Marchand (1960), and Biese (1941) present their data chronologically, according to the date of conversion; Clark & Clark (1979), Adams (1973 and 2001) based their categorisations on the relationships between noun and verb, for example if the resulting verb is a locative it will be classified differently from those conversions which are instrumental verbs. Marchand (1969) also applied a secondary, semantic categorisation, which categorised the conversions on the basis of the semantics associated with the nouns forming the base for the conversions, for example, names of animals, personal substantives (mother, father, bully) etc.. These different categorisations are important in showing:

- a) that conversions have been present throughout the history of English, and

b) that the process does not seem to be restricted with regards to the semantics associated with the noun or resulting relationship between the original noun base and converted verb.

However, the categorisations do not tell us anything about the status of the conversions with regard to how far the nouns could be said to be integrated into the verbal class; they all assume that a form is either completely converted (whatever that may entail) or not. The categorisation proposed by this chapter is not supposed to be taken in isolation, but to be seen to contribute new information to all the preceding categorisations proposed by the literature.

Some noun to verb conversions do not utilise the complete paradigm of verbal inflections, and therefore cannot be employed across all the different contexts in which it is possible to use a verb. For example, the verb *blackberry* only appears with the verbal inflection *-ing*, *blackberrying*, in the test corpora used for the purposes of this study. This indicates that the base form, *-s* and *-ed* inflections are either not used at all or are rare enough not to appear in the large amount of corpus data. In this case, *blackberry*_(v) is very restricted in its use as it does not have a passive voice (**they were blackberried yesterday*), cannot be used to form a present or past perfect (**he has/had blackberried*), cannot be used in the simple present, simple past or to form a future (**I blackberry, *we blackberried, * they will blackberry*), and is also restricted in mood; the subjunctive and imperative cannot be expressed.

Although conversion has been documented relatively frequently since the term was first used by Sweet in 1891, the literature is undecided as how to classify and

what to call those conversions that do not fall into the area of ‘full conversion’. Where the notion of ‘partial conversion’ is discussed, the literature deals almost exclusively with the area of adjective to noun conversion, ignoring the possible parallels that may exist within noun to verb conversion, or between other parts of speech. In addition to this, there are terminological discrepancies that must be resolved, or at least explained, before a general description of the relationship between full and partial conversion can be approached using corpus-driven data. I will begin with an overview of the whole topic before moving towards the more specifically relevant area of nouns and verbs.

The conventional definitions of ‘full’ conversion given in the literature are for the most part in agreement with each other and do not deviate from the early linguists’ definitions of the concept:

The test of conversion is that the converted word adopts all the formal characteristics (inflection etc) of the part of speech it has been made into... The question, which part of speech a word belongs to, is thus one of form, not of meaning (Sweet, 1960:39)

This definition is endorsed by other major linguists: Pennanen (1971:19) states that:

A fully converted word should adopt all the formal characteristics of the part of speech to which it has been transferred, the decisive criterion being form, not meaning.

Zandvoort’s (1950) and Poutsma’s (1914) definitions of the phenomenon similarly agree:

the converted word has to all intents and purposes become another part of speech, taking the adjuncts and endings proper to that part of speech and has ceased to belong to its original part of speech. (Zandvoort, 1950:298)

When an adjective is totally converted into a noun, it has all or most of the peculiar grammatical constructions of a noun; i.e. so far as its meaning admits, it may be used as the subject or the object of the sentence; it may be preceded by a preposition; it may be preceded by the ordinary noun-modifiers: articles, adjectives, adnominal pronouns and numerals; and it admits of inflection for the genitive and the plural. (Poutsma, 1914:365)

Perhaps the only small discrepancy emerging from the definitions is that Poutsma does not assert that the converted adjective must take *all* of the characteristics associated with nouns in order for him to consider it a full conversion. At first, it seems logical that full conversion should entail adoption of all the characteristics of the word class it is being converted into, but as word classes are simply the best possible groupings of words displaying similar characteristics for linguistic convenience, the likelihood is that there will be a variety of compliance with all the recognised characteristics of a particular word class set even within those words which have been allocated that particular word class label. Of course, the problem then arises as to where the line can be drawn between full and partial conversion, or even if a line can be drawn at all. However, it can be seen that the general consensus regarding conversion is that the converted word must behave like other words in the word class group that it has been converted into, i.e. the word must display the same sorts of inflections and syntactic patterns.

Full noun-verb conversion entails:

The adoption all the formal characteristics of the verb word-class, including :

- all the inflections and
- all or most of the peculiar grammatical constructions associated with the adopted word-class, e.g. the same type of modifier and syntactic position.

The general consensus among most linguists on the concept of full conversion does not, unfortunately, extend to the notion of partial conversion. The terminology is often defined differently across the work of different linguists and there are discrepancies over where the boundaries of conversion lie.

The primary area of controversy is over whether a substantivization of an adjective can be called a conversion or whether it is better described as being an elliptical use of the adjective. This may not be directly relevant to the analysis of noun-verb conversions, but the implications of whether ellipsis can be said to be a step on the way towards full conversion is important across the spectrum of different word-class conversions. The example often cited in conjunction with this phenomenon is 'the poor are with us always'. The status of *poor* in this context is debatable and can be viewed in the following ways:

i. As a noun (converted from the adjective)

Arguments for:

- a. It has been placed in the position normally filled by a nominal form.
- b. It is preceded by a determiner, typical of a nominal form.

ii. As an ellipted adjective

Arguments for:

- a. It could not be made into a singular noun form **a poor (n)*¹⁴.

¹⁴ This can also be said of uncountable or mass nouns, for example **a milk* and plural nouns, for example **a trouser*, **a scissor*. However, *poor* cannot be used without the definite article, **poor*

- b. It could be argued that the language user mentally ‘completes’ the phrase by inserting *people* after *poor* and what is understood by the phrase is ‘the poor people are with us always’. (see Poutsma: *ibid.*)

iii. As a partial conversion

The form can thus not be properly ascribed to either the adjectival or nominal word class and so must fall somewhere in the grey area in between those two categories. The arguments above all seem logical; the form has partly become a noun but has not taken all the characteristics generally associated with nouns.

Adams (1973; 2001), although agreeing in principle that there is some overlap of word class categories in adjectival substantivizations, does not consider them as being part of the same process as that of full conversion:

Partial conversion is a term descriptive of certain kinds of syntactic behaviour, the limited overlapping of the classes. It is not, strictly speaking, a stage on the way to total conversion (1973 §2.4)

There are positions in sentences most typically occupied by e.g. nouns, but these are not exclusively reserved. (1973:27)

Adjectives functioning as heads of noun phrases, e.g. *the innocent* (traditionally ‘partial conversion’) are not treated as cases of word formation, since any adjective can function like a noun in a definite noun phrase denoting a class of people, or a quality (*the sublime*). There are a few fully nominalized and countable nouns based on adjectives, like *an*

are unhealthy where the other two exceptions can; *milk is good for you*, *scissors can be dangerous*.

alien, an innocent, a juvenile, an empty (bottle), a submersible (vessel).
(2001:20)

Adams' stance, then, seems to be that a word belonging to a particular word-class, for example, *innocent*_(ADJ), should not be thought of as anything but an adjective with the property of being able to function in the noun's usual grammatical position. The cases where forms have been fully recognised as nouns are 'based on adjectives', not converted from that word class. It is very difficult to see what, if any, difference there is between a conversion process and the temporary process, such as Adams suggests, of forms being borrowed and grammatically shifted.

Biese (1941), on the other hand, argues that although the origin of the process may be an ellipsis, 'Substantivization of adjectives may also be regarded as a type of conversion.' (1941:334)

This points, perhaps, to the view that ellipsis and conversion may not have to be viewed as mutually exclusive phenomena, but that, in the case of adjective-noun conversion, the process of ellipsis may be considered the first step in the larger phenomenon of conversion.

A more recent view put forward by Valera (2000) states that the potential for change from an ellipited form to a converted form must be a syntactic process and not one of word-formation:

Ellipsis has often been cited in the specialised literature as bearing responsibility for syntactic behaviours that may in time lead to conversion.

This can be seen in the noun *stimulant* cited by Adams (1973:16), originally as an adjective, but today fully accepted as a noun, probably as a result of occurrence with its nominal superordinate collocates (presumably a hyponym of SUBSTANCE.)

It is more than doubtful that they are part of a word formation process than of a syntactic one, even if such a process may result in permanent assumption of (morphological, syntactic, and/or semantic) features of a new word-class (Valera 2000:153-154)

What is a word formation process if not the creation of a new word form? If a conversion can be said to be morphologically, syntactically, and/or semantically different from its derivative, and is perceived as being a separate entity from the original base form by language users, then surely a word formation process has taken place. The case of *stimulant* as described above is a good example of an adjective becoming accepted as a full conversion as a result of an initial ellipsis.

Don (1993) argues that [regarding gerunds and substantivizations of adjectives] ‘The meaning of the words does not change under this substantivization process. This crucially differs from conversion’ (1993:3)

The processes of conversion and substantivization are such that a word form may take on a different grammatical role within the sentence without the meaning of the converted form necessarily becoming significantly semantically independent from its base. Of course, as a result of the grammatical role-change there are likely to be some semantic changes, but the converted form must bear some semantic relation to its base or the two forms would simply be homographs rather than a conversion pair. It is clear that substantivizations cannot be classed under the umbrella of ‘full conversions’, but as they represent the middle point between the word classes of adjectives and nouns, I think it is justifiable to claim that they could be subsumed into the group of ‘partial conversions’. If

conversion involves the use of a word form in a syntactically different context, then substantivizations can be included as partial conversions.

As Kennedy (1935) says:

Words shift from one part of speech to another by the process of conversion; at times a word becomes a sort of hybrid, functioning as two different parts of speech at the same time and fusing them together; and sometimes a word is so utilized that this fusion or confusion produces uncertainty in the speaker or writer. (1935:317)

conversion makes no change in the form of a word but only in its general functions. And finally, it is necessary to recognise various stages of conversion; in 'The *poor* are with us always', the adjective is not completely converted into a noun, but in 'He sold his *goods* finally' the adjectival value of *good* has disappeared so completely that the word can take the plural ending -s like any other noun. When a noun has changed its function to such an extent that it is capable of taking on new inflectional endings, then the process of conversion may be considered complete. (1935:318)

Perhaps it is necessary to note that in the case of *good* (adj)→ *goods* (noun), the noun has been brought into English as a result of a translation from the Latin *bonum publicum*, *bona publica* meaning 'public good' and not as a conversion from the adjectival meaning of *good*. It is also important that *goods* (noun) cannot be used in the singular form and therefore also has limitations on the inflections it can take, so although his point about conversion making no change in the form of a word but only in function still stands, the example given does not support his point very well.

Sweet (1960) and Zandvoort (1950) both agree with the theory that word forms which cannot be satisfactorily classified in one particular word class may be considered as 'partial conversions':

Partial conversion – a word really partakes of the formal peculiarities of two parts of speech. (Sweet, 1960:39)

Partial conversion – the converted word takes on only some of the characteristics of the other parts of speech at the same time. Thus, *the poor*, though plural in meaning does not take a plural ending: it becomes a noun to some extent only, while remaining to some extent an adjective (cf. *the poorest of the poor*). (Zandvoort, 1950:298)

The more relevant area of partial conversion, which has not been so widely discussed in the literature, but which is important to this thesis, concerns its place within the area of noun-verb conversion.

As Bladin (1911) points out, the phenomenon of partial conversion within noun-verb converted words is largely overlooked in the early literature and has not been dealt with extensively since:

A glance into any English dictionary reveals to us a multitude of words capable of being used indifferently as noun and verb. Generally we overlook the important fact that the verb may be <<defective>>, i.e. not used in all its forms.

This defectiveness can be traced to two causes, 1:0 either the sense does not admit (or does not well admit) of the verbal form in question, or, 2:0 the form proves an obstacle to the verb's being conjugated throughout. (1911: 22)

Looking back we shall find an increased number of defective verbs, inasmuch as some words, perhaps as pioneers for others, have undergone a gradual evolution; from defective they have now become 'all forms' verbs. (1911: 23)

This statement will be explored in this section using data from corpora in order to discover the extent of the 'defectiveness' described by Bladin in noun to verb conversion.

2.3 Hypotheses

- There is a continuum between 'full' and 'partial' conversion

- Conversions will be distributed along a cline; some converted forms will be closer to full verbal status than others
- Conversion is not irreversible; a converted verb form can fall out of use
- Some verbal inflections are more likely to be attested in data with a converted form than others.

2.4 Method

The method used to explore partial conversion in noun to verb examples has been split into three sections:

1. A pilot study investigating the practicalities of different levels of categorisation;
2. The main study investigating the extent and degree of partial conversion present in the collection of conversions identified by Marchand (1969) and Adams (1973);
3. A control test to ensure that the results have not been too influenced by corpus bias.

2.4.1 Pilot study

2.4.1.1 Introduction

It is true to say that not all verbs which have been created by other word-formation processes are capable of being used in all the grammatical functions possible of the word class, but is interesting to see just how far conversions

conform to the norms of the verb word class in terms of their inflectional and functional capabilities.

In order to gain an insight into how restricted or unrestricted a conversion might be within the functions available to verbs, a pilot study was carried out on two conversions, *cloud* and *police*. These two words were chosen on the basis that the BNC yielded enough examples of them as verbs to make a study worthwhile.

If, in order for a conversion to be accepted as a verb, the converted form has to be capable of being used with all the accepted verbal inflections and forms, then it is necessary to know what these combinations are.

Lexical verbs, as a general rule, can be used:

- Transitively and intransitively
- In the active and passive voice
- In combination with a modal form
- In the past or present tense
- In the progressive, perfect or simple aspect
- In the subjunctive, imperative or indicative mood
- As an infinitive
- As a reflective form

The two conversion examples were analysed in terms of the grammatical functions listed above¹⁵ and then matched with a list of the theoretically possible combinations.

2.4.1.2 Results:

Figure 2.1

Key:

- Trans – transitive
- Intrans – intransitive
- Act – active voice
- Pass – passive voice
- Prog – progressive
- Perf - perfect
- Ind – indicative

Structure	Example ¹⁶	Structure attested with 'Cloud'?	Structure attested with 'Police'?
1. Trans + Modal + Act + Present + Perfect + Ind	<i>I should have washed the cat</i>	Y	X
2. Trans + Modal + Act + Present + Simple + Ind	<i>I should wash the cat</i>	Y	Y
3. Trans + Modal + Pass + Present + Perfect + Ind	<i>The cat should have been washed by someone</i>	X	X
4. Trans + Modal + Pass + Present + Simple + Ind	<i>The cat should be washed by someone</i>	Y	Y
5. Trans + Act + Past + Prog + Ind	<i>We were changing the sheets</i>	Y	X

¹⁵ See Appendices 3 and 4.

¹⁶ The examples have been invented in order to show the full range of possible structures.

6.	Trans + Act + Past + Perfect + Ind	<i>We have changed the sheets</i>	Y	Y
7.	Trans + Act + Past + Simple + Ind	<i>We changed the sheets</i>	Y	Y
8.	Trans + Pass + Past + Prog + Ind	<i>The sheets were being changed by Mum</i>	Y	X
9.	Trans + Pass + Past + Perfect + Ind	<i>The sheets had been changed by Mum</i>	Y	Y
10.	Trans + Pass + Past + Simple + Ind	<i>The sheets were changed by Mum</i>	Y	Y
11.	Trans + Act + Present + Prog + Ind	<i>They are typing the work</i>	Y	Y
12.	Trans + Act + Present + Perfect + Ind	<i>They have typed the work</i>	Y	Y
13.	Trans + Act + Present + Simple + Subjunctive	<i>They demanded that I type the work</i>	X	X
14.	Trans + Act + Present + Simple + Imperative	<i>Type the work!</i>	X	X
15.	Trans + Act + Present + Simple + Ind	<i>I type my work</i>	Y	Y
16.	Trans + Pass + Present + Prog + Ind	<i>My work is being typed by a kind secretary</i>	X	Y
17.	Trans + Pass + Present + Perfect + Ind	<i>My work has been typed by a kind secretary</i>	Y	X
18.	Trans + Pass + Present + Simple + Subjunctive	<i>They demanded that the work be typed by a competent secretary</i>	X	X
19.	Trans + Pass + Present + Simple + Ind	<i>The work is typed by a nice secretary</i>	Y	Y
20.	Intrans + Modal + Act + Present + Perfect + Ind	<i>The computer should have arrived</i>	X	X

21.	Intrans + Modal + Act + Present + Simple + Ind	<i>The computer should arrive soon</i>	X	X
22.	Intrans + Act + Past + Prog + Ind	<i>The kids were playing in the park yesterday</i>	Y	X
23.	Intrans + Act + Past + Perfect + Ind	<i>The kids have played in that field before</i>	Y	X
24.	Intrans + Act + Past + Simple + Ind	<i>The kids saw an aardvark this morning</i>	Y	X
25.	Intrans + Act + Present + Prog + Ind	<i>It's raining</i>	Y	X
26.	Intrans + Act + Present + Perfect + Ind	<i>It has rained</i>	Y	X
27.	Intrans + Act + Present + Simple	<i>It rains every day</i>	Y	X
28.	Trans + Modal + Act + Present + Perf + Prog + Ind	<i>They should have been watching the film</i>	X	X
29.	Trans + Modal + Pass + Present + Perf + Prog + Ind	<i>The meal should have been being cooked by my brother</i>	X	X
30.	Trans + Act + Present + Perf + Prog + Ind	<i>Alex has been getting hayfever for years</i>	X	Y
31.	Trans + Act + Past + Perf + Prog + Ind	<i>Alex had been getting hayfever frequently</i>	X	X
32.	Trans + Pass + Past + Perf + Prog + Ind	<i>The milk had been being delivered by a new milkman</i>	X	X
33.	Trans + Pass + Present + Perf + Prog + Ind	<i>The milk has been being delivered by a new milkman</i>	X	X
34.	Intrans + Modal + Act + Present + Perf + Prog + Ind	<i>I should have been dancing every night this week</i>	X	X
35.	Intrans + Act + Past + Perf + Prog + Ind	<i>The baby had been sneezing that morning</i>	X	X

36.	Intrans + Act + Present + Perf + Prog + Ind	<i>The baby has been sneezing this morning</i>	X	X
37.	Modal + Act + Present + Prog + Ind + Refl	<i>He should be dressing himself by now</i>	X	X
38.	Modal + Act + Present + Perfect + Ind + Refl	<i>He should have dressed himself by now</i>	X	X
39.	Modal + Act + Present + Simple + Ind + Refl	<i>He should dress himself every morning</i>	X	Y
40.	Act + Present + Prog + Ind + Refl	<i>I am shaving myself using your razor</i>	X	X
41.	Act + Present + Perfect + Ind + Refl	<i>I have shaved myself using your razor</i>	X	X
42.	Act + Present + Simple + Sub + Refl	<i>It was ordered that I shave myself every morning</i>	X	X
43.	Act + Present + Simple + Imp + Refl	<i>Wash yourself!</i>	X	X
44.	Act + Present + Simple + Ind + Refl	<i>I wash myself in the shower every morning</i>	X	Y
45.	Modal + Act + Present + Perfect + Prog + Ind + Refl	<i>He should have been washing himself in the clean water, not the dirty!</i>	X	X
46.	Act + Past + Perfect + Prog + Ind + Refl	<i>She had been cutting herself regularly before I got her a better knife</i>	X	X
47.	Act + Present + Perfect + Prog + Ind + Refl	<i>She has been cutting herself regularly as a cry for help</i>	X	X
48.	Act + Ind + Refl + Inf	<i>Even managing to dress yourself after a stroke is an achievement</i>	X	X
49.	Trans + Modal + Act + Ind + Inf	<i>I would be reluctant to make you do something you didn't want</i>	X	Y
50.	Act + Past + Simple + Ind + Refl	<i>The cat preened herself after breakfast</i>	X	Y

51.	Intrans + Modal + Act + Ind + Inf	<i>I'll have to sing in the choir later</i>	X	X
52.	Trans + Act + Ind + Inf	<i>Doubts were beginning to fill his mind</i>	Y	X
53.	Intrans + Act + Ind + Inf	<i>The sky began to cloud over</i>	Y	Y
54.	Trans + Pass + Past + Ind + Inf	<i>The party was to be spoiled by an unwanted guest</i>	X	X
55.	Trans + Act + Present + Prog + Ind + Inf	<i>Not many people can claim to be watching programmes like these</i>	X	Y
56.	Trans + Pass + Present + Prog + Ind + Inf	<i>Martha consented to being cleaned by her mother</i>	X	Y
57.	Trans + Pass + Present + Ind + Inf	<i>The law will need to be changed</i>	Y	Y
TOTAL			23/57	20/57

Out of the 57 categories listed here, neither conversion fulfilled more than half of the possible grammatical functions. It is also doubtful that 'ordinary' verbs, i.e. those created by methods other than conversion would fulfil the complete set of functions¹⁷. This may be the result of a number of factors:

- a. The sample was not big enough to yield examples for each of the possible grammatical functions; or
- b. The corpus was skewed somehow and the texts chosen do not contain a representative number of, for example, subjunctive mood examples; or
- c. The corpus is largely representative and the verbs do not usually fulfil these functions.

2.4.1.3 Conclusions

Given the scale of the initial investigation, it would have been too time-consuming to analyse each example of conversion in full as above. In addition to the practicalities of analysing the examples, it is doubtful whether it would yield particularly relevant results and there are too many categories for the conversions to fall into if every possible combination of factor is taken into account. A categorisation system must be in place in order for important similarities and differences to be brought to the surface, so there is a fine balance between having too many categories, which may mask similarities, and too few categories, obscuring differences. For example, it is possible to think of examples which undermine the corpus evidence given above; *'they should have policed that area'* seems an acceptable sentence and would fit into category '1' above, where there are no attestations in the data. The categorisation was carried out on a relatively large corpus¹⁸, but the difference between placing a conversion in one category or the next may be due to corpus bias so it is not worthwhile or credible to look for every distinction possible. The results of the pilot study led to the main study, outlined below.

2.5 Main study

In order to create a large classification of greater generalisability, a larger-scale analysis was carried out on lists of conversions collected by Marchand (1969)

¹⁷ The control test, section 2.5.4, tests the eventual criteria by which I establish the categories of 'full' and 'partial' conversion against 'ordinary' verbs that have not been created using conversion or derivation.

¹⁸ The corpus used was the BNC. For details, see 1.3.3.1.

and Adams (1973) (lists are given in Appendix 1), in order to ascertain whether a corpus-based study would yield some real examples of partial conversion and in what proportion. The theory, that there would be a variety of different stages of partial conversion, was tested on the real present-day textual data given in the BNC.

2.5.1 Data

2.5.1.1 The lists of conversions:

1. Marchand (1969)

This is a diachronic study, with conversions with origins in language from Middle English up to language contemporary to the author at the time of writing (1969).

2. Adams (1973)

All the conversions recognised as being present in (British) English at the time of writing.

2.5.1.2 The corpus:

1. BNC (British National Corpus)

This is a relatively large collection of written and spoken British Modern English (100,106,008 words). The corpus was designed to represent as wide a range of modern British English as possible and has texts representing different genres and registers.

The conversions were first looked for in the BNC and categorised (see Appendix 5 for full results) according to the inflections attested: the conversions were

looked for in the nominal base form, e.g. *salt*_(N); then verb base form, *salt*_(V), the *-s* inflection, *salts*_(V); the *-ed* inflection, *salted*; and *-ing* inflection, *salting*, in order to see how far the converted forms could be inflected. Transitivity status, active and passive voices and reflexives were also looked for in order to create a fuller classification. It was assumed that if all the inflections were present then it was at least theoretically possible for the past and present tenses and the different aspects and moods to be created, and therefore it was not necessary to include these factors in the classification system.

2.5.2 Preliminary Categorisation of the established conversions listed by Marchand and Adams.

Figure 2.2

Category	Inflections	Transitivity	Reflexivity	Activity and Passivity	Examples from Marchand and Adams
1	All inflections observed	Transitive and Intransitive uses (T/I)	Reflexives observed (R)	Active and Passive uses (A/P)	<i>arch</i>
2	All inflections observed	T/I	No reflexives (N)	A/P	<i>age</i>
3	All inflections observed	T/I	N	Active only (A)	<i>balloon</i>
4	All inflections observed	Transitive only (T)	R	A/P	<i>book</i>
5	All inflections observed	T	R	A	<i>nerve</i>
6	All inflections observed	T	N	A/P	<i>baby</i>
7	All inflections observed	T	N	A	<i>tap</i>
8	All	Intransitive	N	A	<i>bivouac</i>

	inflections observed	only (I)			
9	No -ed form	T/I	N	A	<i>clown</i>
10	No base form	T/I	N	A/P	<i>belt (gird)</i>
11	No base form	T	N	A/P	<i>pinion</i>
12	No base form	T	N	A	<i>neighbour</i>
13	No -ing form	T/I	N	A	<i>jack-knife</i>
14	No -ing form	T	R	A	<i>beggar</i>
15	No -ing form	T	N	A/P	<i>awe</i>
16	No -ed form or -ing form	T	N	A	<i>scale (fish)</i>
17	No -ed form or -ing form	I	N	A	<i>bronze</i>
18	No -s form	T/I	R	A/P	<i>cocoon</i>
19	No -s form	T/I	N	A/P	<i>needle</i>
20	No -s form	T/I	N	A	<i>taxi</i>
21	No -s form	T	R	A/P	<i>concrete</i>
22	No -s form	T	R	A	<i>nerve</i>
23	No -s form	T	N	A/P	<i>table</i>
24	No -s form	T	N	A	<i>parrot</i>
25	No -s form	I	N	A	<i>weekend</i>
26	No -ing or -s forms	T/I	N	A/P	<i>tincture</i>
27	No base or -s forms	T	N	A/P	<i>backwash</i>
28	No -ing or -s forms	T	N	A	<i>balm</i>
29	No -ing or -s forms	T	R	A/P	<i>cloister</i>
30	No -ing or -s forms	I	N	A	<i>pup</i>
31	No base or -s forms	T/I	R	A/P	<i>robe</i>
32	No base or -s forms	T/I	N	A/P	<i>lip</i>
33	No base or -s forms	T/I	N	A	<i>flute</i>
34	No base or -s forms	T	N	A/P	<i>placard</i>
35	No base or	T	R	A/P	<i>array</i>

	-s forms				
36	No base or -s forms	T	N	A	<i>copper</i>
37	No -base or -s forms	T	N	P	<i>background</i>
38	No base or -s forms	I	N	A	<i>pearl</i>
39	No -ed or -s forms	T	N	A	<i>husk</i>
40	No -ed or -s forms	I	N	A	<i>page</i>
41	No -ed, -ing or -s forms	T	N	A	<i>bone</i>
42	No -ed, -ing or -s forms	I	N	A	<i>pimp</i>
43	No base, -s or -ing forms	T/I	N	A/P	<i>tent</i>
44	No base, -s or -ing forms	T/I	N	A	<i>shark</i>
45	No base, -s or -ing forms	T	N	A/P	<i>bur</i>
46	No base, -s or -ing forms	T	N	A	<i>sheaf</i>
47	No base, -s or -ing forms	T	N	P	<i>quilt</i>
48	No base, -s or -ing forms	I	N	A	<i>gangrene</i>
49	No base, -s or -ed form	I	N	A	<i>kite</i>
50	No base, -s or -ed form	T	N	A	<i>frill</i>
51	No verb observed	/	/	/	<i>bran</i>
52	Not noun-verb conversion	n/a	n/a	n/a	<i>snipe</i> (from <i>sniper</i> _(N))

Figure 2.2 (above) shows all the categories that emerged from analysis of the conversions listed by Marchand and Adams; for example, when the word form *bran* was searched for in the BNC, there were no attestations of a verb form, and therefore it has been placed in category 51, 'no verb observed'. The numbers of conversions occurring in each of the above categories appear below in figure 2.3.

2.5.3 Results of preliminary categorisation

Figure 2.3

Category	No. of conversions fitting category specifications
1	85
2	86
3	23
4	82
5	1
6	98
7	3
8	35
9	1
10	1
11	1
12	1
13	1
14	1
15	7
16	2
17	3
18	1
19	16
20	13
21	9
22	2
23	33
24	8

25	19
26	6
27	4
28	1
29	2
30	1
31	1
32	3
33	2
34	7
35	1
36	1
37	1
38	1
39	2
40	4
41	5
42	2
43	2
44	1
45	3
46	2
47	14
48	6
49	5
50	1
51	91
52	8

These results indicate that the categories were still too small and may be showing evidence of the corpus not being large enough to stand such scrutiny. It was therefore decided that the conversions should be grouped into larger categories in order to neutralise more of the idiosyncrasies of the corpus being used and to be able to ascertain more general trends. The conversions were deemed, for the purposes of this thesis, to have been assimilated fully as verbs if all the inflections were observed. Where there was no verb observed, these conversions were deemed to be obscure or obsolete in modern English, and any conversion falling between these extremes was classed as a partial conversion.

2.5.3.1 Results of more general categorisation:

Figure 2.4

Conversion type	Description	Categories involved (from above table)	No. of conversions
Full conversion	All inflections observed	1-8	413
Partial conversion, type Ia	<i>-ing</i> inflection not observed	9	1
Partial conversion, type Ib	<i>-ed</i> inflection not observed	10-12	3
Partial conversion, type Ic	Base form not observed	13-15	9
Partial conversion, type Id	<i>-s</i> inflection not observed	18-25	91
Partial conversion, type IIa	<i>-ing</i> inflection and base not observed	16-17	5
Partial conversion, type IIb	Base and <i>-s</i> inflection not observed	26-30	14
Partial conversion, type IIc	<i>-ed</i> and <i>-s</i> inflections not observed	31-38	16
Partial conversion, type IID	<i>-ing</i> and <i>-s</i> inflections not observed	39-40	6
Partial conversion, type IIIa	Base, <i>-ing</i> and <i>-s</i> inflections not observed	41-42	7
Partial conversion, type IIIb	Base, <i>-ed</i> and <i>-s</i> inflections not	43-48	28

	observed		
Partial conversion, type IIIc	<i>-ed</i> , <i>-s</i> and <i>-ing</i> inflections not observed	49-50	6
Obscure or obsolete conversions	No verb observed	51	91
Not conversion		52	8
TOTAL			698

1. The majority, 59% (413/698) of the conversions listed had, according to the data consulted, become 'full conversions', in other words they had reached the state where the converted forms were fully functioning as verbs.
2. 41% (285/698), however, did not function fully as verbs. Even when the obsolete and obscure examples are removed from the sample, 27% (categories 9-50) of the conversions still fell somewhere in the partial conversion category.
3. The categories of partial conversions containing the most examples were those where the *-s* inflection was not observed, indicating that this inflection was the least important for the existence of a conversion.
4. The *-ing* inflection appears to be the most elemental form for noun to verb conversions as it occurs more frequently than any of the other inflectional forms.
5. The noun to verb conversions could be separated into categories according to how compliant they were with the idea of a 'full' conversion, with type I (only 1 inflectional form not being observed) being closer to 'full' conversion status than type III (only 1 inflectional form observed).

6. 13 of the conversions no longer had a corresponding noun base attested in the corpus, indicating that it is possible for the conversions to be adequately independent from their noun bases for them to become obsolete.
7. A sizeable minority, 13% (91/698) were not attested as verbs at all, indicating that the conversion process is reversible; a conversion may be attested for a time and subsequently lose favour and become obsolete.

2.5.4 Control of variables

A sample number of verbs which are not conversions or derivatives were taken from a list of word form frequency from the *Independent/Guardian*¹⁹ corpus; some from high frequency verbs, some mid-frequency verbs and some low frequency verbs and examined with the BNC to see if the trends found above were true of conversions or just of the BNC.

2.5.4.1 Method

A list was made of all the words occurring in the Independent corpus for the period (1989-1999) and ranked according to frequency (highest frequency words appearing at the top of the list). Then the list was searched manually to find examples of regular, ordinary (not modal) verbs that had not been formed as a result of conversion or derivation from the high frequency, mid-frequency and low-frequency forms.

¹⁹ See 1.3.3.1 for details of the corpus.

There were two considerations when choosing low-frequency forms to analyse: firstly that the chosen type was not an error (such as a typographical error), and secondly that there were enough tokens to ensure that all the verbal inflections could occur. For these reasons, verbs of frequencies of between fifteen and twenty were selected to represent low-frequency verbs.

2.5.4.2 Results of tests

Key:
 b = base form
 ed = -ed form
 s = -s form
 ing = -ing form

Figure 2.5 High-frequency forms:

Root	Form found	Frequency of form found in <i>Independent Corpus</i>	Base form attested	-ed form attested	-s form attested	-ing form attested
<i>Believe</i>	b	111881	Y	Y	Y	Y
<i>Publish</i>	ed	77540	Y	Y	Y	Y
<i>Receive</i>	ed	69792	Y	Y	Y	Y
<i>Happen</i>	ed	49517	Y	Y	Y	Y
<i>Allow</i>	ed	22579	Y	Y	Y	Y
<i>Maintain</i>	b	22273	Y	Y	Y	Y
<i>Remove</i>	ed	22040	Y	Y	Y	Y
<i>Involve</i>	b	21847	Y	Y	Y	Y
<i>Encourage</i>	b	21483	Y	Y	Y	Y
<i>Suspend</i>	ed	21473	Y	Y	Y	Y

Figure 2.6 Mid-frequency forms:

Root	Form found	Frequency of form in <i>Independent</i>	Base form attested?	-ed form attested	-s form attested	-ing form attested
<i>Clamber</i>	b	499	Y	Y	Y	Y
<i>Impress</i>	s	498	Y	Y	Y	Y
<i>Cremate</i>	ed	498	Y	Y	X	Y
<i>Encroach</i>	ing	496	Y	Y	Y	Y
<i>Recite</i>	ed	492	Y	Y	Y	Y
<i>Enclose</i>	b	491	Y	Y	Y	Y
<i>Console</i>	ed	486	Y	Y	Y	Y
<i>Migrate</i>	ed	483	Y	Y	Y	Y
<i>Infuse</i>	b	482	Y	Y	Y	Y
<i>Waver</i>	b	479	Y	Y	Y	Y

Figure 2.7 Low-frequency forms:

Root	Form found	Frequency of form in <i>Independent</i>	Base form attested	-ed form attested	-s form attested	-ing form attested
<i>Transfix</i>	s	20	Y (1)	Y	X	Y
<i>Transfigure</i>	b	20	Y (1)	Y	X	Y
<i>Tootle</i>	ed	20	Y (2)	Y (2)	X	Y (2)
<i>Appease</i>	s	19	Y	Y	Y	Y
<i>Winnow</i>	b	19	Y	Y	X	Y
<i>Preempt</i>	ed	19	Y	Y	Y	Y
<i>Instate</i>	ed	19	Y (1)	Y (3)	X	Y (1)
<i>Avenge</i>	s	19	Y	Y	Y	Y
<i>Extort</i>	s	18	Y	Y	X	Y
<i>Slather</i>	ing	18	Y	Y	X	X

The numbers in brackets indicate that there were a limited number of attestations; for example, there were 2 examples of *tootled* in the corpus.

2.5.4.3 Conclusions of control test

Even the low-frequency forms almost all had the *-ed*, *-ing* and base verbal inflectional forms attested in the BNC; however, the *-s* inflection is shown to be the least frequent form in the above data. This is not entirely surprising; the *-s* inflection is only used in the present tense with a restricted agreement set (third

person singular nouns or pronouns), whereas the other inflections are used to comply with a wider range of tense, mood and aspect choices. The above control test at least shows that the BNC is not particularly biased towards one inflectional ending with respect to the *-ing*, *-ed* and base forms, (as might be expected, either in newspaper text or fiction, where the past tense may dominate). There was one exception, *slathering* which was present as a very low frequency form in the *Independent* corpus but not in the BNC. No two corpora are identical and where one corpus contains more tokens than the other²⁰, some discrepancies are to be expected. The general pattern remains the same however; verbs that have not been created from a previously existing base form seem to be used with all the inflectional endings except the *-s* inflection.

2.6 Conclusions

Although the majority of the conversions analysed **did** conform to full verbal status, a sizeable minority (at least 27% of our sample) fell into the partial conversion categories indicating that they do not fulfil all of the functions available to a verb. Even if the adequacy of the corpus used is in question, the results still show that some established conversions are used restrictively in English. It seems that conversions are introduced as verbs and then, if they are accepted and become established, become more integrated into the verbal word class. Most, if they remain in the language, become fully integrated as ‘full conversions’, whereas others (the minority) remain restricted in their verbal paradigms, ‘partial conversions’.

²⁰ Total token count for BNC = 100,106,008; *Independent* corpus = 326,622,653

Of the possible inflections that a conversion can take in order to achieve minimal verbal status, the *-ing* inflection seems to be the most fundamental: the smallest of the partial conversion type categories were where the *-ing* form was not attested. The *-s* inflection also seems to be unlikely to be attested unless in the company of another form, indicating that conversions are more likely to assume the base form, *-ing* and *-ed* inflections before the *-s* inflection. In fact, there were only 14 examples of the *-s* inflection being attested without the base form also being observed, which may indicate a tendency for users to establish the base form of a conversion before using the *-s* inflection.

The conversions collected by Marchand and Adams were, in the main, fairly common and established verbs. It is likely that an analysis of low-frequency and newer conversions would yield still more proof that conversions do not all go from noun to full verb status immediately and that some never get fully accepted as a verbal form.

The main problem associated with an analysis of conversions as ‘full’ or ‘partial’ is that language is dynamic and the status of a conversion may change, so although some of the conversions did not have all the inflections attested, there is nothing to say that those looked at would not yield different results in a corpus compiled next year or even tomorrow. Likewise, a conversion that appears established and would be classified as a ‘full’ conversion may fall out of use and resume ‘partial’ conversion status at some point in the future. That is why it is

particularly important to look at the general trends found by the investigation and not just the specific characteristics of any *one* conversion example.

If there is no apparent phonological restriction barring the full conversion of some forms, then there may be a semantic restriction on some of the inflected forms. This restriction might not be permanent, but if there is no current need for the particular form, the conversion will remain a partial conversion until language users adopt a use for the form. For example, the verb '*bastinado*' does not appear in any of the corpora I looked through with the *-ing* inflection. This could be as a result of the fact that the action is no longer in common practice in Western English-speaking countries and therefore there is very little need for the verb in its present tense (*I am bastinadoing* etc.) and, similarly, the verb is more likely to be a reported action in the past (*the master would bastinado his servants* or *he was bastinadoed*) rather than a continuous past action (*while he was bastinadoing*).

To sum up, this chapter shows that nouns can be converted into verbs without having to take all possible inflections, but also that certain inflections can fall out of common usage without the entire verb falling out of use. Noun to verb conversions are dynamic in language and are able to move between and/or exist at any stage of the conversion process. They are more likely to exist as full conversions, as it is likely that if the conversion process was necessary or desirable in order to fill a linguistic gap, then the verb is likely to be used in all tenses, moods, aspects and voices, but it is also possible that a conversion may be introduced tentatively with only a limited number of inflections before becoming more established and accepted as a full verb.

2.7 Advances made in the field

- I have established that noun to verb partial conversion is a phenomenon that exists in the English language and should be accounted for in descriptions of word-formation.
- I have shown that the conversion process is not a stable, one-way process; some of the conversions listed by Marchand and Adams no longer exist as verbs in modern English. For example, *weapon* is used solely as a noun. This means that verb forms can change categorisation at any point, either towards full conversion or back towards becoming a noun again.
- I have also demonstrated the additional possibility that a conversion may lose all connection with its original nominal form; the noun form could fall out of use, leaving only the verbal form.
- The study shows that some inflections are more integral to conversion than others: a conversion is far more likely to appear in the language with the *-ing* or *-ed* inflection before the *-s* inflection is also used.
- A categorisation system has been suggested, whereby the continuum between those verbs that are used as 'full' verbs and those that are used with a very restricted set of inflections can be represented. The partial conversion categorisation has been split into three levels, with type I being applied to those conversions that are closest to 'full' conversion status and type III being furthest from 'full' conversion.

CHAPTER 3: PROPER NOUN TO VERB

CONVERSION

3.1 Introduction

Proper nouns constitute 23% of the (175/761) new and rare noun to verb conversions identified in the Independent and Guardian newspaper corpus. Conversion is, certainly in the newspaper corpus investigated, the most productive method of creating new verbs from proper nouns²¹, and this section investigates those conversions based on proper nouns, in order to find out more about them and the reasons for their predominance. Although Clark and Clark (1979) mention proper nouns as being likely bases²² for conversion in their paper about innovations, 'Denominal verbs based on proper nouns are common...' (1979:783), they have been largely disregarded by other linguists looking at noun to verb conversion²³. Clark and Clark's paper deals with the pragmatics involved with the interpretation of these nouns, but they do not speculate, for example, on why they are so popular as bases for conversions and which bases in particular are used to form them. This section aims to look at the proper noun conversions in some detail in order to fill this gap in the literature.

3.2 Hypotheses

- New proper noun to verb conversions are more likely to occur (in newspaper text at least) in proper nouns that are recognised by most readers.

²¹ There are significantly fewer verbs overtly derived from proper nouns in the *Independent/Guardian* corpus (56 in total)

²² 'base' = any form to which affixes of any kind can be added (Bauer 1983:21)

²³ Adams (2001:26) also mentions that proper nouns can be used as bases for conversion, but does not elaborate further.

- The number of new noun to verb conversions will be limited by other factors, such as the number of proper nouns available for conversion.
- The relationship between the base proper noun and the converted verb will be partly influenced by the semantics of the base noun.
- A proper noun that has been associated with a particularly newsworthy item (and has been adopted as a ‘vogue’ term) is more likely to be converted.

3.3 Data

The data used for this chapter has been extracted from the Independent/Guardian newspaper corpus using the APRIL software developed by the RDUES unit when at Liverpool²⁴. All the new verbs converted from proper noun bases were extracted using the software, which identifies the new forms occurring across the fifteen years represented by the corpus.

3.4 Method

In order to investigate the hypotheses listed above, the following investigations were undertaken:

3.4.1 Preliminary categorisation

The proper nouns were first categorised in terms of the classes that emerged from initial observations of the data. These classes consisted of words referring to people, place, trade names and units of time. This categorisation allows for a discussion of the proportions of conversions in these different sets and a better

²⁴ See Introduction, section 1.3.3.2 for details

understanding of which of the proper noun categories are more or less likely to become the bases for noun to verb conversion.

3.4.2 Tests carried out in order to investigate the nature of, and the relationships between, proper nouns and their converted verbs.

3.4.2.1 Test 1: 'Argument'

The conversions were examined in order to discover the logical relationship between the base noun form and verb form. For example, the verb *bicycle* relates to its noun base by way of an instrumental argument; the verb could be paraphrased, 'use a *bicycle* to travel'. The terms employed to describe the arguments between the conversion and noun base are widely recognised in the field and I have taken those used by Adams (1973) and Clark and Clark (1979) as my starting point. The terms and examples are as follows:

Figure 3.1

Term	Paraphrase	Example
Ablative	remove entity from base noun's referent	<i>unsaddle</i> a rider (take rider from the saddle)
Agentive	Affect referent in the style of noun	I realised he had <i>Matthewsed</i> me (Matthews had had an effect on me)
Instrumental	put referent of base noun to use	<i>hammer</i> a nail (to use a hammer to drive a nail in)
Locative	Place referent in position as denoted by base noun	<i>Oxfam</i> a shirt (take a shirt to Oxfam)
Ornative	to equip or adorn with base noun	you will be <i>Tamagotchied</i> (you will be equipped with a Tamagotchi toy)
Performative	be what the base denotes	<i>captain</i> a ship (to be the captain of a ship)
Resultative	become noun as a result of action of verb	<i>cripple</i> someone (to make someone a cripple)
*Act for	Act on behalf of noun	<i>Camerooning</i> in the African Cup (playing for Cameroon)
*Pun	use word in pun (by referring to homonym/homophone of verb)	<i>Greecing</i> the wheels (word-play using homophonic forms, Greece and grease)

*Not all of the conversions found in our data fitted into the relationship patterns described by Adams (ibid) or Clark and Clark (ibid) and so I have accounted for them using other appropriate terms, 'act for' and 'pun'.

3.4.2.2 Test 2: 'Duration of fame'

The second test carried out on the conversions was to discover whether conversions are more likely to occur with proper nouns which have been in the public eye for a long time or with proper nouns which are famous briefly. The conversions were sorted into three categories:

1. Assimilated proper nouns

Proper noun has been known by the general public for at least 50 years or refers to a person whose fame has outlived them, for example, *Florence Nightingale*.

2. Medium-term phenomena

Proper noun has been known by public for medium length of time, i.e. they have not been around for generations, but neither are they transient (see next category); for example, the courier company, *DHL*.

3. Ephemeral proper nouns

Proper noun is famous briefly and is known to the general public for a matter of weeks, for example, *Lorena Bobbitt*.

The ‘assimilated proper nouns’ above were categorised intuitively as the modern-day corpus did not cover an adequate period to show the historical emergence of the proper noun into the public’s awareness and its subsequent usage. However, graphs can be drawn using the APRIL software²⁵ which correlate with these intuitions and show the assumed difference between the nouns included in the categories ‘medium-term phenomena’ and ‘ephemeral proper nouns’, and examples have been included later in the study (see section 3.5.1.4.1.3). These graphs indicate that my ‘medium-term phenomena’ indeed remain in the language reasonably consistently over the period covered by the corpus, whereas my ‘ephemeral proper nouns’ show a surge of relatively high frequency usage with a subsequent quick decline in frequency.

3.4.2.3 Test 3: ‘Extent of notoriety’

This test relates to the degree to which the proper noun is known to the general public. The conversions were placed into three categories: ‘international’, ‘national’ and ‘exclusive’. This information could not be extracted automatically, so the categorisation had to be based on real-world knowledge of the referents of the nouns:

1. International

These proper nouns would be recognised by English speakers living outside Britain, for example, *Bill Clinton* is known internationally as being the President of the United States.

²⁵ See Introduction, section 1.3.3.1.

2. National

These proper nouns are culturally specific and would be known primarily to British English speakers resident in Britain, but also possibly to anyone who accesses British culture through newspapers, television and the Internet. For example, *Ann Widdecombe*, the politician, is likely to be known by British residents but would not be famous outside the UK.

3. Exclusive

This last group of proper nouns would be recognised by a small group of English speakers who belong to a particular community. For example, *Asif Majtabaed* would be recognised by cricket aficionados, but his name would not be recognised by anyone who does not follow the sport.

3.4.2.4 Test 4: 'Associations'

This particular test had two purposes: the first to find out how the conversions were formed, by investigating whether the newly formed verb meanings reflect the meaning of multiple associations with the proper noun, components of the noun or evaluative associations of the noun. The second part of the test looked at whether the conversion formed from the noun was being used metaphorically or literally. Clark and Clark (1975) removed all metaphorical denominal verbs from their study in order to simplify their work, but my observation of data shows that it is important to know the extent to which metaphor is employed in

the creation of new conversions, as it is certainly not unusual. The conversions were split into the following categories²⁶:

1. Conversions based on multiple meanings associated with the base

The conversion is based on more than one meaning associated with the proper noun. For example:

We *Zebo-ed* the kitchen stove, polished the stainless steel fender and scrubbed and whitewashed the front step. (Guard0211)

The proper noun *Zebo* refers to the name of a polish, and the conversion relies on the fact that the reader will recognise the name of the product, the era in which the product was advertised (and the associations of that era – when cleaning was all done by hand by housewives, etc.), and the hard work and results associated with the product.

2. Conversions based on multiple associations of base + metaphorical extension

As above, but the conversion is being used metaphorically. For example:

If you walked into a club in the Eighties, stereotypically the girls would be dancing around their handbags while the guys were '*Araldited*' to the walls.

(Ind9304)

The semantics of the conversion are based on the knowledge that the noun refers to a glue product, that the product was commonly used and advertised in Britain, and that it would be recognised as being a particularly strong adhesive. The conversion is based on the metaphorical extension of the

²⁶ These categories are revisited and further examples given in section 3.5.1.4.

'guys' clinging to the sides of the club, as if glued by the strong stickiness of the product.

3. Conversion based on partial meaning of the base

The conversion has been based on one association of the meaning of the proper noun base. For example:

Wakeham wants his day in the sun, he does not want it to be (Alastair) *Campbelled*, a reference to the tough tactics adopted by the Prime Minister's spokesman. (Guard0001)

The journalist explains the association exploited in the conversion in the gloss following the new conversion; the proper noun has a number of associations that might be used to create a verb (the various policies that Campbell has been involved in, the scandals he has been associated with, the influence he had over the Prime Minister and so on), but the journalist pinpoints the one particular association used as the basis for the new form.

4. Conversion based on partial meaning of the base + metaphorical extension

As above, but the conversion is being used metaphorically. For example:

You rarely see someone *Robocopping* to the cable car in ski boots.
(Ind9703)

The semantics of the verb exploits the image of the film character 'Robocop' powering his way around various obstacles. The conversion conjures up the unlikely image of people garbed in all their cumbersome ski-wear moving in a manner reminiscent of Robocop.

5. Conversion based on evaluation of the base

The conversion has been based on connotations associated with the proper noun base, e.g. if the proper noun is seen by the public as being involved in corrupt or immoral dealings then the conversion formed may take on that particular connotation as its meaning. For example:

Oh no, I just *Exxoned* my shoes. (Ind8909)

6. Pun

The conversion has been based on its phonological and/or graphical similarities with another word form. For example:

So Ipswich had *Kached* in for free. (Guard1006) (based on the similarities between *cached* and *Kached*)

3.4.3 Test combinations

Finally, the test results were collated in order to discover where features interact strikingly. These combinations were as follows:

1. Associations and referential category
2. Extent of notoriety and duration of fame
3. Argument and referential category
4. Extent of notoriety and referential category
5. Duration of fame and referential category
6. Argument and associations

3.5 Results

Number of Proper Noun conversions = 175

3.5.1 Conversions categorised by referential category of source noun

Figure 3.2

Referential category	Subset of referential category	No. of conversions	% of proper nouns falling into subset
Time		2	1%
Trade names		44	25%
	Companies	15	9%
	Products	21	12%
	Company and Product	3	2%
	Company and Service	5	3%
Place		7	4%
	Fiction	1	0.6%
	Non-fiction	6	3%
People		107	61%
	Fiction	7	4%
	Non-fiction	100	57%
Other		15	9%
	Fiction	2	1%
	Non-fiction	8	5%
	N/A	5	3%

N.B. The figures indicating the main referential categories are in bold type.

3.5.1.1 Closed sets versus open sets

It is not surprising that the category of 'time' produced the fewest conversions; the concept of time is expressed primarily through a series of closed sets of words (for example, series like 'months of the year', 'days of the week', 'names of the four seasons'), all of which contain only small numbers of candidates for conversion. In contrast, there are an enormous number of names of people on which conversions may be based, and the number is continuously growing. Open sets clearly allow more scope, generally speaking, for conversion than closed sets. Having said that, the size of the set does not necessarily correlate with the number of conversions created from that set; for instance there are

enormous numbers of place names available as bases for conversion but they only make up 4% of the new conversions found. There must be other reasons for some types being converted more than others; these will be discussed below, based on observations of the data in each case.

3.5.1.2 The productivity of different referential categories

3.5.1.2.1 People (61% of sample)

By far the most popular proper nouns to be converted in my sample were names of people, accounting for over half of the new and rare conversions. Of these, the majority (100 out of 107) were based on real-life people. Since the sample of conversions was collected from newspaper texts, it should not be assumed that this proliferation is true of language in general, but the findings at least confirm the media's preoccupation with people-related incidents and stories. By extension, newspaper journalists reflect, not to mention create, their readership's desire for people-related and people-focussed news and comment. The conversion of people's names shows something about the way that newspapers function and their treatment of people. For a person's name to be converted there must be a characteristic or an action strongly associated with him/her which can be used as a base for the conversion and the frequent choice of names as the basis for conversions shows that newspapers frequently portray people metonymically in relation to their newsworthy characteristic or action.

The bias towards non-fictional names also reflects the nature of both broadsheet journalism and language use and although fictional people are a point of

domestic reference (for example, characters in television soap operas), real-life people are far more likely to be discussed because they are newsworthy.

Semantic subcategories of people

In order to gain a closer understanding of the kinds of people that have their names converted, the names were separated into groups according to their profession, reflecting journalists' tendencies to refer to people in terms of their roles in society. The results are as follows:

Figure 3.3

Professional subcategory ²⁷	Example	No. of conversions	% of People in subcategory
Sport	<i>Frank Bruno</i> (boxer)	30	28
Entertainment	<i>Ann Maurice</i> (TV house decorating expert)	18	17
Politics	<i>Claire Short</i>	18	17
Artists	<i>Hank Marvin</i> (musician)	14	13
Business	<i>John Birt</i> (BBC executive)	7	6.5
Miscellaneous	<i>Shirley Valentine</i> (fictional housewife)	6	5.5
Advertising/P.R	<i>Barbara Follett</i> (clothes advisor to Labour government)	4	4
Journalists/critics	<i>Rachel Polonski</i> (critic)	3	3
Miscellaneous – historical	<i>Florence Nightingale</i> (nurse)	3	3
Law	<i>Barry Scheck</i> (US lawyer)	2	2
Fashion	<i>Naomi Campbell</i> (model)	2	2
TOTAL		107	101

It seems that sports personalities are the most likely to have characteristics that lend themselves to conversion: as players tend to have idiosyncratic skills or

²⁷ The term 'semantic subcategory' refers to the category of profession rather than the domain in which they may be found. That is to say, if a sportsperson is featured in an article relating to fashion, they would still be classed in the semantic subcategory 'sport'.

deficiencies in specific aspects of their chosen sport, then a conversion is used to draw attention to similarities when another player displays a similar skill (see example 1 below):

Example 1:

but Grosjean can't take advantage, *Henmaning* (how long before it officially becomes a verb?) an easy volley into the net before slicing a straightforward backhand wide. (Guard0307)

The journalist uses conversion to compare Grosjean's mistakes with the mistake that Henman (Tim, British tennis player) has displayed previously, losing his lead as a result of simple errors.

A conversion can also draw attention to a classic example of a sportsperson's skill (or deficiency):

Example 2:

This summer they were first-time victors against Somerset, who were well and truly *Walshed*, Courtney taking 11 for 143. (Ind9405)

Here the journalist indicates that the defeat of Somerset was due mainly to Courtney Walsh's bowling skills and also intimates that this is not the first time that Walsh has displayed such skill for his team.

The professional subcategories show, unsurprisingly, that people in professions in the forefront of media attention, and particularly those in politics, whose success is both measured and created by the media attention afforded to them, are

more likely to have their names converted than those who have more ‘behind the scenes’ jobs; there are no examples of modern scientists or academics among the new conversions. Those in the media spotlight are obviously more likely to find themselves being used as a benchmark for others in similar situations or to have their flaws highlighted by the linguistic device of analogy.

Fictional people

Of the conversions in the ‘people’ category, seven refer to fictional characters, showing that journalists exploit the relationship that readers have with fantasy in drawing comparisons between real-life and fictional characters.

For example:

Mr Cook seemed close to bottling out of direct confrontation, at some points – as though he had been *Sir Humphreyed* out of his proclaimed commitment to human rights. (Ind9709)

Sir Humphrey Appleby is a character in a British television situation comedy satirising politics and the government. The journalist makes no reference to the fact that Sir Humphrey is a fictional character and as such does not have any part to play in Mr Cook’s decisions. He/she exploits the fact that readers will recognise the reference to the sitcom and will immediately associate the fictional programme with real politics. As the characteristics of fictional people are relatively familiar, due to the fact that they have to appeal to audiences, they are more likely to have strong, immediately identifiable characteristics in order to make them dramatic and entertaining. These fictional features provide a convenient source for journalists to exploit.

3.5.1.2.2 Trade names (25% of the sample)

The second largest category of conversion in the data sample was based on trade names (brand or company names) and makes up a quarter of the proper nouns examined. Trade names are highly productive sources of bases for conversion for the following reasons:

1. They are strongly associated with one or more of the following features:
 - a. what the product/company offers to the public; for example the company 'Dulux' is known for selling paint
 - b. the success (or lack) of the product/company; for example 'Enron' is associated with failure
 - c. and the way the product/company is advertised; for example, the well-known 'Tango' advert which caused controversy²⁸.
2. They usually have distinctive, memorable, names in order to be instantly recognised by the consumer. The name of the product or company is normally advertised to the public through various media (billboards, television advertising, etc.), which means that journalists can be fairly confident that their readers will recognise the trade name and its associated characteristics.

The trade names break down further into subcategories, as follows:

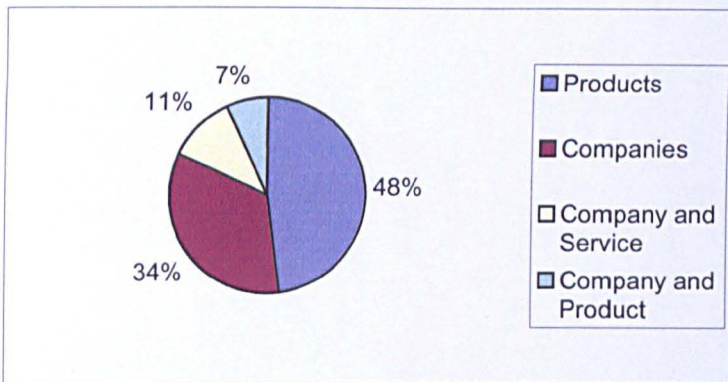
- a. Company names, (for example, *Amazon*, the internet book retailer)
- b. Product names, (for example, *Araldite*, glue)

²⁸ The advertisement included an orange man boxing people's ears and saying: 'You know when you've been Tangoed'. There was concern that this was being re-enacted in playgrounds.

- c. Product names which are also the name of the company producing them, (for example, *JCB*, the construction machinery company and machines)
- d. Service provided by company with same name as company, (for example, *DHL*, the courier company).

Pie chart to show breakdown of proportions of trade name subcategories

Chart 3.4



The above chart shows that there is a larger number of conversions based on products than on the other subcategories, and they make up 48% of the total of the proper noun conversions. Product names are generally the most ‘visible’ of the trade names, by which I mean that product names will be advertised and promoted (reasons 1a), 1c) and 2 above), and so can be expected to be the most recognised by the public and most easily associated with features that can be readily exploited in a conversion.

3.5.1.2.3 Place names

There are surprisingly few conversions based on place names in my sample, given the large number of possible conversion bases available to the user. However, in order for a place name to be eligible for conversion (as for any noun), there must be a good reason for the verb to be created and there must be some recognisable characteristics which the verb can exploit.

Those place names undergoing conversion either:

- a. used to mean ‘make X into a place with similar characteristics as Y’ (where Y = base noun and X = referent of verb) – see example 1 below, or
- b. exploit associated characteristics – see example 2 below.

Example 1:

They’ve ‘*Wappinged*’ part of the harbour with Kew-like greenhouses and a mono-rail. (Ind9005)

The journalist here makes a comparison between the harbour concerned and Wapping; presumably implying that Wapping underwent a similar transformation previously and now the harbour has been changed to look like Wapping.

Example 2:

The film-makers had ‘*Hollywooded* it up’ as Lewis was to say when he got round to seeing the film. (Ind9908)

Here the journalist exploits the associations between the city of Hollywood and the glamour and glitz of the American film industry in order to create the verb meaning ‘to make a film (over-)glamorous and exciting like the big budget Hollywood blockbusters’.

The scarcity of conversions in this referential category shows that newspapers do not tend to use nouns referring to places as a source of comparison in conversion, probably because only famous locations have strongly recognisable characteristics which can be alluded to in a new conversion. For example, ‘Abergavenny’ would be an unlikely candidate, as there are no outstanding characteristics or events associated with this Welsh town.

Place names are, at least in the *Independent/Guardian* corpus, more likely to be derived with the suffix *-ise*²⁹ than by conversion, perhaps indicating that place names tend to need the extra semantic content provided by the suffix to contribute meaning to the new verb form.

Subcategories of place names

The conversions found in the data fell into the following subcategories:

Figure 3.5

Subcategory of place	Number of conversions
Towns/cities	4
Countries	2
Areas smaller than town	1

²⁹ See also chapter 4 for further discussion of rival derivational word-formation processes.

There were no newly converted continents found in the data, but this was not unexpected, as the continents belong to a small closed set and therefore do not offer many candidates for conversion. The names of the continents also typically have derivational verb forms, created from the adjectival base using the *-ise* suffix, for example, *Africa*_(N); *African*_(ADJ); *Africanise*_(V)³⁰, which may impede their conversion from noun to verb.

Of the locations fitting into the conversion categories of ‘towns/cities’ and ‘areas smaller than towns’, all of them were to be found in either Britain or America. The evidence from this study seems to suggest that we have fewer strong associations with cities and towns in parts of the world other than Britain and America, showing our (or the journalistic) frame of reference to be narrow. However, we would need a lot more data before this case could be proved. Two countries only were further afield, Greece and Cameroon, but the characteristics referred to were still characteristics typical of the British public: sunny holidays and football.

Example 1:

Greecing the wheels. Taking off: Most scheduled flights between the UK and Greece operate between London Heathrow or Gatwick. (Ind9705)

Example 2:

Erik Meijer and Veggard Heggem are crocked however and Rigobert Song is *Camerooning* in the African Nations Cup. (Guard0001)

³⁰ See also chapter 4.

Fictional place names

There was only one example of a fictional place name being used as the base for a new conversion in the data. Fictional place names are not frequently discussed by journalists and may not have the required strong associations necessary for conversion. The example that does appear, *Bridesheaded*, belongs on the borders of the category:

On television, it's 50s nostalgia, which this production intensifies by *Bridesheading* the redbrick university on which Jim Dixon (Stephen Tompkinson) descends as a lecturer after his national service. (Guard0302)

The conversion is, on the face of it, based on the fictional place name, *Brideshead*, which is depicted in Waugh's novel 'Brideshead Revisited'. However, it seems that the conversion exploits the novel's descriptions of Oxford and the comparison between two novels³¹ (and their subsequent television dramatisations), which are both partly set in academic institutions in the twentieth century. The journalist draws on the readers' knowledge of the book or television series rather than the fictional place, and the base of the conversion is probably more likely to stem from the title of the book rather than the fictional place alluded to in the title.

3.5.1.2.4 Time

As mentioned previously (section 3.5.1.1), one of the limiting factors in the conversion of temporal proper nouns is the fact that they belong to a series of small closed sets and therefore offer relatively few opportunities for conversion.

³¹ 'Jim Dixon' appears in Kingsley Amis' *Lucky Jim*. The journalist is writing about an adaptation of Amis' novel.

In addition to this, as shown with the place names above, nouns used for conversion must have some distinctive features that can be used in coining a verb. The more abstract time nouns that simply describe stretches of time and have no further semantic implications are less likely to be converted than those associated with particular activities. For example, it is unlikely that the (common) noun *hour* would be converted: (?) *I *houred* here yesterday (meaning I spent an hour here yesterday) as there is nothing culturally implied by that particular time span. In contrast, the verb *weekend* is an established conversion, with the meaning 'to spend a weekend somewhere'. The difference between these two examples of time nouns seems to be that weekends are culturally associated with time off work and leisure activities, whereas hours have no specific characteristics which would readily be exploited in a conversion.

The two examples of new proper noun time conversion found in the corpus data are both from the 'month' set, *Octobered* and *novembering*.

Example 1:

Figes recounted the names Bolsheviks chose for their children when they were '*Octobered*'. (Ind9703) (cf. *christened*).

The reference being used to create this particular conversion relies on the readers' knowledge of the October Revolution in Russia and its importance in modern Russian history. The conversion refers to a particular event that took place in October, but as this event has no direct cultural relevance for most

British English speakers it would be hard to imagine that this example will be integrated and become an established verb.

Example 2:

So this savage, crafty, sad, dusty, deathly little novel ends in desuetude.

London may sing Jonathan its liebestod, 'the big red 74 buses *novembering* down the Earl's Court Road', but he cannot respond. (Ind9803)

The second example is in fact a quotation from a piece of literary text, where the author refers to the attributes of November in order to create a particular atmosphere. The conversion conjures up a scene of buses trundling down the road against a background of London in November. The use of the conversion combines the implication of movement, aided by the addition of the particle *down*, and the weather associated with a November in London, which means that the resulting conversion is loaded with meaning and atmosphere. The conversion works very effectively in the literary context, where a reader may be expected to interpret slightly more obscure references.

Time nouns *can* be converted, as shown by the established converted denominal verbs, *winter*, *weekend*, *summer*, but this group of nouns is restricted in its productivity due to the small number and the particular associated semantics. Although new time conversions can appear (like *Octobered* and *novembering*), they both utilise fairly obscure allusions and are unlikely to become established in the language as a result. It is likely that any of the high frequency and established nouns capable of converting have already done so.

3.5.1.2.5 Miscellaneous proper nouns

Other proper nouns that are converted fall into miscellaneous categories by virtue of their diverse nature; they include names of bands (for example *Portishead*), the name of a school (*Summerhill*) and film titles (for example *Antwone Fisher*).

They can be roughly grouped semantically as follows:

Figure 3.6

Semantic category	Number of conversions
Band names	4
Nouns associated with film or television	5
Nouns relating to categories of people	2
Social institutions (school, museum)	2
Sport-related nouns	2
TOTAL	15

It is difficult to draw many conclusions from these rare items, as they fall into such varied semantic subcategories. The nouns used as sources for conversions all have iconic status in the language. The bands are all leaders in their musical genres; for example, the Monkees were well-known as a result of being the first band to be created for a television series and the school, ‘Summerhill’, is defined by the innovative approach it takes to teaching and learning. There seems to be no constraint on any proper nouns becoming converted provided that there is a need for a new verb with the characteristics of the source noun and that those characteristics are obvious to both the coiner and the audience.

3.5.1.3 Conversions categorised by Argument

3.5.1.3.1 Results

Figure 3.7

Argument	No. of conversions	% of conversions falling into category	Example
Agentive(A)	70	40%	others who have been <i>Pringled</i> include Robbie Williams and Cat Deeley
(of those, number of A + WP)	4	2%)	In the cut-throat world of the Champions League, it's Kehl or be <i>Kehled</i> yet.
Ablative (Ab)	1	0.5%	see below
(of those, number of Ab + WP)	1	0.5%)	It is indeed an unlucky day for the corporation, which has drummed out (or should it be <i>Drummonded</i> out?) a programme that was unique
Act for (AF)	1	0.5%	Erik Meijer and Veggard Heggem are crocked however and Rigobert Song is <i>Camerooning</i> in the African Nations Cup.
Instrumental (I)	23	13%	What he does is the musical equivalent of leasing someone else's flat and not even getting around to <i>Blutacking</i> up his family pictures.
Locative (L)	1	0.5%	His jokey shirt pushes his boyishness a tad far, a design that should have been <i>Oxfammed</i> after Godspell.
Ornative (O)	3	2%	The name of the game is Tamagotchi – which is Japanese for 'Eggsy' or 'Lovable Egg' – and if you haven't been <i>Tamagotchi-ed</i> then you aren't paying attention to the Zeitgeist.
Performative (P)	42	24%	For too long the industry has ' <i>Enronned</i> ' its liabilities into the future.
(of those, number of P + WP)	2	1%)	Tork bought himself out of his contract, at a cost of Dollars 160,000. His bandmates stopped <i>Monkeeing</i> around soon after.
Resultative (R)	19	11%	Once upon a time, every children's author wanted to be <i>Puffin-ed</i> .
Word play (WP)	22	9%	If you forget the Dick Tracy spin-off <i>Breathless</i> , a clear case of <i>Beatty-ing</i> around the bush, it is still possible to plot her five albums of new songs as a rising curve.
(of those, number of WP + another category)	7	4%)	

Adams states (2001:26) that conversions are the only word-formation process to be able to utilise all the argument categories: 'Only 'zero' formations appear under every heading'. However, as shown above, some argument categories are more likely to be used than others with proper noun conversions.

3.5.1.3.2 Observations:

1. The largest categories of argument found in the proper nouns analysed were 'agentive', 'performative' and 'resultative', between them making up 75% of the argument types found. This may be due to one of two reasons:
 - a. the relative proportions of the referential types found (see later section comparing argument and referential type)
 - b. as a result of journalists using conversions of proper nouns in order to make the readers evaluate the base noun and referent; these categories allow a direct comparison of base noun and referent as they involve referents being changed to be like or be acted on by the base noun, whereas, for example, the 'locative' category only allows movement of a referent. There must be a correlation between the aspect of the noun used to coin the conversion and the subsequent argument employed. See section on 'argument and association'.

2. Not all the categories suggested by Adams (1973) and Clark and Clark (1975) were found in the data sample; there were no examples of a 'privative' argument relationship (for example, '*milk* a cow', which can be glossed as 'take milk from cow'). Both 'ablative' and 'privative' categories involve removing something, either from the referent (privative) or the referent from something

(ablative), which is a negative relationship and less likely to occur with proper nouns as there is nothing obviously removable or undesirable. For example, the verb *core* in the phrase ‘I *cored* the apple’ is acceptable as a result of the widely-held knowledge that apple cores are not pleasant to eat and are usually removed, whereas to say *I *Blaired* the meeting, meaning ‘I took Blair out of the meeting’ would not be logical as there is no reason to believe that Blair should not be in the meeting or that people are usually expunged in this way.

3. Not all the conversions fitted neatly into the categorisations listed and those were accounted for with new terms; the arguments ‘act for’ and ‘word play’. ‘Word plays’ were relatively popular, exploiting homophonic and homonymic similarities between the proper noun and other forms.

For example:

Chelsea’s of Chelsea are 97m in debt and that means the plc are
Hasselbainking on selling players to raise cash. (Guard0207)

The conversion exploits the homophonic identity between ‘bank’ and ‘baink’ (third syllable of the name of a Chelsea footballer) as well as the readers’ knowledge of the value of transfers in the football business, in particular of successful footballers like Hasselbaink. This particular relationship is relatively common in conversions and will be dealt with in more detail in the ‘functions’ section. (see chapter 7)

The category ‘act for’ was created to account for the following conversion:

Erik Meijer and Veggard Heggem are crocked however and Rigobert Song
is *Camerooning* in the African Nations Cup. (Guard0001)

The relationship can be paraphrased as ‘playing for or representing source noun’.

This relationship of participating in an activity on the behalf of a noun is likely to be restricted to proper nouns, as team names and places will all be proper nouns.

The argument relationships exploited by new conversions seem to be highly dependent on additional factors, such as the referential type of the source noun and the aspect of the noun that the coiner wishes to use and the interaction of these features will be discussed later.

3.5.1.4 Conversions categorised by ‘association’

3.5.1.4.1 Results

Figure 3.8

Meaning used for conversion	Metaphorical or literal	No. of conversions	% of conversions in category	Example
‘Multiple’ – conversions based on more than one meaning associated with base noun		34	19%	
	metaphorical	3	2%	If you walked into a club in the Eighties, stereotypically the girls would be dancing around their handbags while the guys were ‘ <i>Araldited</i> ’ to the walls
	literal	31	18%	I stuck a bowl on my head, trimmed round it, then <i>Brylcreem-ed</i> what was left of it into submission
‘Part’ – conversions based on one meaning associated with base noun		120	69%	
	metaphorical	51	29%	From our metropolitan fastnesses (where undesirable immigrants get <i>Widdecombed</i> at Calais) we assume that this is just another

				general election
	literal	69	39%	These days, the rich and famous have all been <i>Oprah Winfreyed</i> , exposed as sexual abusers, alcoholics, bulimics, too screwed up to emulate
Evaluation		7	4%	
	metaphorical	7	4%	Sarah Left offers some hints on how to avoid being <i>Jo Moore-ed</i>
	literal	0	0	
Pun		14	8%	Amis is not drowning, but <i>Waughing</i>

3.5.1.4.1.1 Conversions based on ‘multiple’ associations

By this, I mean that the verb has been based on the major, defining features of the base noun: the aspects most strongly associated with the noun.

For example:

I stuck a bowl on my head, trimmed round it, then *Brylcreem-ed* what was left of it into submission. (Ind9703) (= I applied *Brylcreem* to my hair)

The associated characteristics of ‘Brylcreem’ are:

- a. that it is a product put on hair
- b. that the product is used for styling
- c. the product is usually associated with a rather dated fashion
- d. that the product is aimed at men

These characteristics (particularly a, b and c) are used in converting the noun to a verb.

3.5.1.4.1.2 Conversions based on one association

By ‘part’, I mean that the conversion is based on *one* particular meaning associated with the base noun.

For example:

He had gone to perform his magic at the Sandy Lane Hotel, a place still no doubt recovering from being *Michael Winner-ed*. (Ind9409)

Michael Winner has several distinguishing characteristics known to the public:

- a. He is a film director
- b. He reviews restaurants for *The Sunday Times* newspaper (usually with scathing remarks)
- c. He appears in an 'e-sure' advertisement for car insurance on television. (Irrelevant here as advertisement is post-1994)

The journalist capitalises only on the trait listed under b) in converting the noun; the conversion could be paraphrased as follows: 'being *Michael Winner-ed*' ≈ 'being reviewed and demolished by the food critic, Michael Winner'.

3.5.1.4.1.3 Conversions based on 'part – evaluative' associations

Where the conversion is categorised as 'part – evaluative', the conversion is based on an evaluation intrinsically linked with the noun as a result of either the values attached to the noun or events surrounding the noun. For example: *Baycolled*.

It cited the example of Baycol, an earlier cholesterol-lowering drug from German group Bayer that had to be withdrawn from the market in 2001 after being linked with more than 100 deaths. We've already been *Baycolled*', said Dr Robert Seidman, Wellpoint's chief pharmacy officer. (Guard0310)

Baycol has the following characteristics:

- a. it is a drug
- b. it was discovered to have lethal side-effects when launched
- c. has negative connotations as a result of b.

The conversion could be paraphrased: 'been *Baycolled*' \approx 'been made wary by the disaster of Baycol'. The journalist uses the negative values attached to the noun, characteristic c) above in order to coin the new conversion.

3.5.1.4.1.4 Conversions based on puns

Puns rely on multiple characteristics of the base noun and are often dependent on their immediate context for comprehension.

For example:

Amis is not drowning, but *Waughing*. (Ind9003)

The conversion plays with the famous line 'not waving but drowning' from the Stevie Smith poem of the same name, reversing the order of the verbs and replacing 'waving' with the similar-sounding and looking *Waughing* in order to draw a witty comparison between the two authors, Amis and Waugh. The meaning of the conversion presumably means something like 'writing successfully, like the author Evelyn Waugh', but the pun relies on three facts; that the reader will see the similarity between *waving* and *Waughing*, recognise the original quotation and recognise the two authors.

As these conversions are so context-dependent, they are likely to be ephemeral; one-off puns designed only for a particular situation as opposed to being designed to be used as a new verb more generally in the language.

3.5.1.4.2 Observations

1. Most of the conversions were based on ‘part’ of the base noun; on *one* particular characteristic of the base noun (69%). The relative proportions of the referential types in the study may have significant implications for this figure; conversions based on people are logically more likely to be based on one notable characteristic associated with the referent, whereas perhaps companies may be more likely to have conversions based on an evaluation. This will be examined in more detail in the ‘association and type’ section 3.5.2.1.

2. The majority of the conversions were based on literal aspects of the base noun (57%), but metaphor plays a significant role in conversion, particularly in those based on one characteristic (‘part’) where 42.5% of those were based on a metaphorical interpretation of the base noun. For example:

Patriotism is out for all but the Europhobes, and all other considerations of virtue are being *Magimixed* down into a niceness contest between Tony and John. (Ind9608)

3. Puns make up a significant percentage of the conversions analysed (8%). The functions of conversions will be discussed at a later stage (see chapter 7), but it is clear that ephemeral coinage is a significant motivation for the creation of conversions.

3.5.1.5 Conversions categorised by ‘duration of fame’

The conversions were categorised according to the transience of the base noun, or, in other words, how long the referent of the base noun spends in the public eye before conversion takes place. My hypothesis was that conversions are most likely to be coined from nouns that are known to the public, so the largest number of new conversions should be either known to the public for a long time or, if they are transitory nouns, then they will appear with a relatively high frequency for the period of their ‘fame’. This particular categorisation interacts with my other categorisations and is more usefully looked at in conjunction with the ‘extent of notoriety’ results.³²

3.5.1.5.1 Results

Figure 3.9

Duration of fame	No. of conversions	% of conversions in category
Long term	16	9%
Medium term	108	62%
Short term (transitory)	51	29%

3.5.1.5.1.1 Conversions based on ‘long-term’ nouns

These are conversions based on a proper noun that:

- a. has **either** been in the language for at least 50 years (see example 1)

Example 1:

‘Greecing’ the wheels. Taking off. Most scheduled flights between the UK and Greece operate between London Heathrow or Gatwick. (Ind9705)

³² This is discussed further in the section investigating the interaction between the categories ‘duration of fame’ and ‘extent of notoriety’, section 3.5.2.2

Place names and time nouns naturally fall into this category as a result of the stability of the referential type in the language. In addition, there are a few brand names and people's names that survive and become assimilated in the language.

or

- b. is a person whose name has outlived them (see example 2 below).

Example 2:

Indeed it seemed that in the later Eighties that no sooner did two people fall over in the same street simultaneously than Mrs Thatcher would be *Florence Nightingale-ing* round the casualty ward, mopping fevered brows for the cameras. (Ind9303)

People whose names outlive them tend to have become figureheads in society: Florence Nightingale, for instance, was a pioneer for the nursing community and as such has become a representative for that community. The name 'Florence Nightingale' refers not only to the person who lived from 1820 to 1910 and helped reform the nursing profession, but has become associated with nurses more generally. In the conversion above, *Florence Nightingale-ing* describes Mrs. Thatcher's attempts to make herself look caring by emulating nurses (represented by the allusion to Florence Nightingale).

3.5.1.5.1.2 Conversions based on 'medium-term' nouns

This category is the hardest to describe and is the largest category; the conversions in this category are based on proper nouns that are neither 'long-term' nor ephemeral. In other words, the nouns have been known to the public

for a medium length of time and may or may not become further assimilated into the language. For example:

These days, the rich and famous have all been *Oprah Winfreyed*, exposed as sexual abusers, alcoholic, bulimic, too screwed up to emulate. (Ind9512)

The reference here means ‘given a public outing of the kind conducted by Oprah Winfrey on her television show’. Oprah Winfrey has been a successful television personality for some time and has presented the ‘Oprah Winfrey Show’ since the mid-1980s. However, there is no absolute guarantee that her name will continue to be recognised once she is no longer in the limelight. Her name therefore belongs to the category of ‘medium-term’ proper nouns, her name has been famous for some time and is not, therefore, ‘ephemeral’, but the name does not satisfy the ‘long-term’ requirements.

3.5.1.5.1.3 Conversions based on ‘short-term’ or ‘ephemeral’ nouns

The conversions in this category are based on proper nouns that appear only fleetingly in the newspapers. They tend to be the names of people or companies/brands that come into focus as a result of a particular event but do not continue to be mentioned afterwards. To clarify, *Bill Clinton*, the ex-American President, is frequently and consistently referred to through the corpus and a conversion based on his name would be categorised ‘medium-term’ as a result. If Lorena Bobbitt, the American who hit the headlines for severing her husband’s penis, is compared, then we see the difference in the duration of fame of the two figures.

Example 1:

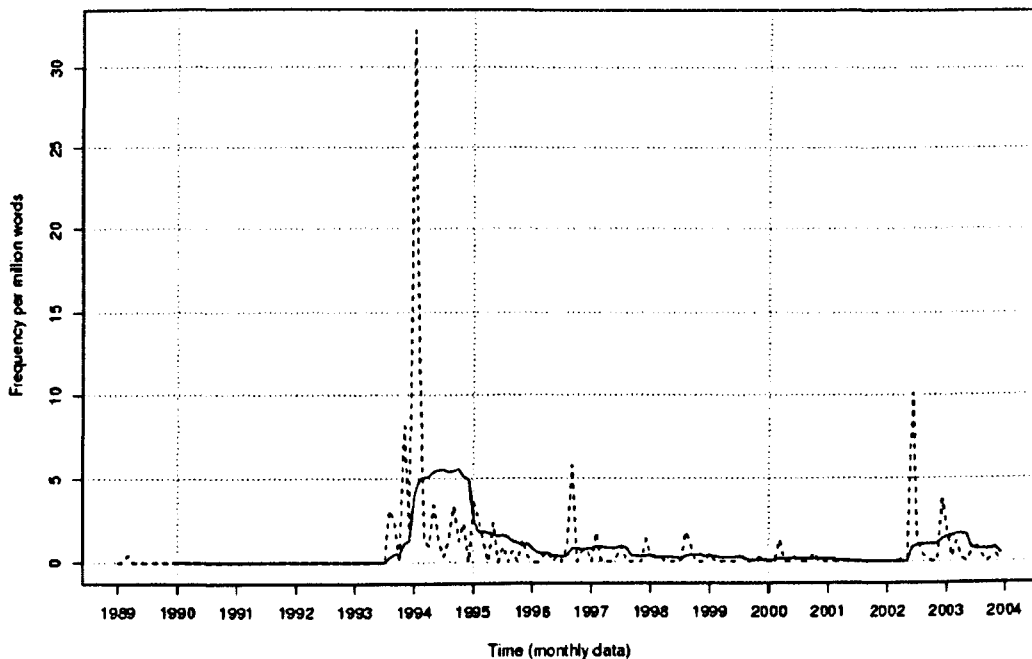
‘She went crazy and began punching me and hitting me with a chair’, he said. She then *bobbitted* him with a kitchen knife and set fire to his

apartment. The severed penis will be in court as prosecution evidence.

(Ind9611)

As a result of the massive publicity surrounding the trial of Lorena Bobbitt in 1994, the verb 'to Bobbitt', or 'Bobbitt', was introduced to describe both the original action and the copycat assaults perpetrated afterwards. The graph of occurrence of the form in my data is featured below and has two peaks; one is predictable, just after the Bobbitt case when the publicity was at its height, and one in 2002, which was unexpected. On closer inspection of the instances causing the second peak, it became evident that this second peak is actually irrelevant; an American, Phillip Bobbitt (no relation to Bobbitts discussed above) entered the political scene at this point and distorted the data somewhat. There is a sudden peak followed by a quick decline in usage of Bobbitt-related word-forms, as the media loses interest in the case and related incidents.

ALL occurrences of '^[Bb]obbitt' in The Independent (solid) (avg band = 12) 15/04/2004



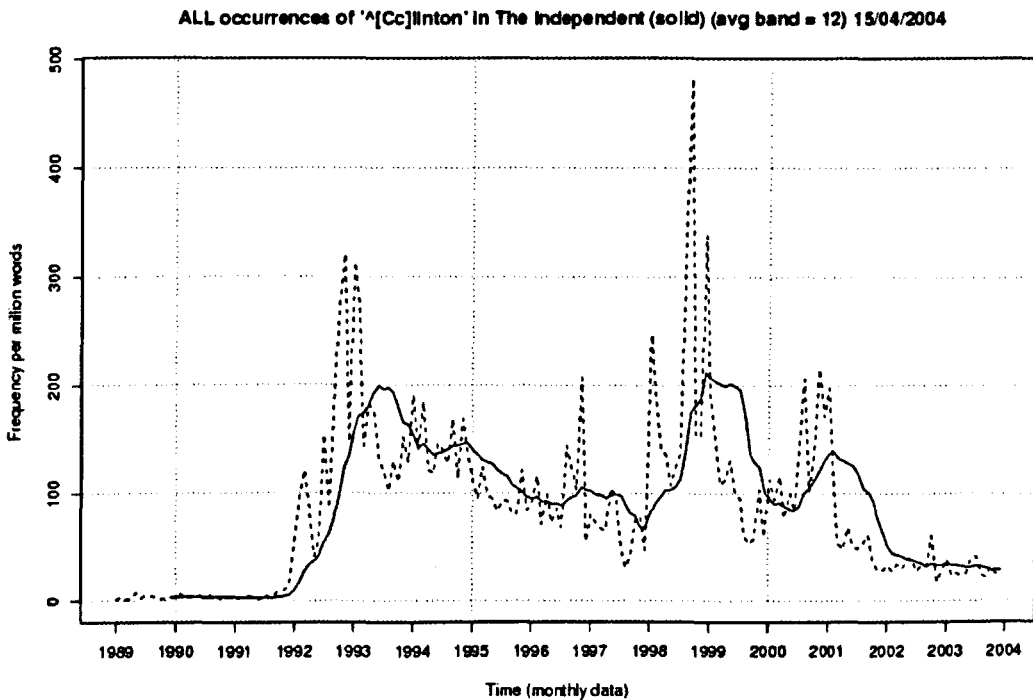
Key

‘^[Bb]obbit’ any words beginning with ‘Bobbit’ or ‘bobbit’ in the corpus

----- frequency of occurrence of any of the above forms

———— smoothed frequency (smoothed over the period of one year)

If a graph of occurrences of “^[Cc]linton” (any words beginning with ‘Clinton’ or ‘clinton’) is drawn, the difference in the duration of notoriety can be clearly seen:



Clinton was the American President between 1993 and 2001; the frequency of occurrence of ‘Clinton’-related words seems to show that the name was used relatively constantly over this period. There are two obvious peaks on the graph, one at the point of his election in 1993 where the election campaign would have been at its height and the second in 1998, when he was impeached for his

involvement with Monica Lewinsky. The data may be slightly skewed by other Clintons in the news (including Hillary, his wife and politician, Chelsea, their daughter, and any other newsworthy Clintons who are not related to the ex-President), but it seems unlikely that any other Clinton would attract such a level of publicity that would cause significant distortion.

Despite the two peaks on the 'Clinton' graph, it is clear that Clinton has had more consistent coverage than the Bobbitts over the period. It is also evident that Clinton's fame has waned somewhat since leaving the Whitehouse, but whereas the Bobbitts disappear completely from the news after their brief stint in the public eye, Clinton seems to be fading out of the news more gradually.

3.5.1.5.2 Observations

The smallest number of new conversions fell into the 'long-term' category. This may be because the likelihood of there being a need for a new conversion based on an established word diminishes with time. Established words have had more opportunity to convert or have new verbs derived from the base and therefore are less likely to appear as new conversions.

According to the data, proper nouns that have been recognised by the public for a short time are half as likely to have new conversions based on them as those that have been around in the news for a medium length of time. Although the number of ephemeral nouns newly converted accounts for one third of the conversions analysed, it seems that those proper nouns that are more established in the

language are more likely to be converted, perhaps as they have had more exposure to the public and are associated with more than one event.

The cut-off points between the three categories cannot be identified with any certainty; the corpus only covers a fifteen-year period so inclusion in the ‘long-term’ category has to be decided on personal knowledge of the proper nouns rather than on direct observation of the corpus data.

The corpus data may be skewed as a result of being journalistic text and proper nouns that are discussed by people in everyday life over a considerable length of time may only appear to be ephemeral in the corpus. For example, sports personalities may be discussed regularly by fans, but will only appear in a national newspaper like *The Independent* or *The Guardian* if they do something particularly newsworthy. Although the data in the newspaper will not reflect the frequency of reference in the language of a fan who discusses a particular sports personality, it will perhaps be more representative of the language of the general readership of that newspaper, as those who are not especially interested in that specific topic area will only come across that proper noun once it becomes into the public eye for a particular reason.

3.5.1.6 Conversions categorised by ‘extent of notoriety’

This test was to ascertain the sort of proper nouns that were being used as a base for new conversions; the initial hypothesis was that proper nouns that were recognised by most readers of the newspaper were more likely to undergo conversion; proper nouns that are recognised on an international or national scale

are more likely to be converted as most readers will recognise the noun base and its associated characteristics.

3.5.1.5.1 Results

Figure 3.10

Extent of notoriety	Number of conversions	Percentage of conversions in category
Internationally known referents	81	46%
Nationally known referents	59	34%
Referents known only to exclusive group	35	20%

3.5.1.6.1.1 Conversions based on ‘internationally known’ proper nouns

The conversions included in this category have been converted from proper nouns that would be expected to be recognised in the international English-speaking community, rather than being restricted to being recognised by British-English readers only. Examples of conversions based on internationally recognised proper nouns are *Hollywooded*, *Schumachered*, and *Concorded*, where the proper nouns and their associated characteristics are known by people from all over the developed English-speaking world.

3.5.1.6.1.2 Conversions based on ‘nationally known’ proper nouns

The proper noun bases for this category of conversions are primarily (British) culture-specific. That is not to say that some of the nouns would not be recognised by some English speakers outside the United Kingdom, but they are nouns that are not internationally famous. Examples of this category include *Rooneyed*, *Alan Partridged*, *Hovis-ed*.

3.5.1.6.1.3 Conversions based on proper nouns known to an exclusive group

This category of conversions is based on proper nouns that would not be widely recognised. The proper nouns can be exclusive to a particular article:

Example 1:

On arrival we were instantly *Guntered*: charmed by the hotel manager and made to feel that our accommodation was substantially more than a bed for the night. (Guard0303)

Here the journalist glosses the verb immediately after the conversion and only a reader of *that* article would recognise that the conversion is based on the name of the hotel manager. This type of conversion is highly dependent on contextual clarification (see contextual clues, chapter 5) and would not be comprehended without an explanation.

The category also covers proper nouns that would only be recognised by a particular readership:

Example 2:

As Celtic are also reportedly interested in *Agathe-ing* another decent player away from one of those tiny no-mark clubs, it wasn't long before Dundee circled their wagons. (Guard0103)

The conversion is based on the name of a footballer, Didier Agathe, whose characteristics are known by anyone who follows the teams for whom he plays,

but it is unlikely that anyone outside of that sphere would have any in-depth knowledge about the player. These conversions are likely to be domain-specific; they are far more likely to occur in a part of the newspaper catering for exclusive readerships, such as the sports section, than the more general news pages.

3.5.1.6.2 Observations

1. A surprisingly high percentage (20%) of the conversions were based on proper nouns known only to an exclusive group of people. This may indicate that conversions are more likely to appear in certain textual domains than in others, particularly those where the particular journalist is certain that his/her readership will recognise the proper nouns specific to that topic.
2. As predicted, the better known the proper noun, the more likely it is that it will be chosen to undergo conversion.
3. It is likely that there will be a correlation between the referential category of the proper noun and the extent of notoriety: time nouns and places will be internationally known, and companies and trade names are likely to be at least nationally recognised.

3.5.2 Combinations of Results

The results of the tests described above were combined to see if there were any significant correlations that cast further light on the nature of proper noun to verb conversion.

3.5.2.1 Combination of results showing the interaction between the referential category of the base noun and the meanings on which the conversion has been based ('association')

The 'referential category' refers to the groups and subgroups that the base nouns can be categorised into (place names, names of people, units of time, etc.). These groups are listed and discussed in detail in section 3.4.1. 'Association' refers to the different defining semantic features of the noun that can be exploited in the conversion process. This is discussed in detail in section 3.4.2.4.

Combination of results of 'association' and 'referential type'

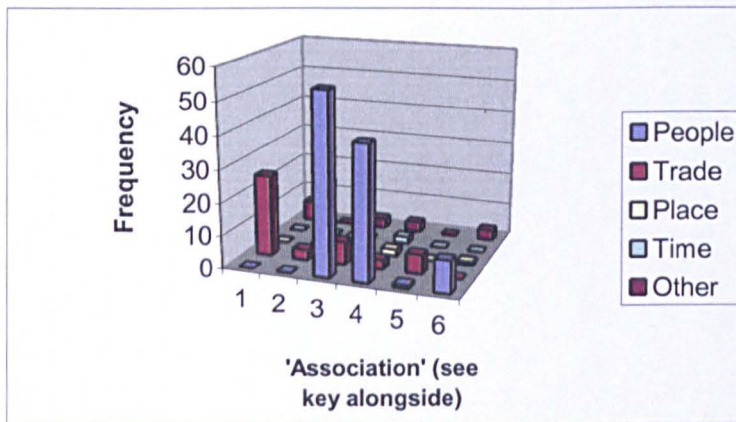
Figure 3.11

Association	Referential category	No. of Conversions	% of type in association	% of association category occurring in referential category
Multiple – metaphorical	Trade names	3	7%	100%
	a) Products	3	14%	100%
Multiple – literal	Trade names	25	57%	81%
	a) Companies	4	27%	13%
	b) Products	14	67%	45%
	c) Companies/Products	3	100%	10%
	d) Companies/Services	4	80%	13%
	Other	6	40%	19%
Part – metaphorical	Place	3	43%	6%
	People	41	38%	82%
	Trade names	2	5%	4%
	a) Companies	2	13%	4%
	Time	2	100%	4%
	Other	3	20%	3%
Part-literal	People	55	51%	80%
	Place	4	57%	6%
	Trade names	7	16%	10%
	a) Companies	4	4%	6%

	b) Products	2	10%	3%
	c) Companies/Services	1	20%	1%
	Other	3	20%	4%
Evaluation	Trade names	6	14%	85%
	a) Products	1	5%	14%
	b) Companies	5	33%	71%
	People	1	1%	14%
Puns	Place	1	14%	7%
	People	10	9%	71%
	Other	3	20%	21%

Chart 3.12

Bar chart to show relationship between association and referential type



Key	
1	Multiple - literal
2	Multiple - metaphorical
3	Part - literal
4	Part - metaphorical
5	Part - evaluative
6	Pun

3.5.2.1.1 Observations

1. Conversions based on people's names were predominantly based on *one* particular characteristic ('part'; for example, *southgating*, (based on the footballer, Gareth Southgate):

The following year we lost on penalties due to me *southgating* the decisive effort straight at the keeper. (Guard0310)

Southgate has had a distinguished footballing career (and presumably does other things besides football), but the only association that is exploited in the

conversion is the fact that he missed a vital penalty when playing for England against Germany in the semi-final of the Euro 96 cup.

The relationship between ‘part’ and ‘people’ and ‘places’ could be a result of the nature of the referential types in journalistic text. Readers do not care about the ‘whole’ aspect of people and places but are more concerned with the one particular aspect of that person or place that makes it newsworthy. The knowledge that journalists tend to represent those proper noun types metonymically may be used to help interpret new conversions and newspaper readers may automatically look for the most obviously associated characteristic of the person or place when faced with a new conversion, as they know from experience that this is the most likely key to interpretation of the new verb.

2. Most (6/7) of the conversions based on an evaluative aspect of the base noun were companies, for example, *Exxoned*:

Stepping into something unpleasant on the street, an American might now say: ‘Oh no, I just *Exxoned* my shoes. (Ind8909)

The American company, *Exxon*, was involved in a pollution disaster and the distaste that the scandal caused has been used as the basis for the conversion above, rather than the products or services offered by the company.

3. The conversions based on places and time were all based on a metaphorical aspect of the base noun, for example:

They’ve ‘*Wappinged*’ part of the harbour with Kew-like greenhouses and a mono-rail. (Ind9005)

The journalist draws the attention of his/her readers to the similarities between 'the harbour' and the developments that have taken place in Wapping by saying that 'they' have turned the harbour into Wapping (metaphorically).

4. A large proportion (57%) of the conversions based on trade names were formed from their characteristics as a whole as opposed to from one particular aspect ('part'). For example:

Earlier that day, John had *Eurostarred* in from Paris with an enormous basket of cherries 'picked from the garden this morning'. (Ind9711)

The journalist draws on the readers' knowledge that the 'Eurostar' service:

- a) is a rail service,
- b) runs through the Channel Tunnel between London and Paris,
- c) is a quick, convenient method of commuting between Britain and the continent.

5. Conversions based on trade names were less likely to be based on metaphorical aspects than on a literal meaning of the base noun, for example:

I do not say that they shed tears as they *JCB-ed* a clutch of gnarled apple trees, or shunted aside a laden damson tree... (Ind9203)

Metaphor seems to play a large part in the formation of conversions based on people, places and time, and it is only the category of 'trade names' where it does not feature so significantly. Perhaps we are more conditioned to make connections between people and places and other objects than we are with trade names, or it could be that the characteristics of people, places and time are more conducive to being used metaphorically than those of trade names. A much larger study would need to be carried out to ascertain the exact role of metaphor

in the conversion process, but it does seem at least to some extent to be referential-type specific.

3.5.2.2 Combination of results to show the interaction between the categories ‘extent of notoriety’ and ‘duration of fame’

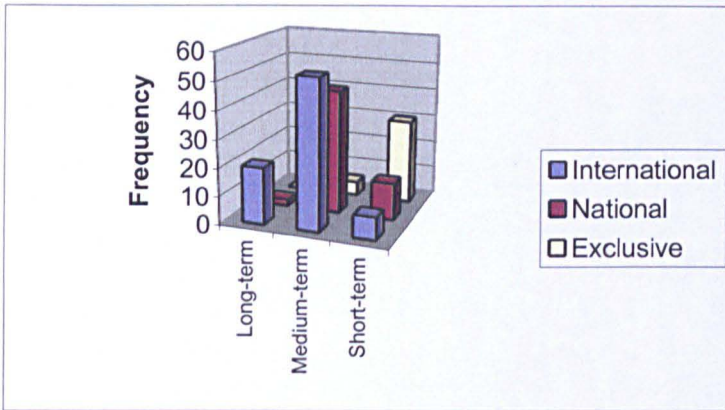
The category ‘duration of fame’ refers to the length of time that the proper noun is known to the public before conversion takes place. For more detail on the categories, see section 3.5.2.2. The category ‘extent of notoriety’ categorises the conversion with respect to how well-known the referent of the proper noun is. These categories are listed and explained in section 3.5.1.6.

Figure 3.13 Combination of results showing the relationship between ‘duration of fame’ and ‘extent of notoriety’

Extent of notoriety	Duration of fame	No. of conversions	% of duration types in notoriety groups	% of notoriety category occurring in duration types category
International	Long-term	20	91%	25%
	Medium-term	53	52%	65%
	Short-term	8	16%	10%
National	Long-term	2	11%	3%
	Medium-term	44	42%	75%
	Short-term	13	25%	22%
Exclusive	Long-term	0	0%	0%
	Medium-term	5	5%	14%
	Short-term	30	59%	86%

Bar chart to show relationship between extent of notoriety and duration of fame

Chart 3.14



3.5.2.2.1 Observations

The bar chart reveals that there is a set of relationships between the extent of notoriety of the proper noun base and the length of time that the noun appears in the newspapers, such that:

1. Internationally-known proper nouns are most likely to also be ‘long-term’ nouns.
2. Nationally-known proper nouns are most likely to be in the public eye for a ‘medium’ length of time.
3. Proper nouns known to an exclusive group are only likely to be newsworthy for a short period.

A similar pattern emerges if the relationship is reversed:

1. Proper nouns that have appeared in the language for a long time are most likely to be internationally recognised.
2. Proper nouns that have appeared for a medium length of time are most likely to be well known too – nationally or internationally.
3. Ephemeral proper nouns are the most evenly spread across the three categories, but are the most likely to be known by an exclusive readership.

The results are not all so surprising; proper nouns that are important enough in the language to be internationally recognised are likely to remain important in the language; for example internationally-renowned people are usually those who have contributed something to society (like Isaac Newton or Florence Nightingale) or who have a degree of power over international events (political leaders like Bill Clinton). These people become figureheads in society and are remembered for their contributions. Similarly, some trade names become so successful that their name becomes part of the language. (For example, 'Hoover' has become the term by which most people in Britain refer to vacuum cleaners). However, most trade names that are known internationally will be superseded by others that come to prominence shortly afterwards, not many companies enjoying long-lasting fame.

On the other hand, most of the ephemeral nouns will be names of people who only hit the newspapers briefly but are better known in their respective fields,

like sportspeople or someone in a job that would not inevitably attract media attention, such as people who work in the public relations field.

3.5.2.3 Combination of results showing the interaction between the categories of ‘argument’ and ‘referential type’

The category of ‘argument’ refers to the relationship between the base proper noun and converted verb (for example, the conversion $lock_{(N)} \rightarrow lock_{(V)}$ uses the ‘instrumental argument’ in its construction, a person *uses* a $lock_{(N)}$ in order to perform the verbal action). For more detail of the categories, see section 3.5.1.3.

The category ‘referential type’ refers to the semantic category of the referent of the proper noun. These categories are discussed in section 3.4.1.

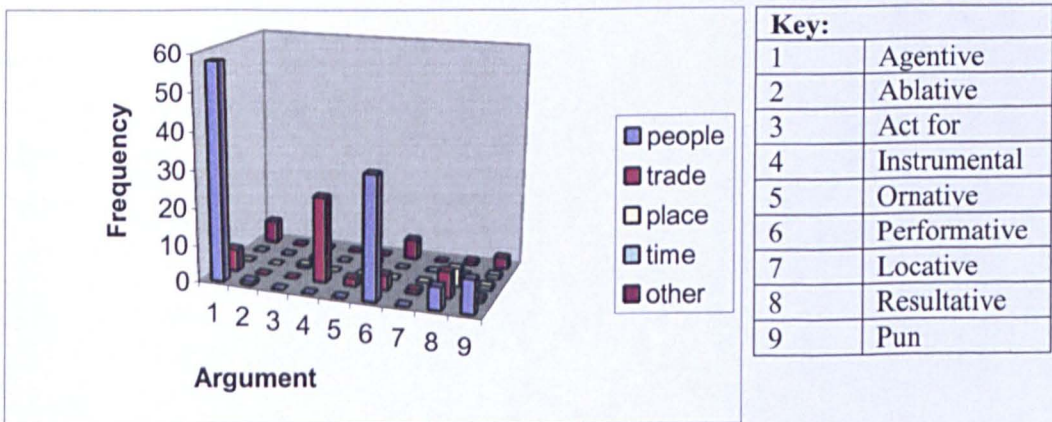
Figure 3.15 Combination of results showing relationship between ‘argument’ and ‘referential type’

Argument	Referential type	No. of conversions	% of types in argument	% of argument category occurring in referential category
Agentive	People	54	82%	51%
	Trade	6	9%	14%
	a) Companies	2	3%	13%
	b) Products	3	5%	14%
	c) Companies/Services	1	2%	20%
	Other	6	9%	40%
Agentive + Pun	People	4	100%	4%
Ablative	People	1	100%	0.1%
Act for	Place	1	100%	14%
Instrumental	Trade	23	100%	52%
	a) Companies	2	9%	13%
	b) Products	14	61%	67%
	c) Companies/Services	4	17%	80%
	d) Companies/Products	3	13%	100%
Ornative	Time	1	33%	50%

	Trade	2	33%	5%
	a) Companies	1	33%	7%
	b) Products	1	33%	5%
Performative	Trade	4	10%	9%
	a) Companies	2	5%	13%
	b) Products	2	5%	10%
	People	32	80%	30%
	Other	4	10%	27%
Performative + Pun	People	1	50%	0.1%
	Other	1	50%	7%
Privative	Trade	1	100%	2%
	a) Companies	1	100%	7%
Resultative	Trade	7	37%	16%
	a) Companies	7	37%	47%
	Place	5	26%	57%
	People	6	32%	7%
	Other	1	5%	7%
Pun	Time	1	7%	50%
	Trade	1	7%	2%
	a) Products	1	7%	5%
	Place	1	7%	14%
	People	9	60%	8%
	Other	3	20%	20%

Bar chart to show relationship between argument and type

Chart 3.16



3.5.2.3.1 Observations

The bar chart above shows the marked tendencies for some referential categories to form conversions using particular arguments. There are distinctive peaks and

troughs on the graph which indicate that there is indeed a reason to believe that the argument relationships found in the conversions studied were influenced by the type of referential categories; for example, it can be seen that the 'agentive' argument ('1' on the x-axis) has peaks which are associated with the 'people', 'trade names' and 'other' referential categories, and troughs with the 'place' and 'time' categories.

This means that a reader, on coming across a new conversion in a newspaper, already has some ideas as to its meaning as a result of his/her expectations of the argument relationship based on previous experience. For example, if the proper noun forming the case for the conversion is a trade name, then the reader may instinctively guess that the relationship between the noun and verb is likely to be an instrumental argument as that is the one most commonly found with trade nouns. This is probably a result of a combination of factors: products are the most likely to be converted out of the trade name category (see 'referential type' results), and we tend to use products rather than turn into them or move them.

The correlation also has consequences for the researcher since the type and number of argument relationships found will depend very much on the nature of the conversions being investigated. If the study consists mainly of conversions based on people's names, for example, then the arguments that will occur most frequently are likely to be agentive, performative and resultative, as well as puns. If this correlation occurs with conversions, then there is no reason to believe that it could not be extended to derivations and other word-formation types; the type

of base restricts the possible argument relationships available for exploitation in forming a new verb.

Conversions based on people's names, in the main, formed verbs with agentive, performative and resultative arguments. For example, the conversion *Little Mermaided*, below, uses the 'resultative' argument in its construction:

The heart sinks a bit when one reads in small print that the logo (ie the title as rendered) is already copyrighted by Disney, and thinks of Barker's gorgeously painted (and named) monsters – John Mischief, the Criss-Cross Man, Mater Motley – being *Little Mermaided* up. (Guard0210)

There was also a strong tendency for people's names to be used as the basis for puns, for example, *Paul Michael Glaser-ed*:

Mesmerised by reruns of Starsky and Hutch, her eyes had *Paul Michael Glaser-ed* over. (Ind9409)

The journalist uses the homophonic similarities between the producer's surname (Glaser) and the verb form that would be expected to fill that particularly syntactic position (glazed) in order to create a pun.

Puns could be formed from any category of referential type; for example, the place name, Greece was used as a pun in '*Greecing* the wheels'; 'Warren Beatty', the American actor, is referred to in the pun '*Beattying* about the bush'. Puns rely on homographic and homophonic similarities for their creation and therefore the proportion of puns appearing in a corpus is more likely to be related to the genre and tone of texts rather than the numbers of different referential types.

3.5.2.4 Combination of results showing the interaction between the categories of ‘extent of notoriety’ and ‘referential type’

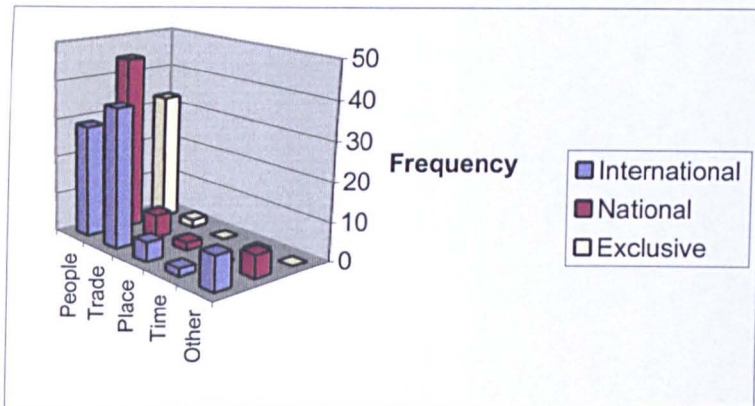
The category ‘exclusivity’ sorts the conversions with respect to the extent to which the referents of the proper noun bases would be recognised by readers.

Figure 3.17

Extent of notoriety	Referential category	No. of conversions	% of types in extent of notoriety categories	% of extent of notoriety category occurring in referential category
International	People	29	27%	36%
	Place	5	71%	6%
	Time	2	100%	2%
	Trade	36	73%	44%
	a) Companies	12	80%	15%
	b) Products	17	81%	21%
	c) Companies/Products	3	100%	4%
	d) Companies/Service	4	80%	5%
	Other	9	60%	11%
National	People	45	42%	76%
	Place	2	29%	3%
	Time	0	0	0
	Trade	6	14%	10%
	a) Companies	3	20%	5%
	b) Products	2	10%	3%
	c) Companies/Products	0	0	0
	d) Companies/Service	1	20%	2%
	Other	6	40	10%
Exclusive	People	33	31%	94%
	Place	0	0	0
	Time	0	0	0
	Trade	2	5%	6%
	a) Companies	0	0	0
	b) Products	2	10%	6%
	c) Companies/Products	0	0	0
	d) Companies/Service	0	0	0
	Other	0	0	0

Bar chart to show relationship between extent of notoriety and referential type

Chart 3.18



3.5.2.4.1 Observations

Time and place proper nouns are very unlikely to be known only to an exclusive group unless they are fabricated for the benefit of that group only (for example in a science fiction novel)

1. In the majority of the referential type categories, the largest number of conversions fell into the ‘internationally-known’ category, followed by the ‘nationally-known’ and then ‘known only by exclusive group’ category. The exception to this was the ‘people’ type, where there were more known only to an exclusive group (for example, *Aidanned*, below) than to the international audience in the data.

An example of conversion based on a person noun only to an exclusive group is:

In the space of 2m 39.45 seconds, every last one of them was thoroughly
Aidanned. (Guard0206)

The conversion is likely only to be understood by aficionados of horse racing, who would recognise that the referent is ‘Aidan O’Brien’, a successful (at least at the time of completion) horse trainer.

2. The category of nouns only known to an exclusive group was made up almost entirely of people's names. It seems that the extent to which a proper noun is known does make a difference in the process of conversion. In general, in newspaper texts, the more that the noun occurs, the more likely it is that it will undergo conversion, perhaps because the characteristics associated with that noun are more likely to be understood by readers. It is also probable that those nouns that are internationally known are more likely to be mentioned in the news more frequently than those with less widespread fame, which may make them more likely candidates for the conversion process.

3.5.2.5 Combination of results showing the interaction between the categories 'duration of fame' and 'referential type'

This combination of results is designed to show the correlations between the length of time that the referent of a base proper noun is known before conversion takes place and the semantic category to which the referent belongs.

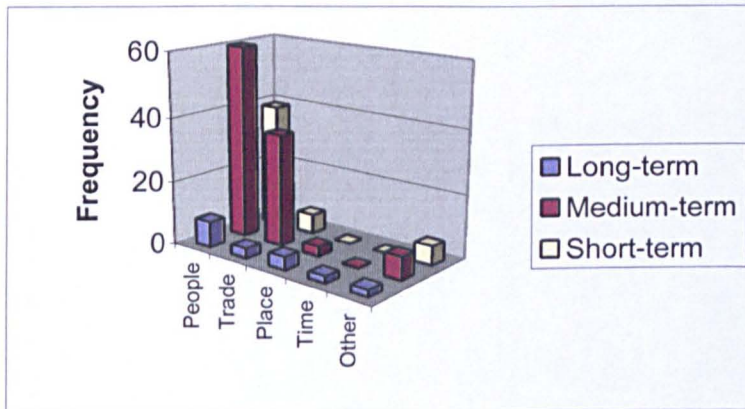
Figure 3.19

Duration of fame	Referential Type	No. of conversions	% of types in duration categories	% of duration category occurring in referential types
Long-term	People	8	7%	42%
	Place	4	57%	21%
	Time	2	100%	11%
	Trade	3	7%	16%
	a) Companies	1	7%	5%
	b) Products	2	10%	11%
	c) Companies/Products	0	0	0
	d) Companies/Service	0	0	0

	Other	2	13%	11%
Medium-term	People	60	56%	53%
	Place	3	3%	3%
	Time	0	0	0
	Trade	35	33%	33%
	a) Companies	11	10%	10%
	b) Products	16	15%	15%
	c) Companies/Products	3	3%	3%
	d) Companies/Service	5	5%	5%
	Other	7	7%	7%
Short-term	People	39	36%	76%
	Place	0	0	0
	Time	0	0	0
	Trade	6	14%	12%
	a) Companies	3	20%	6%
	b) Products	3	14%	6%
	c) Companies/Products	0	0	0
	d) Companies/Service	0	0	0
	Other	6	40%	12%

Bar chart to show relationship between duration of fame and referential type

Chart 3.20



3.5.2.5.1 Observations

1. Proper nouns that have been known by the public for a medium length of time (i.e less than 50 years but have been in the news for more than a couple of months) are the most likely to be converted.

For example:

And for those artists whose work has not been *Saatchied*, there is art on the Net, created by artists so that you can stroll round their virtual studios, read their biogs and perhaps even purchase a painting. (Guard0006)

2. Time nouns and place nouns are not likely to fall into the short-term category unless a new, 'fad' term is invented to describe a stretch of time or a fictional place is mentioned briefly.

3. The particular data used shows that ephemeral proper nouns are an important source from which journalists create new conversions. This may be because news texts inherently contain a rich source of ephemeral proper nouns; different people and companies become newsworthy (and equally unnewsworthy) on a daily basis. This may also be true of speech, but another study would be needed to investigate that particular research area.

3.5.2.6 Combination of results showing interaction between the categories 'argument' and 'association'.

The results from the two categorisations of the conversions in terms of their relationships between the base proper noun and the converted verb have been combined in order to investigate any interaction or correlations between them. 'Argument' refers to the category of argument relationship between the base and verb (instrumental, resultative, etc), and 'association' refers to the different semantic features exploited in the conversion (for example whether the conversion has exploited all or part of the semantic features of the base noun).

* = the conversion has been classed in an argument category, but is also an example of the 'word-play' category.

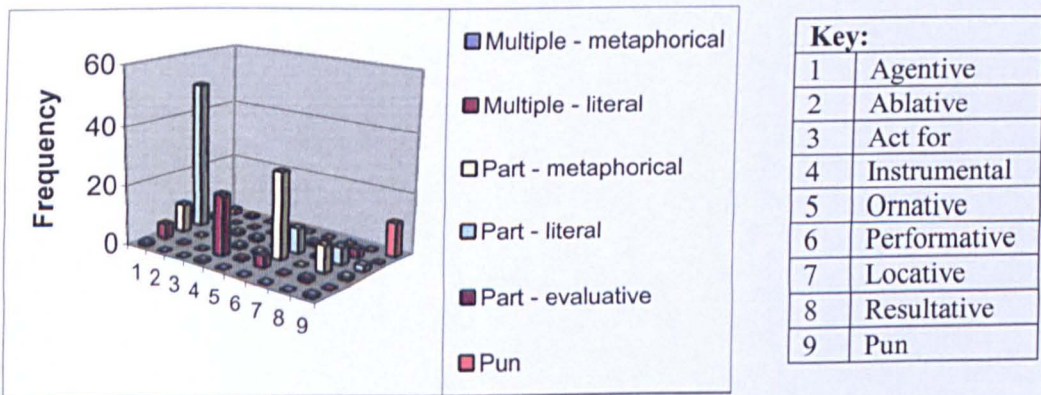
Figure 3.21

Argument	Association	No. of Conversions	% of association category types in argument categories	% of argument categories occurring in association categories
Whole metaphorical	Agentive	1	1%	33%
	Ablative	0	0	0
	Act for	0	0	0
	Instrumental	1	4%	33%
	Ornative	0	0	0
	Performative	0	0	0
	Privative	0	0	0
	Resultative	0	0	0
Whole literal	Word play	1	7%	33%
	Agentive	5	7%	16%
	Ablative	0	0	0
	Act for	0	0	0
	Instrumental	20	87%	65%
	Ornative	1	33%	3%
	Performative	3 + 1*	10%	13%
	Privative	0	0	0
Part metaphorical	Resultative	1	5%	3%
	Word play	0	0	0
	Agentive	9 + 1*	14%	20%
	Ablative	0	0	0
	Act for	0	0	0
	Instrumental	1	4%	2%
	Ornative	1	33%	2%
	Performative	28 + 1*	69%	57%
Part literal	Privative	0	0	0
	Resultative	9	47%	18%
	Word play	1	7%	2%
	Agentive	49 + 1*	71%	72%
	Ablative	0	0	0
	Act for	1	100%	1%
	Instrumental	1	4%	1%
	Ornative	0	0	0
	Performative	8	19%	12%
	Privative	1	100%	1%
	Resultative	6	32%	9%

	Word play	2	13%	3%
Part (evaluation)	Agentive	2	3%	29%
	Ablative	0	0	0
	Act for	0	0	0
	Instrumental	0	0	0
	Ornative	1	33%	14%
	Performative	1	2%	14%
	Privative	0	0	0
	Resultative	3	16%	43%
	Word play	0	0	0
Pun	Agentive	2*	3%	14%
	Ablative	1*	100%	7%
	Act for	0	0	0
	Instrumental	0	0	0
	Ornative	0	0	0
	Performative	0	0	0
	Privative	0	0	0
	Resultative	0	0	0
	Word play	11	73%	79%

Bar chart to show the relationship between association and argument

Chart 3.22



As with the graph to show the relationship between argument and referential type, there are noticeable peaks where there is a strong correlation between argument and association.

3.5.2.6.1 Observations

1. Conversions formed using an agentive relationship with the noun tend to be based on one literal characteristic of the base, for example:

The reason she had allowed herself to be *Bashired* was because whispers persist about the validity of her escape story. (Guard0203)

The referent of the proper noun base is ‘Martin Bashir’, a television journalist who interviews people involved in controversial situations. The subject of the sentence, ‘she’, refers to ‘Joanne Lees’, a backpacker whose claim to have witnessed her boyfriend’s murder in the Australian outback has been questioned by the media. Here, the conversion has the meaning ‘be acted on by Bashir’ (agentive), and the aspect exploited in the creation of the conversion is that Bashir is a journalist who interviews people about contentious events.

2. Conversions based on an instrumental relationship tend to be based on the literal interpretation of multiple characteristics associated with the noun, for example:

Two years ago, I *FedEx’ed* Damien Hurst a small table I had made.
(Ind9907)

The conversion used the ‘instrumental’ argument, ‘I *used* the company ‘FedEx’’, and is based on the knowledge that FedEx is a company which provides a secure parcel delivery service. The conversion is said to be based on ‘multiple’ meanings as it exploits more than one factor associated with the base noun.

3. Conversions based on performative relationships are the most varied in association, being based on one literal or metaphorical characteristic, or on the literal interpretation of the multiple meanings associated with the noun.

4. Those based on resultative relationships are usually based on one feature of the noun, whether literal, metaphorical or evaluative, for example:

At the moment he is composing the new Disney soundtrack to Tarzan and I know not to bother him when he's *Disneying* it. (Ind9802)

The verb can be paraphrased 'turn into Disney (tune)' (resultative), and has been based on the knowledge that Disney's animated films have distinctive theme tunes (and does not use the other facts that a reader may also associate with the proper noun 'Disney').

5. If conversions are based on the evaluation of the noun, the conversions usually form a resultative relationship.

For example:

Basically they (the Stock Exchange board) have bottled out and we've all been *Coopered*. (Ind9405)

The conversion exploits the fact that the finance company, 'Coopers and Lybrand' had a disaster ('evaluative' aspect) and can be paraphrased, 'been turned into the same financial straits as 'Coopers and Lybrand' (resultative).

6. Those formed on one characteristic ('part'), literal or metaphorical, usually form an agentive, performative or resultative relationship with their base nouns. Of the 120 conversions that have been formed using one characteristic of

the referent of the proper noun, 112 have been formed using the agentive, performative or resultative arguments³³.

3.6 Conclusions

The results show that the choice of a proper noun as the base for a conversion carries with it certain implications. From the results, we can draw some conclusions about the nature of proper noun to verb conversion in newspaper texts:

1. Proper nouns referring to people are most likely to be the source of new conversions in newspaper texts.

61% of the new proper noun conversions were based on people's names, and these were most likely to be the names of people involved in sport, entertainment or politics (between them making up two thirds of the people whose names had been used as a base for a new conversion). This fact shows that journalistic text tends to be people-focussed, and that journalists consider that people's names provide a good base for the creation of conversions, as they tend to have a limited number of recognisable characteristics from which to create a new verb.

Names of companies and brands are also a popular source of proper noun bases, accounting for one quarter of the proper nouns analysed. Conversely, journalists do not seem to use place names as bases for conversion very frequently, possibly because they do not feature as the centre of attention in the news very often and

³³ 60 were formed using the 'agentive' argument, 37 using the 'performative' and 15 using the 'resultative'

as there are few places with immediately obvious characteristics associated with them.

2 Conversions are most likely to reflect one characteristic of the source noun rather than the combined characteristics of that noun.

Nearly 70% of the conversions were formed using one characteristic of the base noun, with approximately 30% being based on a metaphorical characteristic and 40% on a literal characteristic, suggesting that proper nouns with **one** feature that stands out are more likely to undergo conversion. The results also show the part that metaphor and word play have in the conversion process; the puns and conversions based on metaphor constitute over 40% of those analysed. The study highlights the significance of the role of metaphor and indicates that there is an enormous amount of work still to be done in this particular area.

The fact that the conversions are more likely to be based on one characteristic may also be a bias of the corpus from which the conversions have been taken; newspapers may have a tendency to simplify proper nouns to a newsworthy characteristic in order to make the stories more memorable and ‘punchy’.

3 Conversions are more likely to occur with source nouns that have been known to the public for a medium length of time.

Newspapers are concerned with current affairs and so would be expected to contain large numbers of new, ephemeral proper nouns as well as established ones. The results indicate, however, that proper nouns that remain in the public eye are more likely to be used in a conversion, rather than vogue nouns. It is

unsurprising that nouns that are well-established in the language do not undergo conversion very frequently as they do not tend to be quite so newsworthy and have had more time to undergo the process previously. However, given the preoccupations of journalists with transient newsworthy events, the proportion of ephemeral proper nouns being converted is low. Perhaps ephemeral nouns do not have enough journalistic coverage to generate distinctive characteristics for the journalists to exploit in the conversion process.

4 Nouns that are recognised by a large set of people will be more likely to be converted by a journalist than those recognised by a select group of people.

The results of the ‘notoriety’ test were fairly predictable; internationally-known nouns were more likely to form the basis for a new conversion than nationally known or exclusively-recognised nouns. The characteristics of a noun base have to be recognised by the readers in order for a conversion to work successfully so it is not surprising that those nouns that would be recognised by the largest numbers of readers are the most frequent bases of conversions; they would require fewer contextual clues (see Chapter 5) and are less open to misinterpretation.

5 There are correlations to be found between the referential type of the base and the argument structure used in the conversion.

The results of the combination of the ‘argument’ and ‘referential type’ tests show quite clearly that the argument relation used in converting the noun to a verb is influenced by the referential type of the base noun; people’s names are predominantly associated with ‘agentive’ or ‘performative’ arguments, whereas trade names are linked with the ‘instrumental’ argument. Puns, on the other hand, are formed from any referential category and are usually overlooked in studies of the relationship between nouns and their conversions. They will be dealt with in more detail later (see Functions, Chapter 7). These results help to pinpoint which characteristics are usually exploited in coining a new conversion from a proper noun; conversions coined from product names, for example, would expect to exploit the ‘instrumental’ argument and the reader may expect, unless given evidence to suggest otherwise, that the new verb will be paraphrased ‘use X’, where X is the proper noun base. The correlations described in the results above may aid the reader in interpreting a new conversion; they are likely to recognise the base noun and may be conditioned to expect one of a limited number of relationships between the noun and subsequent verb as a result of previous experience with proper noun conversions.

6 There are correlations to be found between the referential type of the base and the aspect chosen for the process of conversion.

A few patterns seem to arise from looking at this set of conversions. Conversions based on people’s names have a tendency to be based on one aspect (‘part’) of the source noun or are puns, whereas trade names are far more likely to be based on a literal interpretation of the noun as a whole. In addition, there are marked variations between conversions’ tendencies to be based on

metaphorical or literal interpretations of the noun; conversions from trade names are more inclined to be literal, whereas place names and time nouns are more likely to exploit the metaphorical aspects of their source nouns.

The only referential types associated with the 'evaluative' aspect in the conversion formation were those based on people and trade names, so although evaluation is an important element in the conversion process, the results indicate that it is limited in the type of proper noun that will exploit this aspect in forming a new verb.

7 The time that a proper noun spends in the language before it is converted varies across the referential types.

From the results, it can be seen that people's names require less time in the public eye before they are converted than trade names or place names; a higher proportion of names of people are converted after only short-term exposure to the public through the newspaper. Perhaps this implies something both about the nature of the general longevity of fame of people's names and of readers' attitudes towards these different proper noun types. If the journalist converts a person's name after a short time then the reader must have received enough information about that person's associated characteristics to be able to comprehend the semantics of the new verb form, which in turn means that the results show that people's names are, at least in newspaper texts, very quickly associated with strong characteristics which can be exploited by journalists. On the other hand, a proportionally higher number of the conversions based on trade names were converted only after having occurred for a medium length of time,

indicating that journalists generally do not associate strong characteristics with a trade name as quickly as they do with people's names. It is only the very high profile business stories that attribute characteristics to certain brand names or companies that can be exploited through conversion.

Proper nouns that have been in the language for a substantial amount of time ('long-term') seem to be the least susceptible to conversion. The obvious exception to this are the categories of place and time, where it is extremely unlikely that the nouns could have been in the language for only a short time, due to the intrinsic nature of those referential types. The relatively low occurrence of conversions of proper nouns that have been in the language for a long time indicates that established proper nouns are less likely to appear in the news, and therefore be less susceptible to journalists' word play. They have also been around long enough to have undergone the process of conversion earlier in their life in the language.

8 The extent to which a proper noun is known to the public and the likelihood of its being converted vary across the referential types.

The results show that, in general, the better known the proper noun base, the more likely it is to be converted. This rule is, however, overturned by the category based on people's names, where there were more instances of people known nationally or only to an exclusive group than there were of conversions based on people who are internationally known. This may be a direct result of the nature of journalistic text: as readers, we are far more interested in 'home' news and the people directly affecting our lives than we are about people who are

more remote. If this is true, there will be a far greater number of nationally-known people mentioned in the newspaper generally and, therefore, this category is more likely to yield more conversions. Trade names, on the other hand, are not newsworthy unless they are associated with current affairs or if they have particularly strong associated characteristics which are needed for the coining of a new verb. Companies or brands that are newsworthy are far more likely to be larger, more well-known companies, and in turn, if they are culturally well-known, it is likely to be a result of high-profile advertising, which is again far more likely with an internationally-known company or brand.

3.7 Advances made in the field

- This chapter has established the importance of proper nouns in journalism as a source of base nouns for the conversion process.
- The chapter has also established the proportions of the different types of proper nouns that contribute (and do not contribute) towards the productivity of noun to verb conversion.
- The importance of the roles that word play and metaphor play in the process of noun to verb conversion has been established by the research, and I have shown that there is a link between conversions based on certain types of proper nouns and the use of metaphor.
- I have also established that there is a correlation between the referential type of the proper noun base and the argument that relates the noun base and the resulting conversion.
- The investigation has highlighted the profiles of the proper nouns most likely to undergo conversion in newspaper text. Nouns referring to people from certain professions and that are known to the public are far more likely to be used than nouns referring to places, for example.
- Proper nouns are known to be important for the creation of noun to verb conversions and this study provides the first in-depth investigation of this link between proper nouns and conversion.

**CHAPTER 4: FACTORS INHIBITING THE
PRODUCTION OF NOUN TO VERB
CONVERSIONS**

4.1 Introduction

if there are constraints on conversion they have yet to be demonstrated.
(Bauer, 1983: 226)

Conversion is a very productive method of creating verbs from nominal bases; of the 906 new verbs created from nominal bases in the *Independent/Guardian* corpus³⁴, 797 (88%) of those have been created by conversion. Nevertheless, not all nouns are converted into verbs so there must be factors that contribute to the prevention of those nouns being converted. This chapter aims to identify those factors and the extent to which they prevent noun to verb conversion.

4.2 Background literature

The idea of ‘blocking’, ‘the nonoccurrence of one form due to the simple existence of another’ (Aronoff, 1976:43), has been discussed relatively extensively since Aronoff brought the term into linguistic focus and has also been brought back into fashion with the recent interest in productivity (Bauer 2001, Plag 1997, 1999a, 1999b, 2001). Productivity and blocking could be seen as opposite sides of the same coin; ‘productivity’ measures the extent to which a process produces new forms whereas ‘blocking’ looks at where a process is *not* productive, in other words where ‘potential words’ (words that are technically possible but not attested in the language) are not realised as ‘actual words’.

Van Marle (1985) and Plag (1999a) identify two sources of morphological blocking: ‘token blocking’ and ‘type blocking’. Potential forms may be blocked

³⁴ See Introduction, section 1.3.3.1 for details of corpus.

either by individual words ('token blocking'); for example, the token *bad* blocks the coinage of **ungood*; or by other processes; for example, *authorise*, where the suffix *-ise* blocks the coinage of **authorify* or **authorate*. In addition to these two broad classes of blocking, linguists³⁵ have identified and described more specific factors impeding the realisation of potential word forms, which are relevant to the case of noun to verb conversion:

1. Blocking by a morphologically simpler form
2. Blocking by another available affix
3. Blocking by synonymy
4. Blocking by homophony/homonymy
5. Blocking as a result of the base form being abstract
6. Semantic restrictions
7. Length of the base noun form
8. 'Failure of hypostatisation'

Each of the above eight factors will be discussed, in order to establish a working inventory of the restrictions that may be inhibiting the production of noun to verb conversions.

³⁵ see Clark and Clark (1979), Bauer (2001), Plag (1999a; 1999b) and others

4.2.1 Blocking by a morphologically simpler verb form

This type of blocking may occur where a potential base noun form is morphologically complex and can be analysed as an existing verb form with a suffix as follows:

$[X_{(v)}Y]_{(N)} \not\rightarrow^{36} * [X_{(v)}Y]_{(v)}$

For example, $[\text{govern}_{(v)}\text{ment}]_{(N)} \not\rightarrow * [\text{govern}_{(v)}\text{ment}]_{(v)}$

Clark and Clark (1979: 798) identify this as ‘ancestry’:

some denominal verbs are pre-empted because the parent nouns are themselves formed from verbs that are synonymous with their grandchildren.

This blocking could also be attributed to the Gricean³⁷ maxim, which proposes that communication is governed by a user’s wish to ‘avoid unnecessary prolixity’ (1975:45) and to avoid ambiguity. If there is already a simpler and shorter way of expressing the concept, then it is unlikely that a user will choose a more complicated form unless circumstance particularly requires one.

This leads us to my first inhibiting factor:

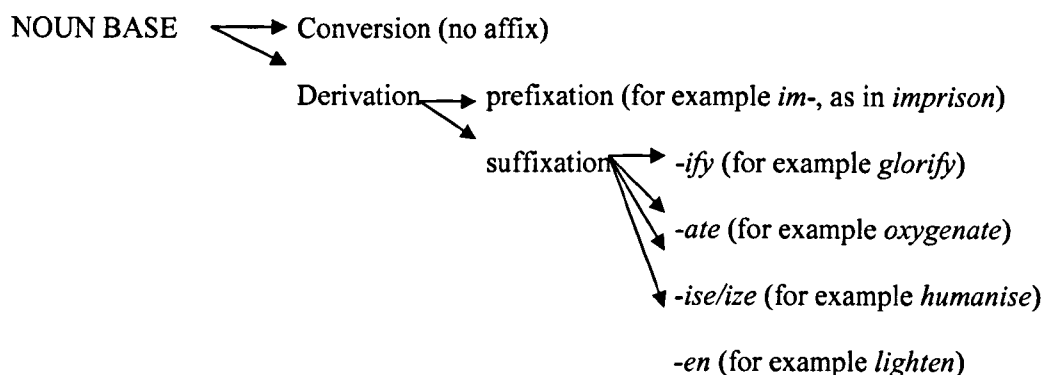
The noun to verb conversion process may be inhibited by the presence of an already existing verb form within the nominal base.

³⁶ Cannot be converted into

³⁷ Grice, H.P. (1975)

4.2.2 Blocking by another available affix

When an English user wishes to form a new verb from a nominal base, s/he has a number of options from which to choose:



If a user chooses one of the above two processes to form a new verb, and that form is used frequently and becomes established in the language, then the base is unlikely (see also blocking by synonymy, section 4.2.3) to undergo any of the other processes. Clark and Clark (ibid.:799) term this blocking procedure ‘entrenchment’:

the presence of one idiomatic denominal verb prevents the formation from the same parent noun of a second denominal verb with the same meaning, (for example, **prison*_(V) is blocked by *imprison*. My example)

The area of productivity and affixation is the most well-researched in the field of ‘blocking’ and there have been recent studies³⁸ looking into the factors causing some affixation processes to be more productive than others. However, conversion does not seem to be served by any of these theories³⁹ neatly, as

³⁸ see Allen (1978); Plag (1999a, 1999b, 2001)

³⁹ level-ordering theory, complexity-based ordering etc.

conversion involves an *absence* of morphological information as opposed to the explicit morphology present in derivational processes of verb formation.

Plag (1999a) suggests that conversion is the most general and semantically empty method of forming verbs from nominal bases, as the subsequent verbs are not restricted (as derivations are) by the meaning attached to the rival affixes:

Semantically, conversion is the most general case in that the meanings of the derivatives with overt suffixes are a subset of the possible meanings of converted verbs. This means that all of the bases attested with the overt suffixes could, in principle, have undergone conversion instead of overt affixation. What made the speakers choose the overt affixes instead? It seems that one reason for this choice lies in the specific meaning these suffixes express in comparison to the completely indeterminate meaning of conversion. (1999a: 231)

Plag also states:

The growing consensus in the linguistics literature is that the variety of meanings that can be expressed by zero-affixation is so large that there should be no specific meaning attached to the process of zero-derivation at all. (1999a: 220)

This means that, although Plag states that there are no restrictions preventing conversion from occurring, a user may prefer to use a verbal suffix in order to provide greater semantic assistance to the reader.

This leads us to my second inhibiting factor:

Conversion may be disregarded in favour of derivation if a user wishes to ensure that the new verbal form has a specific meaning associated with another derivational affix.

Once affixation has been chosen as the process by which the user forms the new verb from the nominal base, then, as Clark and Clark argue, this new affixed form may impede the formation of a conversion from the same nominal base.

4.2.3 Blocking by synonymy

Blocking by synonymy prevents two forms with exactly the same meaning occurring in a language. However, this blocking process relies on it being possible for two forms to have identical meanings. It is probably true to say that every word form has a slightly different meaning in every context in which it is used. Nevertheless, the presence of an existing form in the language with a very similar semantic and collocational profile to the potential form may prevent that potential form from being realised as an ‘actual’ word. An example may be that the potential form **ungood*, formed on the analogy of *unhealthy*, *unsavoury*, *unwell* etc. is prevented from being realised by the existing synonymous form *bad*.

Clark and Clark term this process “The Principle of pre-emption by synonymy” and define it thus:

If a potential innovative denominal verb would be precisely synonymous with a well-established verb, the innovative verb is normally pre-empted by the well-established verb, and is therefore considered unacceptable. (1979: 798)

Plag’s (1999a: 50) stance on the synonymy blocking procedure is as follows:

an existing word can only block a newly derived one if they are synonymous. Thus, any of the doublets that do occur are not synonymous but convey (at least slightly) different meanings.

These views are all very well in theory, but it is extremely difficult in practice to say that a particular form is being blocked by synonymy as only a very slightly different context is necessary to provide enough of a change of meaning for that potential synonymy to weaken. Synonymy, in my view, is likely only to impede, rather than totally block, acceptance of a new converted form into the language; a previously existing synonymous form may prevent a new conversion from becoming a high frequency form but will not prevent an instantial formation or new form with a slightly different semantic and collocational profile.

Therefore, my third inhibiting factor is:

A noun to verb conversion may be less likely to be formed if a synonymous verb form already exists in the language.

4.2.4 Blocking by homonymy and homophony

This blocking procedure is an example of ‘token blocking’ and occurs where a potential form is either homonymous or homophonous with an already existing form. For example, it could be said that the noun *press*_(N), with the meaning relating to journalism, is unlikely to undergo conversion as there is an already existing homonymous and homophonous verb form *press*_(V), with the meaning ‘to put pressure on’, which is a potential source of confusion.

Clark and Clark call this the ‘Principle of pre-emption by homonymy’ (1979: 800):

If a potential innovative denominal verb is homonymous with a well-established verb and could be confused with it, the innovative verb is normally pre-empted, and therefore is considered unacceptable.

They give the following examples:

*autumn*_(N) → *autumn*_(V)

*winter*_(N) → *winter*_(V)

but *spring*_(N) ↗ **spring*_(V) (seasonal meaning)

*fall*_(N) ↗ **fall*_(V) (seasonal meaning)

Clark and Clark do not mention homophony, but it seems reasonable to me that if homonymy is an impediment to written noun to verb conversions then its spoken equivalent, homophony, may also serve as an impediment.

This inhibiting factor needs further clarification. It is hard to imagine that homonymous or homophonous potential forms would be blocked by existing forms that do not share semantic or collocational features. For example, the following homonymous and homophonous forms do not block each other:

*bank*_(N) (financial establishment) → *bank*_(V) (put money in bank, for example, *I banked three cheques yesterday afternoon*)

*bank*_(N) (mound of earth) → *bank*_(V) (to create a bank or to turn as if travelling along a bank, for example, *the plane banked swiftly to avoid the oncoming missile*)

However, in the case of polysemy, where a noun may have different but *semantically related* meanings (as in the case of *fall*, given in the Clark and Clark examples), misinterpretation may be possible.

Again, as with the blocking by synonymy discussed earlier, if a form has a potentially blocking existing homonym or homophone, then the context in which it appears makes an enormous difference to its acceptability. As Plag says:

Although frequently mentioned in the pertinent literature, homonymy blocking cannot be assigned real significance since in almost all cases cited, the would-be derivative is acceptable if used in an appropriate context. (1999a: 50)

It seems that homonymy and homophony will only be an inhibitor if a potential form would be likely to appear in a significantly similar context to the existing form.

My fourth inhibiting factor can be summed up:

A potential noun to verb conversion may be constrained by an already existing homonym or homophone iff⁴⁰ the two forms are likely to appear in very similar contexts.

The final four factors identified by other linguists are not necessarily said to *block* a process, but have been suggested as possible impediments of neologism formation.

⁴⁰ if and only if

4.2.5 Abstract base noun

Very little has been written about the idea that an abstract base form may impede the potential for a base to convert. Aronoff mentions the restriction briefly in his work on word formation rules:

[Syntactically, rules operate on a unitary category – in this case, that of nouns,] with a little-understood restriction against nouns denoting certain abstract concepts (**science_(N)*, **justice_(N)*) (1980: 746)

First, the notion of ‘abstract’ needs to be clarified: I have adopted the definition given in the OED for the term:

Withdrawn or separated from matter, from material embodiment, from practice, or from particular examples. Opposed to *concrete*.⁴¹

This area needs to be investigated in order to discover whether the abstractness of a base does indeed restrict conversion or whether other factors may also be in play. Therefore, my fifth inhibiting factor is:

A potential conversion may be inhibited by the abstract nature of its base noun.

4.2.6 Semantic domain restrictions

It is possible that the semantic domain to which a base noun belongs may have a role in restricting conversion. For example, Bladin suggests:

⁴¹ taken from OED online – meaning 4a.

With names of persons, the -ize formation is by far more common than direct conversion.⁴² (1911:46)

The trouble with semantic domains is that they are very difficult to define as they can be extremely broad (for example, the category of 'words associated with work') or narrow, (for example, the category of 'bones in the human leg') depending on the linguist and the reasons for grouping the words into categories. The constraint described by Bladin groups all the proper nouns assigned to people in one group, but if another linguist looked closely at this group s/he might find that his rule only really applies to a subcategory of that group. Nevertheless, this constraint cannot be completely ruled out as a possible inhibitor of noun to verb conversion.

Inhibiting factor 6:

A potential noun to verb conversion may be inhibited if its base noun belongs to a particular semantic group whose members are usually verbalised with a rival derivational process.

4.2.7 Word-length restrictions

Bauer (2001) suggests that aesthetics, including the length of a word, may have a role in constraining certain word formation processes. If a base noun is already

⁴² Bladin's statement is not true of the *Independent/Guardian* corpus, where conversion is far more commonly used with names of people than any of the derivational processes. However, the idea behind Bladin's quotation remains relevant; some semantic groups of verbs may be more likely to be derived than converted.

lengthy, then a user may prefer to use another existing verb form or derive or convert a verb from another, shorter base rather than create a new form that will be more complicated than necessary (see also Gricean maxim, section 4.2.1). This may be true of general conversation or of texts where the author wishes to convey as much information as possible efficiently and simply (for example newspaper texts), but the opposite may be true of texts where longer words may be conceived as being more erudite (for example, text books).

Bauer mentions the restriction in the context of discussing word formation in general, but it is difficult to predict the effect that aesthetics may have on conversion as the process involves only the addition of inflectional affixes where necessary. It is possible that word length may constrain other word formation processes more than conversion and therefore act as a licence for productivity for conversion rather than a restriction, but this needs to be investigated further.

Thus, a seventh, tentative, factor is put forward as a possible inhibitor of conversion:

A potential noun to verb conversion may be inhibited by the length of its base noun.

4.2.8 'Failure of hypostatization'

This extralinguistic restriction is the most fundamental, but also the hardest to measure. As Bauer says (2001: 43):

Coining a new word presupposes that there is such an entity to be denoted by the new word. If there is no such entity, there is no need for a word.

The problem with this restriction, although it is undoubtedly important, is that the linguist cannot tell if a potential form is restricted by a lack of need for a new form or whether another constraint is inhibiting the form as it is impossible to tell if a use will ever be found for a particular potential form.

As this restriction lies beyond the realm of linguistics, it cannot be investigated directly in this study. However, the factor will almost inevitably play a part in blocking certain forms.

Inhibiting factor 8:

A potential conversion will not be formed if there is no need for a new verbal form with the semantic associations of the base noun.

4.2.9 Summing up of previous research into ‘blocking’ of conversion and other word formation processes

Given that the consensus in the literature has been that, inhibitors notwithstanding, conversion does not seem to be constrained, the possible inhibiting factors identified must be examined in order to see if, or to what extent they do have any effect on the constraint of noun to verb conversion or, if any of the factors, when combined, inhibit the conversion process. As we can never be certain what new forms will spring up from day to day, I feel that the term ‘inhibiting factor’ is preferable to the stronger term ‘blocking’. Unless a

particular factor **completely** prevents conversion from occurring, the term ‘inhibiting factor’ seems more appropriate.

It is not entirely true to say that **all** nouns convert; there must be some factors impeding conversion as, although it is very productive, it is by no means the only process by which verbs are created from nominal bases.

4.3 Hypotheses

1. Some of the factors discussed above will inhibit conversion more than others.
2. Conversions are more likely to be inhibited if certain factors are present **in combination**.
3. Inhibiting factors can be over-ridden if certain conditions are obtained.

4.4 Method

4.4.1 Introduction

In order to investigate the nature of the inhibiting factors in operation on noun to verb conversion, nouns that have been converted and those that have not⁴³ were examined in order to:

- a. discover whether the factors listed above did inhibit conversion,
and
- b. find any other potential inhibiting factors.

⁴³ According to the OED. This check would not identify instantial uses.

4.5 Data

The 1,500 forms occurring most frequently in the *Independent/Guardian* corpus were examined and the nouns separated from that list. It was felt that selecting high frequency forms would provide the most effective method of examining forms that are so well-established in English that any derivations or conversions likely to occur will probably have already been formed. The problem with an investigation of this sort is that it is impossible to state that a form will not convert in the future, but in using the top frequency nouns it is hoped that these forms will have achieved stability in the language.

4.6 Investigation

1. The nouns were first checked in the OED to separate those that have verb conversions from those that do not.
2. Secondly, the two lists were examined for the inhibiting factors described earlier, to see which factors are more likely to impede conversions and those that are easily overridden.
3. The lists were then re-examined to see if there were any other inhibiting factors that may play a part in preventing certain nouns from becoming converted.
4. Finally, the results of the investigations were combined in order to see if certain combinations of factors inhibited conversion more than others.

4.7 Results

Out of the top 1,500 forms in the *Independent/Guardian* corpus, there were 362 nouns. Of these, 218 (60%) have been converted into verbs and 144 (40%) have not.

4.7.1.1 Nouns that have not undergone conversion:

<i>ability</i>	<i>development</i>	<i>leader</i>	<i>public</i>
<i>Africa</i>	<i>dividend</i>	<i>leadership</i>	<i>response</i>
<i>afternoon</i>	<i>division</i>	<i>Liverpool</i>	<i>rugby</i>
<i>agreement</i>	<i>dollar</i>	<i>London</i>	<i>Saturday</i>
<i>America</i>	<i>door</i>	<i>magazine</i>	<i>scene</i>
<i>April</i>	<i>economy</i>	<i>majority</i>	<i>science</i>
<i>area</i>	<i>education</i>	<i>management</i>	<i>season</i>
<i>association</i>	<i>effort</i>	<i>manager</i>	<i>security</i>
<i>attention</i>	<i>election</i>	<i>material</i>	<i>September</i>
<i>audience</i>	<i>energy</i>	<i>media</i>	<i>situation</i>
<i>August</i>	<i>England</i>	<i>member</i>	<i>society</i>
<i>Australia</i>	<i>environment</i>	<i>military</i>	<i>spokesman</i>
<i>authority</i>	<i>Europe</i>	<i>million</i>	<i>strength</i>
<i>BBC</i>	<i>evening</i>	<i>month</i>	<i>system</i>
<i>Birmingham</i>	<i>fact</i>	<i>movement</i>	<i>technology</i>
<i>Britain</i>	<i>February</i>	<i>nature</i>	<i>television</i>
<i>business</i>	<i>France</i>	<i>novel</i>	<i>Thursday</i>
<i>cent</i>	<i>Friday</i>	<i>November</i>	<i>today</i>
<i>century</i>	<i>future</i>	<i>October</i>	<i>tomorrow</i>
<i>championship</i>	<i>Germany</i>	<i>operation</i>	<i>treatment</i>
<i>chancellor</i>	<i>gold</i>	<i>opinion</i>	<i>truth</i>
<i>choice</i>	<i>government</i>	<i>opportunity</i>	<i>Tuesday</i>
<i>city</i>	<i>growth</i>	<i>opposition</i>	<i>TV</i>
<i>collection</i>	<i>hall</i>	<i>organisation</i>	<i>UK</i>
<i>community</i>	<i>individual</i>	<i>Oxford</i>	<i>version</i>
<i>computer</i>	<i>industry</i>	<i>Paris</i>	<i>victory</i>
<i>confidence</i>	<i>inflation</i>	<i>parliament</i>	<i>violence</i>
<i>council</i>	<i>information</i>	<i>patient</i>	<i>Wales</i>
<i>country</i>	<i>injury</i>	<i>performance</i>	<i>Washington</i>
<i>crisis</i>	<i>inquiry</i>	<i>player</i>	<i>Wednesday</i>
<i>currency</i>	<i>insurance</i>	<i>politician</i>	<i>week</i>
<i>daughter</i>	<i>investment</i>	<i>population</i>	<i>winner</i>
<i>day</i>	<i>investor</i>	<i>president</i>	<i>writer</i>
<i>death</i>	<i>January</i>	<i>problem</i>	<i>year</i>
<i>debt</i>	<i>Japan</i>	<i>production</i>	<i>yesterday</i>
<i>decision</i>	<i>July</i>	<i>professional</i>	

4.7.1.2 Nouns that have undergone conversion:

<i>action</i>	<i>drug</i>	<i>king</i>	<i>policy (arch)</i>
<i>age</i>	<i>editor (rare)</i>	<i>lack</i>	<i>poll</i>
<i>air</i>	<i>effort (rare)</i>	<i>land</i>	<i>position</i>
<i>art</i>	<i>end</i>	<i>law</i>	<i>power</i>
<i>article</i>	<i>evidence</i>	<i>league</i>	<i>pressure</i>
<i>average</i>	<i>example</i>	<i>letter</i>	<i>price</i>
<i>balance</i>	<i>experience</i>	<i>level</i>	<i>process</i>
<i>ball</i>	<i>eye</i>	<i>life</i>	<i>professor</i>
<i>bank</i>	<i>face</i>	<i>line</i>	<i>profit</i>
<i>benefit</i>	<i>fashion</i>	<i>list</i>	<i>programme</i>
<i>bill</i>	<i>father</i>	<i>lord</i>	<i>property</i>
<i>board</i>	<i>field</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>(rare)</i>
<i>body</i>	<i>figure</i>	<i>mark</i>	<i>quality (rare)</i>
<i>book</i>	<i>film</i>	<i>market</i>	<i>queen</i>
<i>budget</i>	<i>finance</i>	<i>match</i>	<i>question</i>
<i>captain</i>	<i>fine</i>	<i>matter</i>	<i>race</i>
<i>car</i>	<i>fire</i>	<i>message</i>	<i>radio</i>
<i>care</i>	<i>food (obsc)</i>	<i>mind</i>	<i>reason</i>
<i>case</i>	<i>football</i>	<i>minister</i>	<i>relation</i>
<i>cash</i>	<i>force</i>	<i>moment (obsc)</i>	<i>rest</i>
<i>centre</i>	<i>friend</i>	<i>money (rare)</i>	<i>risk</i>
<i>chairman</i>	<i>fund</i>	<i>mother</i>	<i>road (obsc)</i>
<i>chance</i>	<i>game</i>	<i>murder</i>	<i>room</i>
<i>child</i>	<i>garden</i>	<i>music (rare)</i>	<i>scheme</i>
<i>(obsc/arch)</i>	<i>general</i>	<i>name</i>	<i>school</i>
<i>Christmas</i>	<i>goal</i>	<i>need</i>	<i>score</i>
<i>church</i>	<i>ground</i>	<i>newspaper</i>	<i>sea (rare)</i>
<i>class</i>	<i>group</i>	<i>night</i>	<i>secretary</i>
<i>club</i>	<i>hand</i>	<i>number</i>	<i>sector</i>
<i>coach</i>	<i>head</i>	<i>offer</i>	<i>sense</i>
<i>college (obsc)</i>	<i>heart</i>	<i>office</i>	<i>service</i>
<i>commission</i>	<i>hill</i>	<i>officer</i>	<i>sex</i>
<i>company</i>	<i>history</i>	<i>oil</i>	<i>share</i>
<i>competition</i>	<i>holiday</i>	<i>order</i>	<i>sign</i>
<i>(rare)</i>	<i>home</i>	<i>page</i>	<i>son (obsc)</i>
<i>condition</i>	<i>hope</i>	<i>paper</i>	<i>source</i>
<i>conference</i>	<i>hospital</i>	<i>park</i>	<i>space</i>
<i>couple</i>	<i>hotel</i>	<i>party</i>	<i>sport</i>
<i>course</i>	<i>house</i>	<i>peace (obsc)</i>	<i>staff</i>
<i>credit</i>	<i>idea (rare)</i>	<i>pension</i>	<i>stage</i>
<i>cricket</i>	<i>image</i>	<i>people</i>	<i>stake</i>
<i>culture</i>	<i>impact</i>	<i>period (obsc)</i>	<i>station</i>
<i>cup</i>	<i>influence</i>	<i>photograph</i>	<i>stock</i>
<i>damage</i>	<i>interest</i>	<i>picture</i>	<i>story</i>
<i>deal</i>	<i>issue</i>	<i>piece</i>	<i>street</i>
<i>defeat</i>	<i>job</i>	<i>place</i>	<i>study</i>
<i>department</i>	<i>judge</i>	<i>plan</i>	<i>style</i>
<i>director</i>	<i>key</i>	<i>police</i>	<i>summer</i>

<i>table</i>	<i>thing (obsc)</i>	<i>union (obsc)</i>	<i>water</i>
<i>target</i>	<i>time</i>	<i>university</i>	<i>weapon</i>
<i>tea</i>	<i>title</i>	<i>(obsc)</i>	<i>weekend</i>
<i>teacher (obsc)</i>	<i>tour</i>	<i>value</i>	<i>woman</i>
<i>telephone</i>	<i>town (rare)</i>	<i>view</i>	<i>word</i>
<i>term</i>	<i>trade</i>	<i>voice</i>	<i>world (obsc)</i>
<i>test</i>	<i>trial</i>	<i>wall</i>	
<i>theatre</i>	<i>troop</i>	<i>war</i>	

Figure 4.1: General results of investigation of impeding factors discussed above:

Impeding factor	No. of converted forms with impeding factor	%	No. of nouns not converted with impeding factor	%
Morphologically simpler verb form	9	4.1%	36	25%
Other affixation process	26	12%	31	21.5%
Synonymy	68	31%	8	5.5%
Homonymy/homophony	7	3.2%	4	2.8%
Abstract base	82	38%	90	62.5%

4.7.2.1 Factor 1: Conversion is impeded by morphologically simpler form

Of the nouns that had been converted, only 4.1% contained a morphologically simpler verb form, in comparison to the 25% of the nouns that had not been converted. This inhibiting factor represents a statistically significant difference ($P < 0.0001^{44}$) in results between the lists of converted and non-converted nouns; the nouns that had not been converted contained a much higher proportion of morphologically simpler forms. Of the converted forms that fall into this category, four are considered by the OED as rare or obscure verbs:

⁴⁴ Statistical significance tests have been carried out using the t-test.

Figure 4.2 Rare or obscure conversions with a morphologically simpler verb form

Conversion (verb forms)	Morphologically simpler verb form
<i>competition</i>	<i>compete</i>
<i>editor</i>	<i>edit</i>
<i>policy</i>	<i>police</i>
<i>teacher</i>	<i>teach</i>

Another two are not frequently used in English:

Figure 4.3

<i>director</i>	<i>direct</i>
<i>chairman</i>	<i>chair</i>

This leaves only three more converted verbs that bypass the inhibiting factor:

Figure 4.4

<i>action</i>	<i>act</i>
<i>conference</i>	<i>confer</i>
<i>service</i>	<i>serve</i>

All of the last examples, *action*, *conference* and *service*, are used only in specific contexts and are not used as frequently as their morphologically simpler counterparts. This evidence appears to support the theory that factor 1 (4.7.2.1) does indeed play a role in inhibiting the production of noun to verb conversions.

It cannot be claimed that the factor blocks the process completely, but it would seem that the presence of a morphologically simpler form limits the production of a conversion quite strongly. There must be a significantly different meaning associated with the new form (as with the last three examples above) in order for this factor to be overcome.

Some examples of nouns that may be said to be blocked by a morphologically simpler form are: **government*_(N) (blocked by *govern*_(V)), **management*_(N) (blocked by *manage*_(V)), **performance*_(N) (blocked by *perform*_(V)), **treatment*_(N) (blocked by *treat*_(V)).

4.7.2.2 Factor 2: Conversion is inhibited by another available affixation process

26 (12%) of the nouns that had undergone conversion were found to have a rival form containing an affix, and 31 (21.5%) of the forms that had not been converted to have a rival affixed form ($p = 0.01$).

The converted forms with rival affixed forms are as follows (split into categories according to the rival affix – the converted alternatives are in brackets):

4.7.2.2.1 Figure 4.5 Affixation by suffix:

-ate	-en	-ify	-ise/-ize	Other
<i>numerate</i> (<i>number</i>)	<i>hearten</i> (<i>heart</i>)	<i>exemplify</i> (<i>example</i>)	<i>musicalize</i> * (<i>musical</i>)	<i>unite</i> (<i>union</i>)
<i>paginate</i> (<i>page</i>)		<i>classify</i> (<i>class</i>)	<i>departmentalize</i> * (<i>department</i>)	
<i>evaluate</i> (<i>evaluation</i>)		<i>pacify</i> (<i>peace</i>)	<i>pressurize</i> (<i>pressure</i>)	
<i>tabulate</i> (<i>table</i>)		<i>churchify</i> (<i>church</i>)	<i>hospitalize</i> (<i>hospital</i>)	
<i>aerate</i> (<i>air</i>)		<i>signify</i> (<i>sign</i>)	<i>centralize</i> * (<i>centre</i>)	
<i>relate</i> (<i>relation</i>)			<i>stylize</i> (<i>style</i>)	
			<i>weekendize</i> (<i>weekend</i>)	
			<i>theatrize</i> (<i>theatre</i>)	

* derivation based on adjectival stem (see later, section 4.7.2.2.3)

4.7.2.2.2 Figure 4.6 Affixation by prefix:

en-	em-	be-
<i>enforce (force)</i>	<i>empower (power)</i>	<i>befriend (friend)</i>
<i>encase (case)</i>	<i>embody (body)</i>	

The non-converted forms with rival affixed forms are as follows (split into categories according to the rival affix):

Figure 4.7

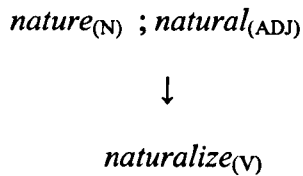
-ate	-en	-ify	-ise/-ize
<i>associate</i>	<i>strengthen</i>	<i>countrify</i>	<i>Africanize*</i>
<i>educate</i>			<i>Americanize*</i>
<i>inflate</i>			<i>Australianize*</i>
<i>operate</i>			<i>authorize</i>
<i>populate</i>			<i>communize</i>
<i>situate</i>			<i>dollarize</i>
			<i>economize</i>
			<i>energize</i>
			<i>Europeanize*</i>
			<i>futurize</i>
			<i>individualize</i>
			<i>industrialize*</i>
			<i>Japanize</i>
			<i>materialize</i>
			<i>militarize</i>
			<i>naturalize</i>
			<i>novelize</i>
			<i>operationalize*</i>
			<i>politicize</i>
			<i>problematize</i>
			<i>professionalize</i>
			<i>systemize</i>
			<i>technologize</i>

4.7.2.2.3 Observations

1. Where the noun base ends in *-tion* (as in *operation* or *relation*), the preferred suffix is invariably *-ate*. This could be classed as 'back-formation'

rather than derivation by affixation, but the resulting situation is the same: there is a rival form with the potential to inhibit a conversion from occurring.

2. Some of the rival forms (those marked with an asterisk) were created on the related adjectival base as opposed to the original nominal base, for example:



All of these cases are suffixed with the *-ize/-ise* affix and are associated with the meaning ‘*make X Y_(ADJ)*’, where X is the object of the verb and Y the base adjective. For example: Figure 4.8

Verb	Paraphrase	Example
centralise	Make X central	<i>Financial control was centralised under one accounting officer, the Permanent Under-Secretary for Defence.</i>
Europeanise	Make X (more) European	<i>It would be a tragedy if it was ever “Europeanised” into bland “fun climbing” for the masses.</i>

It might be argued that the forms that are rivalled by derivations based on adjectival bases are in competition with adjective to verb conversions as opposed to noun to verb conversions. This makes the issue more complicated than is necessary. If there is an existing alternative verb form then this form may inhibit the production of a noun to verb conversion. The only difference is likely to be in the degree of inhibition that such a rival form has over the new noun to verb form; a verb based on the nominal may well have quite different semantic associations from a verb based on the adjective and therefore the inhibition may not be quite as strong as is caused by rivalry by another noun to verb derivation.

The results gained by this study support ($p = 0.01$) the hypothesis that an existing affixed form inhibits the production of a new conversion from the same base. The non-converted forms were slightly more likely (21.5%) to have a rival affixed form than the converted nouns (12%). It is likely that as the different affixes have specific semantic associations, they will only inhibit the production of a conversion with the same meaning as the existing verb. As conversion is unconstrained by the associations of an affix, it seems that an already existing affixed form is unlikely to cause strong inhibition of a new converted form with different semantic associations from the affixed form.

Although the factor has not been shown to be as inhibitive as factor 1, it may still play a part in inhibiting conversions when in combination with other factors. This will be discussed later (4.7.3).

4.7.2.3 Factor 3: Conversion is inhibited by synonymy

As mentioned earlier, inhibition by synonymy is a very difficult concept to investigate; some doublets may be more synonymous than others and the degree of closeness between so-called synonymous pairs may vary according to the linguist or user. For example, the verb *issue* has a similar meaning to the verb *supply* but would be used in different contexts (a visa would be *issued*, but drugs *supplied* for instance). Similarly, *murder* and *kill* have similar associations, but where *kill* is a general verb meaning ‘to make something or someone die’, *murder* is usually used where someone has been killed intentionally and also has a particular meaning in law. All this means that it is difficult to decide whether another form might be considered synonymous or not, and to what extent synonymy will inhibit conversions.

Bearing all the above factors in mind, the results of the investigation are as follows:

68 (31%) of the nouns that had been converted had synonyms or other forms with similar meanings, whereas only 8 (5.5%) of the non-converted forms had synonyms. These results were not predicted by the hypothesis and show that synonymy does not seem to have any effect as an inhibiting factor on conversion. Of course, there were too many factors that may have influenced the results to rule synonymy out completely, but given the myriad of contexts that a form could be found in, it is not surprising that a slightly different meaning would be attached to a new conversion, thereby by-passing the inhibiting factor of synonymy.

4.7.2.4 Factor 4: Conversion is inhibited by homonymy or homophony

Very few of either lists of noun had homonyms or homophones (3.2% of the converted forms and 2.8% of the non-converted forms).

4.7.2.4.1 Homonyms and homophones found:

In the list of converted forms, only one homonym and five homophones occurred:

Homonym – *bank/bank*

Homophones (first form is form attested in data, second form is homophone) – *ball/bawl, need/knead, peace/piece, sea(rare)/see, source/sauce.*

In the list of non-converted forms, one homonym occurred and three homophones:

Homonym – **season/season*

Homophones – **cent/scent, *council/counsel, *hall/haul*.

The homophonous forms can be other noun to verb conversions (*piece, sauce*), verb to noun conversions (*see, knead, bawl*) or forms that exist only as verbs (no examples attested from this data set).

Homophonous forms may not cause any inhibition in written texts, so although coining a conversion that has a homophonic form may be avoided in speech, it may not be seen as a problem in written language.⁴⁵ From the examples above, it is also fairly obvious that the contexts in which these forms would be used are unlikely to cause much confusion; *ball_(V)* and *bawl_(V)* are not likely to appear interchangeably in any circumstance other than a deliberate word play.

The scarcity of homonymy in my data makes it hard to draw conclusions about this inhibiting factor (test showed that this factor did not render statistically significant results, $p = 0.81$), but, to reiterate Plag (section 4.2.4), it is likely that the different contexts associated with the two homonymic forms would prevent confusion and therefore that this factor is not a significant inhibitor of conversions.

⁴⁵ It is possible that we might consider homophony subconsciously, even when writing, but as this cannot be confirmed, I will assume that the effect of homophony on written text is negligible.

4.7.2.5 Factor 5: Conversion is inhibited by abstract nature of base noun

There was a significant difference ($p < 0.001$) in the proportions of the two lists that displayed this inhibiting factor: 82 (38%) of the converted forms had abstract bases, but 90 (62.5%) of the non-converted nouns were abstract.

Aronoff does not say that all abstract nouns inhibit conversion, only that there may be restrictions inherent in some nouns ‘denoting certain abstract concepts’ (1980: 746). It seems highly likely that the abstract nature of a noun may play a part in the inhibition of certain conversions, but that the factor in itself is not enough to prevent conversion. This factor will be discussed further in the section dealing with combinations of factors (see section 4.7.3).

4.7.2.6 Factor 6: Conversion is inhibited by length of base noun

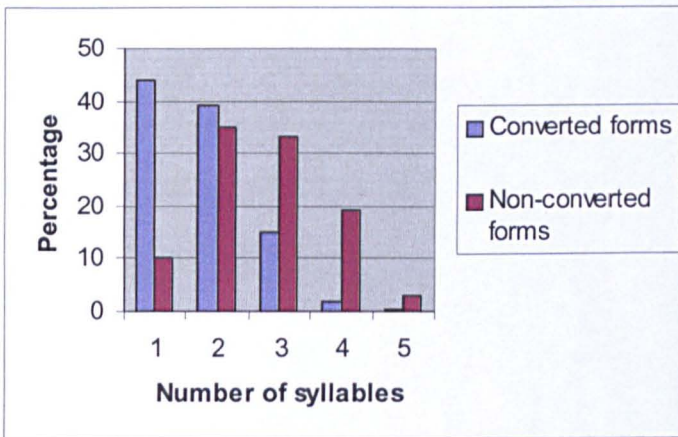
This factor was calculated by recording the number of syllables that each base noun contained. In mentioning the possibility of word length being an inhibiting factor, Bauer (2001) makes no mention of a measure suitable or any guidelines as to the length at which the factor becomes an inhibitor. The number of syllables in the base was chosen over the number of letters contained in the base form as it was felt that a large number of syllables would make a form more difficult to pronounce as well as giving an idea of the physical written length of the word, whereas the number of letters may mask the fact that some letter combinations can be pronounced as one phoneme (for example *ph*, */f/*).

4.7.2.6.1 Results

Figure 4.9

Number of syllables	1	2	3	4	5	Total
Converted forms	97 (44%)	85 (39%)	32 (15%)	3 (2%)	1 (0.5%)	218
Non-converted forms	15 (10%)	51 (35%)	47 (33%)	27 (19%)	4 (3%)	144

Chart 4.10 Bar chart to show word length of nouns used and not used as bases for conversion:



4.7.2.6.3 Observations:

1. The converted forms were far more likely to contain one or two syllables (83%) than three or more syllables (17%). With the non-converted forms, on the other hand, fewer (45%) of the bases contained one or two syllables, with 55% containing three or more.
2. There were fewer monosyllabic nouns in the non-converted list than nouns containing four syllables.

The results point to the fact that nouns with fewer syllables are more likely to convert than those with three or more syllables ($p < 0.0001$). This might be a

result of numerous factors as it is unlikely that word length on its own is enough to completely inhibit a conversion. Nouns with more syllables may well also be those with other inhibiting factors; they may contain a morphologically simpler verb form or belong to a particular domain which also inhibits conversion. Therefore, we can say that nouns of three or more syllables are significantly less likely to convert, but the factors causing this statement to be true will be investigated further in the section looking at combinations of results (see section 4.7.3).

4.7.2.7 Factor 7: Conversion is inhibited by semantic field

The semantic domain that a noun belongs to seems to pre-dispose a noun to other inhibiting factors without being an inhibitor in its own right. For example, proper noun place names are generally not converted, but they are inhibited by the rival suffix *-ise/-ize* added to the adjectival base form. This is presumably because the usual need for a verb relating to a proper noun place name (for example, Africa, Europe, etc) would be paraphrased as ‘to make X more like Y’ (where X is the object of the verb and Y the proper noun place name). Nouns relating to time are also unlikely to convert, but this is likely to be a case of inhibition as a result of the base being abstract, and there being no need for a verb with the associations of the noun. This is dealt with in greater detail in the section relating to proper noun to verb conversion (see chapter 3).

Other semantic domains that seem to emerge as not being conducive to conversion are nouns relating to money and business (*dollar, management, industry*), and nouns relating to governmental issues (*parliament, government, justice*). Of course, there may be a very simple reason for these domains

emerging. The nouns have been taken from the top frequency forms in a broadsheet newspaper, so these nouns will occur more frequently than words in other domains – it may well be the case that equal numbers of non-converted forms would appear in other semantic domains but the nouns relating to those domains are not as frequent as those mentioned above. I think it is also likely that it is not coincidental that all the above words also have overtly nominal suffixes and some (*justice* and *industry*) are abstract nouns: certain semantic domains will attract inhibiting factors, but the domain in itself does not inhibit conversion.

4.7.2.8 Other factors - nominal suffixes

Although this factor is not suggested in the literature, it seems to me to be logical that if a nominal form is suffixed with a specifically nominal suffix, then that form will be identified as being a noun first and foremost. It would be expected that any noun bearing a nominal suffix would be less likely to be converted than derived (where a form is given an overtly **verbal** suffix) as the resulting verb from the conversion process would still bear an overtly nominal suffix. The lists were examined for nominal suffixes⁴⁶.

4.7.2.8.1 Results

90 (41%) of the converted forms were suffixed with specifically nominal suffixes and 83 (58%) of the non-converted forms had nominal suffixes. The statistics suggest that there is a link between nominal suffixes and the inhibition of conversion ($p = 0.002$); but nearly half of the nouns that had been converted had

⁴⁶ These lists can be found in Jespersen (1949:42).

nominal suffixes so this factor does not seem to have a substantial inhibiting effect. Nevertheless, although a larger study may prove more conclusive, it is true to say that more of the nominal forms that did not undergo conversion had nominal suffixes (nearly 60%) than those that did convert.

The nominal suffixes may also have contributed to another inhibiting factor (as above with the word length factor), so although a nominal suffix alone may not be enough to impede the production and acceptance of a conversion, other factors that combine with the nominal suffix may well impede conversion.

There is, therefore, a ninth, additional, inhibiting factor:

A conversion may be less likely to occur if the base noun has an overtly nominal suffix.

4.7.2.9 Other factors – public reaction and acceptance of converted forms

Despite the fact that noun to verb conversion is highly productive and has been an important method of word formation from the Old English onwards⁴⁷, there is always a section of society who oppose new conversions (and derivations) as being vulgar and unnecessary. Although opposition will not prevent the instantial coining of new conversions, it may inhibit the acceptance of the new form into English and prevent it from becoming used frequently. For example, the following correspondence appeared in the 'Letters to the Editor' section of the Times Newspaper, January 2004 and preceded a large number of follow-up letters in which correspondents berated the frequent examples of new

⁴⁷ See Lee (1948) and Kastovsky (1968).

conversions and derivations they had seen or heard (The italics highlighting the conversions are my own):

January 21, 2004

UR awful...

FROM THE CHAIRMAN OF THE QUEEN'S ENGLISH SOCIETY

Sir, "...she *texted* my daughter..." (letter, January 19). Oh, well, it had to come, as we already have *telephoned*, *cabled*, *faxed* and *e-mailed*.

Soon enough no doubt we shall also have as verbs of communication *pictured*, *messaged* and *joked*.

Yours textually,

MICHAEL PLUMBE

6 Swan Terrace, Hastings, TN34 3HT

January 19

Of course, as with 'failure of hypostatisation', this factor is extremely difficult to measure and cannot be investigated without asking language users their reactions to the potential forms. Indeed, different language users will have different ideas about which forms are or are not acceptable. This inhibiting factor is beyond the scope of this study, but it is important to acknowledge that it may play a role in inhibiting new noun to verb conversions.

The tenth, and final, inhibiting factor is:

Noun to verb conversion may be inhibited if the potential form is deemed unacceptable as an addition to the language by language users.

4.7.3 Combinations of factors

Although the inhibiting factors individually impede noun to verb conversion to a certain extent, there is no evidence to suggest that any of the factors cannot be

bypassed if the context is appropriate. However, a combination of the factors is likely to have more of an inhibitive effect than a single factor. This section of the investigation looks at various combinations in order to discover which combinations are particularly inhibitive and which are readily bypassed.

Results: Figure 4.11

Combination of factors	No. of converted forms	No. of non-converted forms
Morphologically simpler verb form + nominal suffix*	9 (4.1%)	35 (24.3%)
Abstract base form + nominal suffix*	47 (21.6)	58 (40.2%)
Abstract base form + morphologically simpler form*	4 (1.8%)	25 (17.4%)
3 or more syllables + nominal affix*	27 (12.4%)	62 (43.1%)
3 or more syllables + morphologically simpler form*	4 (1.8%)	28 (19.4%)
3 or more syllables + rival affix*	5 (2.3%)	19 (13.2%)
3 or more syllables + synonym [#]	3 (1.4%)	3 (2.1%)
Nominal affix + rival affix**	10 (4.6%)	19 (13.2%)

* $p < 0.0001$

[#] $p > 0.5$ (not significant)

** $0.0001 < p < 0.05$

4.7.3.1 Inhibiting effect of the presence of a morphologically simpler form and a nominal suffix on noun to verb conversion

Results: converted forms 9 (4.1%), non-converted forms 35 (24.3%).

All the converted forms in the list with morphologically simpler forms present also had nominal suffixes and all but one of the non-converted forms followed

this pattern. It seems that the two inhibiting factors are linked and therefore do not have a cumulative inhibiting effect on conversion.

4.7.3.2 Inhibiting effect of an abstract base form and a nominal suffix on noun to verb conversion

Results: converted forms 47 (21.6%), non-converted forms 58 (40.2%)

The relatively high number of converted forms that had the combination of an abstract base form and a nominal suffix (21.6%) suggests that, given an appropriate situation, the combination will not inhibit conversion strongly. There are, however, substantially more nouns from the non-converted forms list with the combination of the factors (double the number of nouns that had been converted). This indicates that if a noun is abstract and has a nominal suffix, then it is more likely to remain unconverted than to convert unless there are overriding reasons for that noun to be used as a base for conversion (see functions, chapter 7).

4.7.3.3 Inhibiting effect of an abstract base form and the presence of a morphologically simpler form on noun to verb conversion

Results: converted forms 4 (1.8%), non-converted forms 25 (17.4%)

There is a marked difference between the numbers of converted forms (2.3%) and non-converted forms (17.4%) with this combination of inhibiting factors. The fact that so few of the nouns that have been converted have both of these factors indicated that the combination has a strong inhibiting effect on

conversion. As mentioned earlier (section 4.7.2.1), the nouns (*action, competition, conference, policy, service*) that have been converted in spite of these inhibiting factors are not (with the exception of *service*) particularly frequently used as verbs⁴⁸ and are restricted to very specific contexts, indicating that the factors have inhibited the acceptance and wide-spread use of the conversions, at least to an extent.

4.7.3.4 Inhibiting effect of nominal suffixes and three or more syllables on noun to verb conversion

Results: converted forms 27 (12.4%), non-converted forms 62 (43.1%)

This combination provides the largest difference in numbers between the two lists, with nouns with a nominal suffix and three or more syllables being three times less likely to convert. However, the forms that have converted do not seem particularly limited; for example, *average, commission, condition, evidence* and *experience* are relatively commonly used verb forms and are not restricted to highly specific contexts. This means that, although each of the factors seem to inhibit conversion, the combination of the two does not inhibit the production of a conversion any further.

4.7.3.5 Inhibiting effect of morphologically simpler forms and three or more syllables on noun to verb conversion

Results: converted forms 4 (1.8%), non-converted forms 28 (19.4%)

⁴⁸ Number of verb forms in BNC: *action* 85; *competition* 0; *conference* 0; *policy* 0; *service* 1116

Very few of the nouns that have been converted had both a morphologically simpler form *and* three or more syllables, suggesting that the combination is not particularly conducive to conversion. The fact that nearly a fifth of the non-converted nouns had both these factors indicates that the combination is not particularly unusual in nouns, giving further evidence that those factors in combination are inhibitors of conversion.

4.7.3.6 Inhibiting effect of rival affixes and three or more syllables on noun to verb conversion

Results: converted forms 5 (2.3%), non-converted forms 19 (13.2%)

Again, very few of the nouns that had a competing derivation and that contained three or more syllables converted: it seems that this combination is also strongly inhibitive.

4.7.3.7 Inhibiting effect of three or more syllables and a competing synonymous verb on noun to verb conversion

Results: converted forms 3 (1.4%), non-converted forms 3 (2.1%)

This combination yielded the fewest forms from either of the lists. The nouns with both the above factors that did convert are as follows:

Figure 4.12

Noun base (and verb base)	Synonymous form	Number of syllables
<i>idea</i>	<i>think</i>	3
<i>period</i>	<i>stop</i>	3

<i>position</i>	<i>place</i>	3
-----------------	--------------	---

The first two verbs are extremely infrequent⁴⁹, certainly a lot less frequent than their synonymous verb forms. The third, *position*, is, however, relatively frequent as a verb form. Its success at bypassing both the inhibiting factors is probably due to the fact that *position*_(V) is used in different contexts and with a different collocational pattern from *place*_(V), meaning that the two forms are not exactly synonymous and there is a need for two verbs with similar meanings. It seems that if there is a verb that would be a close synonym to the potential form, and the noun has three or more syllables, then the potential conversion is severely inhibited.

4.7.3.8 Inhibiting effect of rival affix and nominal suffix on noun to verb conversion

Results: converted forms 10 (4.6%), non-converted forms 19 (13.2%).

This combination of factors seems to have caused a reasonably strong inhibiting force on conversion, particularly when compared to the inhibition caused by the factors individually. Of the ten examples with both factors that had been converted, two of the rival affixed forms were based on the adjectival base as opposed to the nominal base (see section 4.7.2.2.3 for discussion), which may explain why the combination of factors was not inhibitive in those cases. In another example, *union*, the converted verb form was said, by the OED, to be

⁴⁹ BNC does not have any instances of *idea*_(V) (including all inflections) or *period*_(V) (including all inflections). However, the OED claims both have been used as verbs and are now rare.

obscure, so perhaps the combination of factors is, in fact, more inhibitive than it first seems.

4.7.3.9 Non-converted forms that had no inhibiting factors

This group of nouns are presumably inhibited by ‘failure of hypostatisation’ or by an adverse reaction to a potential form; they have no overt inhibiting factors and yet still have not undergone conversion.

The unconverted, uninhibited (at least by our overt criteria) nouns are as follows:

<i>area</i>	<i>crisis</i>	<i>London</i>	<i>spokesman</i>
<i>BBC</i>	<i>dividend</i>	<i>magazine</i>	<i>TV</i>
<i>Birmingham</i>	<i>door</i>	<i>media</i>	<i>UK</i>
<i>Britain</i>	<i>France</i>	<i>Oxford</i>	<i>Wales</i>
<i>cent</i>	<i>hall</i>	<i>Paris</i>	<i>Washington</i>
<i>council</i>	<i>Liverpool</i>	<i>rugby</i>	

From the above list of unconverted nouns, it becomes evident that nouns relating to places are unlikely to have converted verbs, despite the lack of overt restrictions. This is dealt with in more detail in the chapter on proper noun to verb conversion (Chapter 3), but is likely to be a ‘failure of hypostatisation’; if there is no need for a new verb then a conversion is unlikely to occur. There does not seem to be a particular link between the other nouns; there are likely to be individual reasons for each noun not being used as a base for conversion (for instance, the abbreviation *TV* may not be converted as *television*, its original form, has been already used). There is also no reason why the above forms could not be used in the future as conversions, for example the noun *magazine* could be used as a verb in the following way: ‘Instead of newspapering that article, I think it’ll have to be *magazined*’, where *magazine*_(v) has the meaning ‘to print an

article in a magazine'. The process of conversion is occurring all the time so, although the above forms are not listed as being verbs at the moment, they may become a part of the language in the future.

4.7.3.10 Nouns that have been converted despite all the inhibiting factors being present

There are, in fact, no examples of nouns that have managed to convert despite all the inhibiting factors discussed being present, which indicates that the factors **are** inhibiting conversion, even if they do not individually block the process.

4.8 Conclusions

In order to draw conclusions from the study, I will return to and re-evaluate the hypotheses given at the start of the chapter (section 4.3).

1 Some factors will inhibit conversion more than others.

It is clear from the results of the individual factors that some of the factors did not make much of an impact on the likelihood of a particular noun becoming converted, whereas others impeded conversion more successfully. From the results of this study, the inhibiting factors can be banded according to the level of blocking they impose on a potential noun to verb conversion:

Band 1 : Factors were strongly inhibitive

Factors: The presence of a morphologically simpler verb form in the base noun.

The base being made up of three or more syllables.

The first factor, the presence of a morphologically simpler verb form in the base noun, is the most strongly inhibitive of all the factors investigated; the very few

nouns that had converted with this factor were inhibited in their use. The second factor, the word length of the base noun, was also shown to be quite strongly inhibitive; as the number of syllables in the base noun increased, the likelihood of the noun being used as a base for conversion dropped. In addition, this factor inhibited conversion strongly when in combination with certain other factors (see below).

Band 2 : Factors were slightly inhibitive

Factors: The presence of a nominal suffix on the base noun.

The base noun being abstract.

The presence of a rival derivation.

All the factors listed in band two inhibited conversion to an extent, but could be overridden easily if the context was appropriate. They only become more strongly inhibitive when combined with a band 1 factor.

Band 3 : Factors had little inhibiting effect

Factors: The presence of a homonym or homophone.

The presence of a synonym.

Semantic domain.

Individually, these factors did not have any noticeable inhibiting effect on conversion. This may be because there were too few examples of each of the factors studied, but other linguists (for example Plag 1999a) also agree that these particular factors are unlikely to inhibit word-formation severely.

Band 4 : Inhibiting effect of factors could not be measured

Factors: 'Failure of hypostatisation'.

Adverse public reactions to potential form.

These two factors are likely to have an important inhibiting effect on conversion, but as they could not be measured in this study, they could not be directly investigated.

2 Conversions are more likely to be inhibited if certain factors are present in combination.

The combinations are listed below in order with the most inhibitive at the top.

The combinations that are considered the most inhibitive are those that were found least frequently in the list of converted forms:

Figure 4.13

Combination of factors	Bands	No. of converted forms found with combination
3 or more syllables + synonym	1 + 3	3* (1.4%)
3 or more syllables + morphologically simpler verb form	1 + 1	4 (1.8%)
Morphologically simpler verb form + abstract base	1 + 2	5 (2.3%)
3 or more syllables + rival affixed form	1 + 2	5 (2.3%)
Morphologically simpler verb form + nominal affix	1 + 2	9 (4.1%)
Nominal affix and rival affix	2 + 2	10 (4.6%)
3 or more syllables + nominal affix	1 + 2	27 (12.4%)
Abstract base form + nominal affix	2 + 2	47 (21.6%)

*Although this combination of factors appears to be the most inhibitive, it was found in even fewer of the non-converted forms so it probably just an unusual combination rather than particularly inhibitive.

- In general, the combinations with a ‘band 1’ factor were found to be more inhibitive than those with a combination of two factors from ‘band 2’.
- The combinations with a nominal suffix were found to be the least inhibitive of the combinations.
- Where the base noun contained three or more syllables, conversion was particularly inhibited if there also an alternative form already available (a rival affix, synonym or morphologically simpler verb form).

The results show that conversion is, in general, more constrained by combinations of inhibiting factors than by individual factors. However, where there was a morphologically simpler form present or three or more syllables, the nominal suffix did not seem to inhibit conversion further. In the case of the morphologically simpler forms, this is because the nominal base had been formed by the addition of a nominal suffix onto the original verb form and therefore the nominal suffix was inevitable and probably had already inhibited conversion to an extent. Where there were three or more syllables present, the results showed that the final syllable was made up of a nominal suffix in many cases; in this case, conversion is more likely to be inhibited by the presence of a nominal suffix than the length of the noun, as it is part of the underlying cause for the number of syllables.

3 Inhibiting factors can be over-ridden if the conditions are appropriate.

There are two things to be weighed up in considering the above proposition:

1. There were examples of conversions occurring in spite of the presence of each of the individual inhibiting factors. In addition, none of the combinations of two factors completely blocked conversion. However,
2. There were no examples found where a conversion had been found despite *all* the inhibiting factors being present.

This means that although conversion is not 'blocked' by any of the inhibiting factors investigated by this study, the inhibiting effect that they have accumulates when they are combined. Therefore, inhibiting factors can be over-ridden if the conditions are appropriate, but only up to a point. That point will be different for different language users and for different potential noun bases, but the language user has to weigh up the desirability of over-riding factors against the ease of using an already existing alternative verb form or creating the desired verb using a different word formation process. It may be true to say that conversion has fewer actual 'blocking' processes operating to prevent new formations being coined, but there are still factors causing conversions to be inhibited and preventing conversion from becoming the only method of creating new verbs from existing nominal bases.

4.9 Advances made in the field

- I have compiled and examined (using large amounts of corpus data) the range of inhibiting factors that may influence the production (or non-production) of a noun to verb conversion.
- The factors identified have been banded in terms of their level of inhibition that they have on the conversions.
- Combinations of the factors have been examined in order to establish the combinations that inhibit the conversion process more than others.
- I have identified and examined two new possible inhibiting factors, the nominal suffix and public acceptance.

CHAPTER 5: NEW NOUN TO VERB
CONVERSIONS AND CONTEXTUAL CLUES

5.1 Introduction

This chapter will consider the problems of how a reader or audience might be able to ascertain the meaning of a conversion that they have not previously encountered, and whether conversions require the same contextual anchoring that other neologisms do in order for them to be understood properly.

5.2 Background literature

How can the linguist discover how the reader might be able to interpret these new conversions? It is difficult to ascertain readers' responses to new words without carrying out extensive psycholinguistic case studies, but it is possible to see what help the user of the conversion gives the reader. The linguist can look for the contextual clues (conscious or unconscious) that the journalist (in this case) uses in order to increase the hopes of ensuring correct interpretation:

Pragmatically, it must be assumed that such communicators [journalists] will provide such assistance with interpretation as they consider necessary to ensure the smooth flow of information. (Renouf and Bauer, 2000:231)

Baayen and Neijt (1997:575) found that 'hapax legomena are characterized by a higher degree of contextual anchoring than high-frequency words'.

The particular difficulty that conversion poses is, however, that the new formation looks, at least in its base form, exactly like the noun from which it has been converted. If the base forms are identical, then the only difference that could be observed would be as a result of inflection, not derivation. Renouf and Bauer state that morphological processing is one process by which readers interpret new words when faced with a new inflection, but that there is not much evidence to support the idea that it may be used by readers when interpreting

other types of new word-formations. Conversion seems to fall between two stools; it is a word-formation process but with no morphological additions. This problematic status held by conversions is perhaps why the contextual aspects of conversion has been disregarded by the literature. The new formations are not morphologically analysable as they do not contain any extra morphological information and yet they **are** neologisms and require interpretation, just as any other formation does.

If we move away from the work in the area of contextual clues and into the field of the relations between nouns and their derived verbs, Bloomfield (1973) states that there are a number of different semantic relations that a derived verb can have with its base noun:

we derive a great many verbs from nouns by means of various changes, including a zero-element, but the meanings of these derived verbs in relation to the underlying noun are manifold. (1973: 239)

For example, the conversion *dust* can either mean 'to take X away' or 'to cover with X', depending on the context, where X= *dust* (noun). However, Rose (1973) disagrees and maintains that there can only be a limited number of possible relationships:

the possible relationships between nouns and verbs derived from them in English are highly constrained. (1973: 510)

If all the noun-verb relationships were collected and analysed, they would tend to fall into categories⁵⁰ and there would be a finite number of different relationships available for the conversion to exploit. It would be very unlikely, as Rose points

⁵⁰ See also 'Proper noun' section for further discussion of 'argument' relationships

out, to find an enormously complex relationship between noun and verb which had to be written 'grasp NOUN in the left hand and shake vigorously while standing on the right foot in a 2½ gallon galvanized pail of corn-meal-mush' (Rose 1973: 516). The readers' intrinsic knowledge of the relationships already utilised by noun-verb pairs and their knowledge of the noun base means that the relationship possibilities are somewhat limited. There is, of course, always scope for a conversion to be created with an unexpected relationship with its noun base, but this is statistically improbable.

Both Rose and Bloomfield are taking into account derivation as well as conversion and Rose argues that information contained in the morphological additions necessary for derivation functions is a limiting device (see also Plag 1997, 1999, 2001) on the number of possible relationships between noun and verb pair. However, they do not account for the phenomenon of conversion; a conversion does not have any additional limiting information in the form of an affix and yet a conversion cannot be infinitely ambiguous.

In the field of teaching English as a foreign language (EFL) and for specific purposes (ESP), there has been research carried out on the contextual clues (or lexical familiarizations) given to readers of textbooks. This research is concerned with the possibilities of teaching students how to recognise the contextual clues and whether knowledge of contextual clues makes comprehension of low-frequency terms more effective. However, the categories of contextual clue and the findings concerning the effects of the distance between the new term and the contextual aid are relevant to this study.

Marks et al (1974) find that an unfamiliar term can ‘render meaningless an entire sentence, which may, in turn, inhibit comprehension of the meaning of subsequent sentences in the same passage’. This conclusion may not be so dramatically relevant with unfamiliar terms occurring in newspaper texts, but if the verb cannot be fully understood, then the overall comprehension of a sentence is bound to be impaired.

Carnine, Karneenui and Coyle (1984) find that the closer the contextual aids and the unfamiliar words are to each other, the more likely the reader is to use the contextual aids effectively:

It appears that in order for context clues to serve the reader advantageously, a number of variables are needed to set the occasion: (a) the connection between the unfamiliar word and the context clue must be *explicit*, (b) the proximity of the context clues and the unfamiliar word must be *close*, and (c) the reader must be *experienced* in using contextual clues. (Carnine et al 1984:190)

The last variable, ‘experience’, refers to the fact that several of the studies were carried out on young children and it was found that the older that the subject was (i.e. the closer to maturity), the more effectively that they could use the contextual clues available. However, as this research uses broadsheet newspaper texts, where the reader can be assumed to be adult, this factor can be assumed to be irrelevant.

However, the researchers are investigating only the use of *explicit* contextual help, where the authors deliberately include definitions, examples and contrasts in order to help their readers:

Bramki and Williams (1984: 170) define the term used in most of the studies concerning contextual clues, within the field of education:

Lexical familiarization is therefore a contextual aid, intentionally and explicitly provided by the author when writing for a specific readership. The writer's intention is to help his reader, by providing him with sufficient familiarity with the new word, as employed in its context, so that the reader can continue reading with understanding.

So, from the literature, we know that:

1. New conversions share a wide, but not infinite, number of possible relationship meanings with their base.
2. Neologisms are more likely to have contextual clues aiding their comprehension than high frequency, established word-forms.
3. Explicit contextual information⁵¹ is more helpful than covert clues in determining meaning of new terms.
4. The further away from the term (in this case, conversion) that the contextual aid occurs, the less helpful it is to the reader.

How and to what extent do these factors interact to help a reader comprehend a conversion that they had not previously encountered? As conversions do not contain any extra morphological information to narrow down the number of possible relationships that could form the basis of the meaning of the new verb, it would be logical to expect that a user of a new conversion would provide explicit contextual clues to guide the reader to its intended meaning, especially as the verb may exploit literal or metaphorical potential of the noun. On the other hand,

⁵¹ Known as lexical familiarizations in some of the literature, where a writer *deliberately* tries to help the reader by giving contextual aid.

conversions do not look substantially different from their base forms and so a large part of the meaning of the verb is already available. For example, if a reader did not know the meaning of the verb form *dust*, it would be reasonably obvious that the verb would be connected in some way to the noun and therefore must be an activity associated with the noun. From this knowledge, the reader would have focussed the meaning of the conversion substantially, even before reading the context in which it has been given. Renouf and Bauer conclude in their study that the neologisms they looked at were largely interpretable by their internal components and that morphological processing was ‘the single most efficient starting-point for deducing the meaning of journalistic neologisms.’(2000: 256). However, with conversions, even if the starting-point is already there, the exact meaning must still be ascertained by the context.

5.3 Hypotheses

- Conversions will be deemed to need fewer explicit contextual clues, as their meaning will be partly known from knowledge of the base noun,
- There will be comparatively more covert clues aiding conversion, as these will establish the exact meaning of the verb forms,
- Some combinations of contextual clues will be found more frequently than others in newspaper texts.
- Explicit contextual clues will occur in close proximity to the converted form.

5.4 Method

The study by Renouf and Bauer (2000) looked into the dependency of hapax legomena (including conversions) on contextual clues and provides the starting point for the more in-depth study into conversions carried out here.

Of course, the first problem arises in deciding how to deal with the fact that a linguist cannot possibly know if a reader/audience has already encountered a particular conversion and if the writer/speaker expects the reader/audience to have previously come across the conversion being used. This contextualisation gap can never be completely eradicated from a large-scale study; however, there are some measures which can be put in place to help the linguist in this area:

- 1 The APRIL software developed by the Research and Development Unit for English Studies in Liverpool is able to detect word-forms occurring for the first time (i.e. as hapax legomena) in their particular newspaper corpus by comparing each word-form with a master word list compiled from a sample corpus of newspaper text and with each subsequent month of newspaper data added chronologically. This system cannot disregard spelling errors, typological variation (for example *word-form*, *wordform* and *word form*) and rare forms which are not new, but does isolate conversions which are new to the particular newspaper.
- 2 These hapax legomena can be checked in the OED to see if the forms have been found by the authors of the dictionary. If the conversions

have already been added to the dictionary then they cannot be counted as being new. With the advent of online versions of dictionaries it is now possible for compilers to update and revise their dictionaries frequently. The OED is by no means infallible and cannot be said to be an entirely reliable source of all the English words in existence, but it at least eliminates some of the rare forms which are not new, but occur very infrequently in English⁵².

If conversions pass these checks, they are not likely to have been used frequently in English for any length of time and therefore will be considered to be as close as is experimentally possible to being examples of conversions which the linguist can assume to be new formations.

In order to discover how far a journalist might expect a reader to understand a new conversion, a sample⁵³ of neologistic conversions was analysed from the Independent/Guardian newspaper corpus for the contextual clues listed in the paper by Renouf and Bauer (2000: 235-236). Renouf and Bauer looked at a large sample of neologisms from newspaper texts in order to ascertain what clues could be found in the context that would assist the reader to interpret the

⁵² Renouf and Bauer relied on the APRIL software to distinguish new forms and may have inadvertently included infrequent forms in their analysis. This second check with the OED aims to eliminate these from the study as far as possible.

⁵³ The sample of 4 years was chosen as it would yield enough conversions to be able to draw conclusions without the sample being too large for each conversion to be analysed individually.

unknown word form. This study aims to see how (and to what extent) an analysis of new conversions may be seen to differ from the results obtained by Renouf and Bauer. A context of 60 words⁵⁴ either side of the conversion was examined for the following elements:

Overt or conscious clues⁵⁵ (all typographical or linguistic)

- Quotation marks
- Glosses
- Introductory and following phrases

Covert or unconscious help (linguistic and metalinguistic)

- Root or base repetition
- Exact repetition
- Collocation
- Semantically-related words
- Lexical signals
- Parallelism
- Lexical field

These contextual clues vary enormously in the amount of help they give the reader; the overt clues suggest a deliberate attempt on the part of the journalist to

⁵⁴ Renouf and Bauer took contexts of up to 30 words either side of the keyword but found that their study could have been improved by taking slightly larger contexts into consideration.

⁵⁵ Also known as 'lexical familiarizations'.

guide the reader to the correct interpretation, whereas the covert clues present more of a problem. The idea of the study is to look into how much information a journalist gives the reader and how much the reader is expected to be able to contribute themselves (including knowledge of the noun and any pragmatic information which is associated with that noun).

5.4.1 Overt contextual clues:

5.4.1.1 Quotation marks

Example:

Figs recounts the names Bolsheviks chose for their children when they were '*Octobered*' (rather than christened). (Ind9703)

Quotation marks may not give any semantic information, but as Renouf and Bauer found with the other neologisms, they are an overt signal to the reader either that the journalist has quoted a third party or that they are aware that the conversion is new and unlikely to be comprehended without further assistance.

5.4.1.2 Glosses

Glosses are the most explicit type of contextual clue that can be given; the journalist gives the meaning of the conversion in the surrounding text.

Example 1:

Kenneth Branagh gained his national reputation at the RSC, recording in his biography how he was '*trevved*', hugged by the then artistic director Trevor Nunn, after playing Henry the Fifth. (Ind9801)

The gloss (*hugged by the then artistic director Trevor Nunn*) appears directly after the conversion between commas, separating off the gloss into an appositional phrase, so that the conversion remains the main verb (and focus) of the sentence and the explanatory material remains subordinate.

Example 2:

Once upon a time, my dogs would have *bailiffed* the pond. But Bracken is now 13 and hobbling with arthritis. Chasing away herons is beyond him now. (Ind9606)

In this example, the information provided by the gloss (*Chasing away herons*) paraphrases the conversion in a completely separate sentence and the gloss is not quite so clearly indicated by the journalist - even within the subcategory of 'gloss', there are varying degrees of help given. In the above example, the reader has to read on a couple of sentences before finding any contextual help.

5.4.1.3 Introductory phrases

Example:

Relationship psychologist Dr Susan Quilliam calls it *clienting* to the public.
(Ind9612)

Introductory phrases are functionally similar to quotation marks. Usually they are phrases indicating that the journalist has quoted the conversion from another source and is aware of the novelty of the word form. In this case the journalist signals this information with the phrase *calls it*.

5.4.1.4 Following phrases

Example:

all new hires to any Disney operation are sent to get '*pixie-dusted*' (their term) with the core values of the corporation. (Ind9606)

As with introductory phrases, the following phrases (*their term* in the above example) serve as a mark that the journalist does not expect the reader to be familiar with the term used, and that the journalist has not coined the word form him/herself.

5.4.2 Covert contextual clues:

5.4.2.1 Root/base repetition⁵⁶

Example:

Julian got me a job as an usherette (...) She said she felt rather sad that I should be *usheretting*. (Ind9901)

The repetition of the root or base of a conversion serves to remind the reader of the origin of the new word form. Despite the root (*usherette*) being grammatically different from the new form, the root and its context may give the reader an idea of which semantic areas of the root are being used in the conversion (whether the conversion is being literally or metaphorically used, for

⁵⁶ Bauer (1983:20)

root = 'It is that part of a word-form that remains when all inflectional and derivational affixes have been removed.

base = item to which affixes can be added.

instance.) In the case of compound conversions, a partial root/base repetition may be found, where part of the compound is repeated elsewhere in the context; for example, if *mail* were to appear in context with the new form *mail-shooting*.

5.4.2.2 Exact repetition

Example: (from Renouf and Bauer: 243)

He concentrated instead on his art; he also tried out a few other inventions, none of which had the *ballpoint's* success. The ballpoint also made a household name of another entrepreneur.

Exact repetition of the word form (*ballpoint* in sentence 2) does not directly help with disambiguating a meaning, but it gives the reader another context (and perhaps different contextual clues) from which to ascertain the meaning of the word. Although a conversion in its base form *looks* the same as its noun base, it is not grammatically identical and therefore not a case of exact repetition.

5.4.2.3 Collocation

Example:

Several other trekking groups had been lucky not to be swept away as floodwater *tormented* down river. (Ind9903)

As Renouf and Bauer point out (ibid.:244), “The paradox is that if the pairing of the collocate with the new word is recognised as an established one, that should indicate that the new word is not new to the reader.” However, with conversion, it is possible that, as the base and converted forms are very similar, the collocates of the base word may be used (in a syntactically different environment) with the

new converted form. The above example, *torrented*, has been converted from the noun, *torrent*, which is relatively frequently associated with water and has a negative semantic prosody: the corpus demonstrates that it is usually used to describe a large amount of unwanted abuse, criticism, water, emotion etc.. Even though each word form will have its own set of collocates, it would make sense to suggest that conversions may share some collocational and semantic associations with their base. In the above example, the new form appears between *floodwater* and *down river*, both of which are collocates of the original base form.

5.4.2.4 Semantically-related words

Example:

Fancier substitutes are designed to make you feel as if you're drinking when you're merely *beveraging*. (Ind9701)

This category of contextual clue is relatively open. Semantically-related words could have any number of different relations with the conversion; for example, they could be synonyms (as in the example of *drinking/beveraging* above), antonyms, hyponyms or superordinates of the conversion. In addition, they could be grammatically similar or different from the conversion. For example, in the example below, *deed-polled*, the conversion *deed-polled* is followed by the verb *rechristened*, and we have a case of simple paraphrase or synonymy. Where, on the other hand, the verb *deed-polled* is used in the same context as the noun *name*, then we have a weaker semantic connection. The complex

paraphrase (see Hoey, 2001:41) does not share the same grammatical category and, arguably, does not really contribute as much to the meaning of the new verb.

Example 2:

So overwhelming is the tide of noxious names that it has fostered a new trend, as record companies resort to adding their own chorus-based titles whenever they release an album track as a single. So, Lush's '500' was *deed-polled* to 'Shake, Baby, Shake (500), Skunk Anansie's 'Hedonism' was rechristened 'Just Because You Feel Good (Hedonism) and Green Day's recent 'Good Riddance' went under the alias of 'Time Of Your Life' (Good Riddance). (Ind9803)

Semantically-related words, therefore, vary substantially in their usefulness as contextual clues, but at the very least contribute towards establishing the lexical field (see below).

5.4.2.5 Lexical signals (shown in bold)

Example:

Ringwald, **once** sex fantasy material for Young Republicans, **has since** *Francophiled* herself. (Ind9901)

"The recognition of semantic relations in text can be helped by their being signalled by certain accompanying lexical and lexico-syntactic patterns." (Renouf and Bauer: 249). These lexical signals point the reader towards a particular relation between contextual elements which may not have an immediately obvious relationship. In the example above, the reader is being

instructed to contrast ‘sex fantasy material for Young Republicans’ with the conversion, *Francophiled* through the use of the temporal contrastive lexical signals, ‘once’ and ‘has since’. Another lexical signal frequently used is ‘*compared with/to*’, which more obviously leads the reader to look at the relationship between two words or phrases and search for comparisons between the two.

In the example in the semantically-related words category above (*beveraging*), there are also lexical signals present; ‘*make you feel as if you’re*’ and ‘*when you’re merely*’ contrasts *drinking* with the conversion *beveraging*, creating a relationship between the two words. *Fancier* provides the additional information which connects the lexical signals, *beveraging* is less *X* than *drinking*, where the missing *X* is filled by the adjective form of the comparative *fancier*.

5.4.2.6 Parallelism

Example:

The New Lads to which the magazine is appealing can drool over top chefs
coquing the vin, *oranging* the duck and trifling the sherry. (Ind9611)

Parallelism is “the juxtaposition in text of two similar lexico-grammatical strings” (Renouf and Bauer:249) As with the above example, where we have *coquing the vin, oranging the duck and trifling the sherry*, this may consist of one or more elements sharing the same verb form structure (grammatical parallelism) or may be a more complex relationship (shown in bold typeface), for example:

Bradfield **looked** like Sean Bean, **sang** like Janis Joplin, and **danced** like Baryshnikov. Bassist Nicky Wire, a light-eyed alien beauty, *knee-jerked* across the floor. (Ind9601)

Here the parallelism stretches beyond the sentence barrier and links the two people (members of a band) together through the verb form similarity. *Knee-jerked* contrasts with all three previous verbs; Bradfield is compared with Sean Bean, Janis Joplin and Baryshnikov, whereas Wire is described in rather different terms; his looks are described as being ‘alien’ and requires a verb to be created to describe his motion, contrasting with the more conventional description of Bradfield. The conversion belongs grammatically with the previous list of high frequency verbs and links the two sentences together, whilst belonging semantically with the second sentence, hence providing the reader with some sense of the new form; the conversion falls into the same broad semantic field as the previous verbs, *looked*, *sang*, *danced* in that it is similarly being used to describe a musician, but the use of ‘alien’ guides the reader to the conclusion that the movement performed by Wire is somewhat less conventional and contrasts with the elegant movement, ‘danced like Baryshnikov’.

5.4.2.7 Lexical field and pragmatics

Example:

Ease of travel is clearly a factor for any event, and we road ragers who ply our trade *first-gearing* round the M25 or on the M6 stretch between Birmingham and the North-west do have our doubts. (Ind9606)

This category of contextual clue provides the least specific information for the comprehension of the conversion and is possibly the most controversial. This clue will be listed if there is evidence that the surrounding lexis belongs to a particular semantic area, which may focus the possible meanings of the conversion somewhat. In the above example, the use of *travel*, *road ragers*, *M25* and *M6* all belong to the semantic area and lexical field of car travel and therefore the reader may also expect that the conversion belongs to this semantic area unless there are other contextual clues alerting him/her to another possibility. ‘Lexical field’ and ‘pragmatics’ were listed separately in the Renouf and Bauer study, the difference being that if the items belonging in the same lexical field were grouped then they were said to be ‘lexical field’ clues, whereas if the items were more dispersed or absent then they were listed as ‘pragmatic’ clues. As this difference is structural, I have grouped these two categories as one.

5.5 Case study: Example of contextual clue categorisation.

5.5.1 Introduction

Contextual clues do not always occur in isolation; they are often combined (either consciously or unconsciously) by the journalist. The following case study demonstrates the classification categories and the interaction of clues in a real text⁵⁷.

5.5.2 Data:

⁵⁷ Text taken from Independent corpus, March 1990.

...**wildlife**. Being a Channel coastal area we are constantly at risk from pollution. No plans existed for treating oiled birds. We contacted the RSPCA and, under its guidance, bought the equipment we need. Now it's installed in a cow shed ready for use. But we also feel we have to protect the island from outside pressures. **For centuries people have wildfowled here, historically we have always [bagged a couple of ducks for the pot]**. While only a few of us do so now we feel the time may come when either the Government or the MoD will ban wildfowling. Rachel Cottis, a villager and chairman of Foulness Parish Council, has another concern: 'Until just a few years ago, there was no...

5.5.3 Results

There is a multiplicity of contextual clues here:

- 1 Gloss (marked with square brackets): wildfowled – bagged a couple of ducks for the pot

The journalist explicitly explains what he/she means by the neologism by giving a definition soon after the new conversion has occurred.

- 2 Parallelism (marked in **grey shading**) :

[For centuries]	[people]	[have]	[wildfowled] here –
[historically]	[we]	[have]	[always bagged a couple of ducks for the pot].

The parallelism of the construction [Time span; noun; present perfect verb form] leads the reader to the association between the conversion, an intransitive past

participle, *wildfowed* and the following transitive past participle, *bagged* and its object, *a couple of ducks*; the second clause reflects the first semantically, highlighting the gloss to the reader.

3 Root/base repetition (underlined): *wildfowed* – *wildfowling*

The repetition of the root, *wildfowl*, in the gerund, *wildfowling*, does not really aid the reader directly, but gives the word-form a slightly different context; the reader may well connect the problem of '[having to] protect the island from outside pressures' and the solution of 'the Government or the MoD will ban wildfowling', loading the root of the conversion with a negative semantic prosody.

4 Semantically-related words I (emboldened): *wildfowed* – *ducks*

These last two contextual clues are perhaps the weakest in terms of how much help they can offer the reader. Here, the two words are linked by complex paraphrase (Hoey 2001: 41), they belong to different word classes (verb and noun) and are perhaps only recognisable as a contextual clue if the meaning of the root of the conversion is already known.

5 Semantically-related words II (emboldened) : *wildlife* - *wildfowed*

In the second example of the semantically-related words, the words are also linked by complex paraphrase; *wildlife* may be said to be a superordinate of *wildfowl* (noun) and the first element of each of the compounds are identical; however, it could be argued that, given the distance between the two words and

the fact that the link between them is slightly tenuous, the contextual link is being applied rather artificially.

The *wildfowled* example given above would be classified as follows:

gloss; par; root+1; sem+; sem-4

Key:

gloss = gloss

root = root/base repetition

sem = semantically related words

par = parallelism

+1 = link appears in following sentence

-4 = link appears 4 sentences preceding conversion

Where the link appears in the same sentence as the conversion, +/- will be given to indicate whether the link precedes (-) or follows (+) the conversion.

5.5.4 Conclusion

In terms of how much information the journalist gives the reader we can say that there is one overt contextual link (the gloss) and up to four covert contextual clues provided by the journalist for the conversion *wildfowled*.

This study aims to identify the contextual clues used (and not used) to anchor new conversions and to ascertain the extent to which new conversions are given contextual help by the journalists using them. The number of overt and covert clues, the number of each type of contextual clue and their distance from the conversion were all recorded for each example. Some of the new conversions subsequently recurred, in different contexts, later in the corpus, but only the first example will be classified. Subsequent uses of the conversion are subject to different pressures and their inclusion in the study would complicate matters

unnecessarily. Aitchison and Lewis (1995) maintain that even where their test word (*wimp*) stopped being new, there was still a high incidence of contextual clues surrounding the word. However, in a newspaper corpus, reliable coding which would allow a linguist to distinguish journalists is not always available and therefore it is usually not possible to tell whether a subsequent use of a conversion has occurred in an article written by the same journalist (where they may expect readers to retain knowledge of its previous use) or by a different journalist for whom the conversion is a neologism. These factors cannot be controlled, so these examples have been left out of the study.

5.6 Results and Discussion

5.6.1 Summary of results

The table containing a complete categorisation is included in Appendix 6. The more general results are as follows:

Total number of conversions analysed = 178 (4 years of data from Independent corpus)

Key:

Overt contextual clues are shaded in **grey scale**

Covert contextual clues are shown *in italics*

Figure 5.1: Numbers of different contextual clues and proportion of each clue type appearing alongside other contextual clues

Contextual clue	No of cases where clue used in isolation (no other contextual clues present)	No of clues used in combination with other clues	Total no.
Gloss	6 (25%)	18 (75%)	24
Quotation marks	2 (50%)	2 (50%)	4
Introductory phrases	0	3 (100%)	3
Following phrases	0	1 (100%)	1
<i>Collocation</i>	1 (33%)	2 (67%)	3
<i>Lexical signals</i>	2(40%)	3 (60%)	5
<i>Lexical field</i>	15 (39%)	23 (61%)	38
<i>Repetition of root</i>	6 (18%)	28 (82%)	34
<i>Parallelisms</i>	15 (50%)	15 (50%)	30
<i>Semantically similar words/phrases</i>	17(40%)	25 (60%)	42
<i>Exact repetition</i>	0	0	0

The total number of conversions that appeared with at least one contextual clue was 119/178 (67%). This figure is lower than Aitchison and Lewis' claim that over 80% of their forms had contextual clues; however, the journalistic nature of the texts may go some way to explain this discrepancy (see 5.6.5.3). Of course, it is impossible to claim that readers definitely use all these clues to help with the interpretation of the new conversion or that another linguist would necessarily find exactly the same contextual clues in the texts, but it is clear that if all the contextual clues found are given equal weight, a very high proportion of the new conversions are anchored and are at least partially interpretable from their contexts. The contextual clues cannot possibly have equal status in their ability to aid the reader, but they can all help to narrow down the possibilities of meaning that the conversion could have. It was mentioned in the introduction that conversions have a limited number of relationships with their base nouns, and as a reader is unlikely to have any problems stripping off any inflections to

uncover the base noun, it is only the narrowing down of possible meanings which is necessary for a new conversion rather than a completely new definition.

So, how do journalists narrow down possibilities of meaning and help a reader comprehend the meaning of a new conversion?

1. By providing explicit help (gloss)
2. By signalling to the reader that they know the conversion is novel (quotation marks, introductory and following phrases)
3. By signalling relationships between the conversion and the surrounding text (lexical signals)
4. By integrating the conversion grammatically (parallelism)
5. By integrating the conversion semantically (collocation)
6. By providing similar words which will be recognised (repetitions, exact and root/base, and semantically similar words and phrases)
7. By providing information about the general semantic field in which the conversion appears (lexical field)

The above seven categories vary along a cline in terms of their helpfulness in disambiguating the meaning of the conversions, with category 1 being the most explicit in terms of the information given and category 7 giving the least amount of information. Categories 1 and 2 are “overt” and 3 to 7 are “covert” clues.

5.6.2 Multiple contextual clues

Figure 5.2 Number of different types of contextual clues present to aid new conversions

No. of contextual clues	No. of conversions	%
0	59	33.1
1	60	33.7
2	55	30.9
3	6	3.4
4 or more	0	0
TOTAL	178	100

The picture becomes more complicated given that most of these clues do not occur in isolation. Figure 5.2 above shows the number of conversions occurring with different numbers of contextual clues. Put simply, the conversions seem to split into 3 approximately equal groups; one third do not have any contextual clues, one third appear with one contextual clue and one third with 2 or more. It seems that some of the contextual clues are more likely to appear in conjunction with other clues than others. For example, the clues falling into category 2, those signalling novelty, all appear alongside other contextual clues, presumably because if a journalist signals that he/she is aware that the conversion is new and not likely to be understood, then there is a certain onus on him/her to help the reader interpret the new form.

On the other hand, only 50% of the conversions aided by parallelism had another clue present in the context. Parallelisms are more likely to provide enough information for the reader to comprehend the conversion, or the journalists did not feel that the conversions needed much anchoring in the context as

information about the meaning had been provided outside of the immediate context⁵⁸.

The more types of clues that are present, the more the reader is likely to understand the meaning of the new form. In the case of conversion, where the reader would be expected to bring some knowledge of the base to aid comprehension, it is not surprising that there were not usually more than one or two different types of clue in the immediate context. Contextual clues help to narrow down a conversion's meaning, but they are not the only source of information for a reader to draw on for their comprehension.

5.6.3 Position of clues in relation to conversion

Figure 5.3: Contextual clues appearing either side of conversion

Contextual clue	No. used preceding conversion	No. used following conversion	No. used preceding and following conversion	Total no.
<i>Repetition of root</i>	6	19	7	34
<i>Parallelisms</i>	9	17	4	30
<i>Semantically similar words/phrases</i>	18	15	9	42
Gloss	11	10	3	24
<i>Collocation</i>	2	0	1	3
<i>Exact repetition</i>	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	43	61	24	133

Figure 5.3 (above) shows the position of the contextual clues in relation to the new conversion, where appropriate. The general trend is that there are more contextual clues used after the conversion has occurred in the text (in the ratio of

⁵⁸ See section 5.6.5.3

about 3:4, before:after). This is interesting as it shows that the reader is expected to read ahead to find clues as to the conversion's meaning as well as backwards; the reader cannot necessarily expect to have received all the relevant information about a new form prior to meeting the form. Renouf and Bauer noted (2000:246) that collocates may appear either side of a neologism, but this study also shows that different clues show varying tendencies to occur in a position preceding or following the conversion. Collocates are shown to be more likely to appear before the conversion, but due to the very low numbers of collocates found, this finding might not be particularly representative and a much larger scale study would be needed to clarify that result.

Root repetitions and parallelism were found to be more likely to occur after the conversion in a text, whereas semantically similar words and phrases were found to be marginally more likely to occur before the conversion and glosses were found in almost equal quantities either side of the conversion. In the case of the glosses, these usually appeared in very close proximity to the conversion, with 9 out of the 24 appearing in the same sentence as the conversion and another 11 appearing within one sentence either side of the conversion. The position of the gloss appears to correspond to the different functions of the gloss. A gloss

- preceding the conversion gives the reader the necessary information for interpreting the form and introduces the new conversion (which is then somewhat superfluous to the meaning of the text as the meaning has already been supplied by the preceding gloss). If the gloss follows the conversion, the reader has to confirm that their understanding of the word is correct or readjust their interpretation of a conversion to fall in line with the gloss after having already

made some judgements about the possible meanings. It is quite possible that both methods yield a similar net result; a reader would still understand the conversion in both cases, but the second method may require the reader to revise their understanding of the conversion once they reach the gloss.

Perhaps one reason for the fact that more contextual clues follow the conversion could be that we read from left to right and therefore we might have a natural tendency to look ahead, rather than back, through the text to find contextual clues to aid our comprehension. On the other hand, semantically similar words and phrases seem to occur slightly more frequently before the new conversion, perhaps indicating that semantically similar words and phrases are used to 'set the stage' for the new form. Thus, the semantic possibilities for the new conversion are narrowed down before the reader encounters the conversion.

5.6.4 Contextual clues *not* used to help reader comprehend new conversions

The only contextual clue described by Renouf and Bauer which was not found to occur with the sample of conversions analysed was exact repetition of the form, despite the root repetition being a relatively common contextual clue for the new conversions. There are a number of possible explanations for this finding:

1. The span was not large enough to find any exact repetitions occurring within the context

2. This study would not have been able to find any exact repetitions of the conversion preceding the form as I have only looked at the first instance of any new word found by the software.
3. An exact repetition of any word, and particularly a new and therefore unusual word, would not occur due to journalists' stylistic restrictions. It might not be considered good journalistic style to repeat anything other than a very high frequency or grammatical word in a relatively small span.
4. An exact repetition would not provide any new semantic information about the conversion for the reader other than perhaps any added contextual clues which may be present with the second instance.

5.6.5 Reasons why not all new conversions had contextual clues aiding their comprehension

Even though a high proportion of the conversions analysed had contextual clues in the close vicinity, about one in three did not have any at all. There are a few possible reasons for this fact:

5.6.5.1 Puns

Journalists frequently 'play' with words in order to amuse their readers or to draw attention to a particular similarity between two words. For example:

Today (R4) ended with Fergal **Keane** and his famous son Daniel, now 16 months old, pottering amongst the rough-hewn tombstones of young soldiers who died in the 1941 battle for Hong Kong. Fergal can't go wrong when he's *Keaning* and, reliably, he offered an elegiac way to face the real

sadness of such sacrifice, made in honour of the muddled grandeur that was imperialism. (Ind9707)

Here, the journalist draws on the homophony between the base form of the verb 'to keen' (meaning to wail in remembrance of dead) and the surname of the radio presenter, 'Keane', in order to create the neologism. In this particular case, there *are* contextual clues available to help the reader comprehend the pun: a preceding repetition of the root of the conversion and semantically similar words. In fact, of the seven puns recorded in this study, only one did not have any other contextual clues, although none of those clues were given **overtly** to explain the neologism. Renouf and Bauer cite puns as one reason for the absence of contextual clues⁵⁹ but this does not seem to be the case for the conversions analysed here.

5.6.5.2 The contextual clues helping the reader exist outside the 60 word span

The conversions analysed in this study are part of a much larger text and a journalist may give the information that will allow the reader to comprehend the conversion at any point in the article in which the new conversion appears. A journalist would expect a reader to read the entirety of an article, or at least to read from the start of the article, which means that the journalist has a relatively large context with which to work. If a person were to introduce a new conversion into informal speech, the context would be a lot more restrictive, as the speaker would not expect a listener to be able to reference a large amount of

⁵⁹ 'assistance in the comprehension of coinages intended to amuse may, precisely for that reason, not be forthcoming.' (Renouf and Bauer, 2000:231)

previously given information. This means that new conversions appearing in journalistic text may not be representative of conversions appearing in language in general in terms of what a reader/audience may be expected to remember or look back on from the larger context.

5.6.5.3 Journalists expect a shared view of the world and knowledge of current issues.

In addition to the previous point about the possibility of a reader being expected to reference a large context in order to find contextual clues to help their understanding of new conversions, journalists may expect readers to be interested in the news and in the topic of their article. In this case, they may reference events which are of interest at the time of publication and/or articles previously written by themselves or other journalists working for the paper, meaning that the relevant information necessary for interpretation is intertextual or even could be expected to have been gained from another media.

This shared knowledge may include one or more of the following factors, which have been identified from the data:

5.6.5.3.1 Knowledge of the meaning of the base noun

Conversions look, intrinsically, very similar to their bases, with the only possible additional morphological material available for affixation being inflectional suffixes. Converted forms do not contain any additional overt material for the reader to have to deconstruct in order to uncover the semantic base from which it has been formed. In many cases the meaning of the new conversion is so closely

linked to the nominal base's meaning that the journalist assumes that the new form would require no further explanation. If the reader knows the meaning of the base then they will be able to decipher the meaning of the new form.

Example:

Earlier that day, John had *Eurostarred* in from Paris with an enormous basket of cherries - 'picked from the garden this morning'. (Ind9711)

There is very limited contextual aid to help the reader comprehend the conversion, the reader knows that there must be some form of travel involved as a result of the preposition 'in' and the prepositional phrase 'from Paris'. However, comprehension relies on the reader knowing from previous experience that the *Eurostar* is a passenger train running through the Channel Tunnel and that it follows that, in the absence of any conflicting information, that the conversion 'to *Eurostar*' must mean 'to travel between France and England using the Eurostar train service'.

5.6.5.3.2 Familiarity with literary (and/or other media) conventions

Literary texts frequently exploit metaphorical characteristics of a noun that would not usually be associated in order to make a description particularly evocative. If a reader is aware that the conversion occurs in a piece of literary text then he/she may be more inclined to accept that the meaning of the verb may be more removed from the base than usual.

For example:

So this savage, crafty, sad, dusty, deathly little novel ends in desuetude.
London may sing Jonathan its liebestod, 'the big red 74 buses *novembering*
down the Earl's Court Road', but he cannot respond. (Ind9803)

This example occurs as a quotation of a piece of literary text, where the user uses the reference to the attributes of November in order to create a particular atmosphere. The conversion conjures up a scene of buses trundling down the road amidst a background of London in November; the use of the conversion combines the implication of movement, perhaps aided by the addition of the particle *down*, and the weather associated with a November in London which means that the resulting conversion is loaded with meaning and atmosphere. The conversion relies on the readers' knowledge of the typical weather and sights of London in November and works particularly well in a literary context where the user wishes to convey a number of meanings within the one verb.

5.6.5.3.3 Knowledge of real-world events associated with the noun

A noun may be associated with particular events, which fuel an added semantic meaning to be exploited in a conversion which would not normally be there.

For example:

Anyone leafing through the official brochure for Glasgow 1990 will find it brimming with all things '*Glasgowing On*' in Europe's Cultural Capital this year. (Ind9008)

In the case of *Glasgowing*, the conversion has been coined as a slogan based on the homophony between the high frequency verb *go*, and the second syllable of **Glasgow**. The conversion presumably aims to reflect the wealth of cultural events happening in Glasgow during its year as European Capital of Culture and is unlikely to appear independently from this slogan. This particular conversion relies on a specific set of events in the city for its coinage and survival.

The associated events do not necessary have to be current issues in the news: a reader would also be expected to access their general knowledge of historical events that may be associated with the noun.

For example:

Figs recounts the names Bolsheviks chose for their children when they were '*Octobered*' (rather than christened). (Ind9703)

The meaning of the conversion stems from the noun being used as a modifier in the noun phrase 'The October Revolution', referring to the Russian revolution which occurred in October 1917 and is an important landmark in modern Russian history. There is a specific clue guiding the reader towards the general knowledge expected of them; 'Bolsheviks' indicating that the context is associated with Russian history.

5.6.5.3.4 Knowledge of cultural associations with base noun

A noun may have added semantic associations if it has been adopted as a cult term. These associations may be a positive or negative semantic prosody which have very little to do with the original nominal meaning.

For example:

And the loose ball fell to Leko who *muppeted* his follow-up shot wide.
(Guard0210)

The term 'muppet' has come to be an affectionate term for someone who messes something up, and has little connection with the original noun (the name of Jim Henson's puppet characters). It is this association that has been used in the

formation of the conversion and the reader would be expected to know that the conversion has been based on the adopted associations of the noun rather than its meaning as a name for some fictional puppets.

5.6.5.3.5 Experience of word-formation processes acting on the base

If a noun has become very popular, the base may be used in the generation of any number of derived word-forms. If this has been the case, the reader will be aware that the base is very productive and may be more receptive to the shades of meaning implied by the word-formation process.

For example, *Enron* (American energy trader) became very productive as a base soon after its scandalous collapse; in the corpus there are forty-five different word-forms with *Enron* or *enron* as their base. These word-forms include blends (for example *Enrontastic*), conversions (*Enronned* and *enroned*) and compounds (for example *Enron-controlled* and *Enron-branded*), the majority of which came into existence very soon after the scandal hit the headlines. In addition to this particular newspaper's coverage, the story was covered by all the major television channels, other newspapers and reports posted on the internet. The reader was potentially bombarded with any number of these new word forms and so would have had more exposure to all the different twists a word-formation process can inflict on the nominal base.

5.6.5.3.6 Knowledge of characteristics associated with base noun

Conversion relies on knowledge not only of the meaning of the nominal base, but also of all the characteristics that may be associated with that base. This has been dealt with in more detail in the section on proper nouns (see Chapter 3).

For example:

The film-makers had '*Hollywooded* it up' as Lewis was to say when he got round to seeing the film. (Ind9908)

Hollywood is known internationally more for its reputation as the centre of America's glamorous film industry than for its geographical position, and it is this recognised attribute which is used to verbalise the noun. The conversion used in this example appears in the context of a discussion about a film, but the reader is expected to recognise the connection between the name of the city of Hollywood and the glamour associated with the film industry which is encapsulated in the conversion.

5.6.5.3.7 Knowledge of similar looking and sounding words

The use of conversion in order to create puns and word plays is very important and the reader of a newspaper would be expected to recognise the homophonic and homonymic references being used to create the conversion and the pun.

For example:

In the cut-throat world of the Champions League, it's Kehl or be *Kehled* yet. (Ind0209)

The noun used as the base for the conversion is 'Kehl' (Sebastian), a footballer.

The reader has to recognise the fact that the name used for the conversion is a

topical one (presumably Kehl would have been recognised by football fans at the time of writing), but more importantly that his surname is almost a homophone of 'kill'. The journalist merely substitutes the similar sounding and looking surname into a familiar phrase in order to create the pun.

5.7 Conclusions

1 How do journalists ensure that their readers understand new conversions?

Journalists ensure that their readers understand new conversions by a variety of means: they can make conscious efforts to explain the forms (overt clues), they may integrate the conversion into the article by means of semantic and grammatical indicators which may or may not be consciously put in place by the journalist, and they may rely on the shared world knowledge which they can reasonably expect someone reading that particular article in that particular newspaper to have.

2 Do new conversions require as many contextual clues as other neologisms?

If, as Renouf and Bauer tentatively claimed, only overt contextual clues can be reasonably be assumed to have been included deliberately by a journalist to help a reader with the comprehension of a new form, I find that conversions attract a relatively high number of contextual clues. Renouf and Bauer took a larger sample of all types of neologisms occurring in a similar corpus and found that only about 2.5% of those had overt contextual clues, whereas I found that 15% of the conversions had overt clues. It is true that I took a larger span than the

Renouf and Bauer experiment, but the difference remains. I suspect that the extra layer of care taken with checking that the neologisms were actually new (see section 5.4) may also have had a part to play in this discrepancy. If the covert clues were also taken into account, about two thirds of the conversions analysed had contextual clues in their immediate environment. New conversions required at least as many contextual clues as other neologisms were shown by Renouf and Bauer to need in journalistic text. This means that there is no reason to expect that the fact that they are morphologically more transparent than derivations is an advantage for their comprehension; morphological processing can only be part of the method by which readers understand new conversions. Contextual clues also play a large part, as does the real-world information that a reader is expected to have and use when coming across new formations in journalistic texts.

5.8 Advances made in the field

- I have identified the extent to which contextual clues are employed in order to integrate a new conversion into a text, or to help a reader comprehend that conversion.
- I have identified and listed the contextual clues that are used in relation to new noun to verb conversions and assessed which are used more frequently than others in my data.
- I have identified potential reasons for contextual clues not being used in conjunction with a new noun to verb conversion.
- I have looked at the position of the contextual clues with regard to the conversions and identified that more clues occur after the new conversion than before.
- I have identified the extent to which more than one clue might be used in conjunction with a new conversion and established which clues are more likely to be found in combination with others.

CHAPTER 6: FUNCTIONS

6.1 Introduction

Noun to verb conversion is, as figures have shown in an earlier chapter, 'Factors inhibiting noun to verb conversion' (Chapter 4), a prolific means of creating new verbs in English. However, linguists who have looked at conversion have focussed on the more theoretical aspects of the field (for example, Twardzisz (1997), who looked at conversion within the framework of cognitive grammar) or have given a more general overview of the field of word-formation and morphology (see Marchand (1960), Bauer (1983), Adams (1973), Plag (2001)). This chapter investigates the versatility of the noun to verb conversion process and suggests a model for the categorisation of the different functions associated with the process.

6.1.1 Definition of 'Function'

The term 'function' needs clarification before it is applied to the process of noun to verb conversion. I shall take Leech's interpretation of a 'functional explanation':

[A functional explanation] means explaining why a given phenomenon occurs, by showing what its contribution is to a larger system of which it is a sub-system. (1983:48).

In applying Leech's definition to noun to verb conversion, I am interested in examining the nature of the contribution⁶⁰ noun to verb conversion makes to English, and the reason why a noun to verb conversion might be chosen to fill the

⁶⁰ There is a fundamental problem in considering what the use of a noun to verb conversion may achieve in English; as linguists we cannot bridge the gulf between the writer's intention (or subconscious intention) and our interpretation of the text.

role of the verb in a clause; and thereby discovering the reasons for the productivity of the process. This use of the term 'function' is deliberately broader than the definition applied by Halliday and other functional linguists⁶¹, in order to encompass the wide range of contributions made by the conversion process, be they semantic, pragmatic, aesthetic, rhetorical or functional.

This study takes a broad view of the range of functions, rather than a focussed, exclusive look at where conversion crosses just one of the linguistic fields (semantics, pragmatics, aesthetics or rhetorics). The literature has neglected this crossover between word formation and function, so the broad approach is necessary in order to set down the basis for future studies in the field.

6.1.2 Categorisation Frameworks

6.1.2.1 'Established' and 'new' conversions

Language is an evolving phenomenon and in corpus study we catch some of the various stages of evolution of noun to verb conversions in the language⁶². A conversion could be a fully assimilated and accepted part of the language, such as in the cases of *time*_(V), or *butter*_(V), where most users are no longer aware of their origins, and would not consider them to be different from any other commonly used verb forms. At the other end of the scale, a conversion could be newly created by the user for a specific purpose, where the user is at least subconsciously aware that the verb is not an established or commonly used

⁶¹ Functional linguistics looks more at the function (or 'metafunction') of whole clauses rather than the reasons for using individual elements within the clause.

⁶² See also 'Partial and Full Conversion', chapter 2.

formation, for example, *Rooney*_(V), from the footballer *Wayne Rooney*⁶³. Where a language user is aware that the form they are using is new or might be thought to be controversial by the language community, they are likely to use it to perform different functions from established forms, which are used without so much thought. For this reason, this chapter has been split into two sections:

- 1 The functions that could be applicable to any noun to verb conversion, and
- 2 The functions restricted to new conversions.

There are potential problems with misinterpretation when assessing whether a conversion is being used as a new form; the corpus linguist can never be sure how new or controversial a user believes a conversion to be. For the purposes of this study, I have worked on the premise that any conversion that has not appeared in my corpus data before and that is not listed in the frequently updated online OED has not been fully established in the language (and therefore labelled, for simplicity, as 'new'). Of course, there will be cases where the conversions will have appeared in spoken discourse prior to being recorded in the corpus and therefore will not be deemed by their users as innovative as others that are appearing in the written language for the first time, but as this chapter is concerned with the different functions associated with the noun to verb conversions rather than an in-depth investigation into the links between function

⁶³ Currently (summer 2004) 'enjoying' coverage from the British media and being hailed as the latest answer to England's footballing prayers.

and perceived position of the conversion on the cline between new and established conversions, this should not be too much of a hindrance.

6.1.2.2 Secondary categorisation framework

My primary categorisation framework provides a broad categorisation which helps to clarify the important differences between the functions associated with 'new' and 'established' conversions, but we also need a finer framework in order to answer the question of what the process of noun to verb conversion contributes to the language, and why conversions are chosen in place of alternative verb choice.

Leech, in his work on pragmatics (1983), suggests that users exploit all facets of their linguistic knowledge in order to be able to solve the following problem:

(Speaker/Writer) Given that I want to bring about such-and-such a result in the hearer's consciousness, what is the best way to accomplish this aim by using language? (1983:x)

He postulates a complementary question applying to the hearer or interpreter:

Given that the speaker said such-and-such, what did the speaker mean me to understand by that? (ibid.)

I understand Leech to be referring to language choices in the most general sense, not just those pertaining to particular stylistic effects. These questions are very much at the heart of this chapter: if the user decides that the noun to verb conversion process provides the best solution to the question in a particular

situation, then we need to look at those situations in order to see what functions noun to verb conversion contribute to English.

Leech (and many other pragmatics linguistics, for example Levinson (1983) and Mey (1993)) form their theories primarily around speech, with less attention paid to written text. Although the maxims and principles they put forward, based mainly on Gricean 'Cooperative Principles', are useful for explaining conversational language choices, we need to add to these maxims to ensure that the printed textual functions we observe are adequately accounted for. There have been refinements to Gricean Principles; Leech (1983) offers further categories of 'Processibility' and 'Expressivity', and Pratt adds that language use is motivated by its 'tellability', whereby literary and ordinary language are both designed to convey interesting experiences and affairs in order to involve the audience (1977:140). Other related frameworks are those put forward by Keller (1990) and subsequently Haspelmath (1999) who use similar 'maxims' to explain the spread of linguistic characteristics through language with their 'Invisible Hand Theory'.

Gricean Principles are powerful in accounting for everyday, conversational language, but they do not entirely account for situations where a user coins a new form or uses an unconventional form for a particular reason. Haspelmath, following Keller, devises a set of maxims and a theory which incorporates all the maxims put forward by Leech, Pratt and Grice and is therefore more advanced as a starting point for adaptation to this particular task.

6.1.3 Language Change and the 'Invisible Hand Theory'

Keller (1990), and subsequently Haspelmath (1999), describe the spread of linguistic characteristics through a language in terms of the 'Invisible Hand Theory', which argues that as long as a process (for example, Haspelmath looked the process of 'grammaticalisation') conforms to certain 'ecological' conditions and allows language users to exploit the maxims of action which guide linguistic behaviour, that process or word form created by the process might become widespread in that language:

An 'Invisible Hand Theory' attempts to explain structures and reveal processes, namely those structures which are produced by human beings who do not intend or even notice them, as if they were 'led by an invisible hand' (Keller 1990: 68)

The theory is similar to that of Grice (1975) in terms of the importance it places on the maxims governing linguistic behaviour and may help to give some insights into why conversion is such a prolific process. The theory looks at how a word form may become more easily widely accepted as an established language choice if certain maxims are adhered to. What follows is my adaptation of Keller's and Haspelmath's work to fit the phenomenon of conversion.

6.1.4 Model of Noun to Verb Conversion

1. 'Ecological' conditions within which noun to verb conversion takes place: factors which influence the choice of using a noun to verb conversion over any other verb form:
 - a. The nominal and verbal base forms are identical in form
 - b. Any new word making direct and explicit use of an already existing recognised form will be easier to process.

- c. Conversion competes with derivation, compounding and simplex verb formations. Generally, the less extra morphological (and therefore semantic) information added to a new form, the quicker it is likely to be comprehended. For example, if a form consists of a prefix + base⁶⁴ + suffix, then a user who has not previously encountered that particular formation will have to process each individual morpheme or unit and its semantic contribution to the meaning of the form.

2. Maxims of action by which speakers are guided in their linguistic behaviour

(Following Haspelmath's maxims⁶⁵)

- a. **Hypermaxim:** Talk in such a way that you are socially successful, at the lowest possible cost.
- b. **Clarity:** Talk in such a way that you are understood
- c. **Economy:** Talk in such a way that you do not expend superfluous energy
- d. **Conformity:** Talk like the others talk
- e. **Extravagance:** Talk in such a way that you are noticed

⁶⁴ see Bauer (1983:20) for discussion of 'stem' vs. 'root' and 'base': 'base' = 'any form to which affixes of any kind can be added' (Bauer 1983:21)

⁶⁵ These maxims are very similar to Grice's maxims of manner (1975); Haspelmath's maxim of 'clarity' subsumes Grice's maxims 'avoid obscurity' and 'avoid ambiguity' and the maxim of 'economy' is equivalent to Grice's 'be brief'.

3. The Invisible Hand Process – the creation and acceptance of neologistic noun to verb conversions

- i. A user⁶⁶ chooses X where s/he could have used Y or Z
X = denominal verb conversion
Y = known verb phrase (simplex or complex)
Z = suffix derived denominal verb
(deploying maxims (e) or (c) and (b) – see 6.4.1 onwards for examples of the maxims in play in the language choices)
- ii. Other users follow, using X (according to maxims (e), (c) and (b) and subsequently (d))
- iii. X increases in frequency within the community
- iv. X becomes more predictable
- v. X becomes more widespread (as a result of maxims (b) and (c))
- vi. X becomes increasingly automated and routinised, resulting in establishment of the formation.

This process does not usually extinguish the use of the original lexical item in its elemental form, i.e. the noun and verb can co-exist successfully. Keller states that ‘the dynamics of the process must be based on the interplay between variation and selection’ (1990:145), suggesting that the process being described eventually allows the form to supersede all other alternative forms available. This is not quite true of noun to verb conversion, where the conversion can co-

⁶⁶ Note – the term ‘user’ could refer to an author/speaker whose language use might well be read or heard by many

exist with other verb choices. However, the nature of language dictates that absolute synonymy (where two forms have identical semantic and collocational profiles) hardly ever occurs, so the process of noun to verb conversion provides an alternative form, which develops its own semantic and collocational 'niche' through use. This might mean that the conversion becomes the natural verb of choice in certain linguistic circumstances, where another form had previously been used, but would not mean that the alternative could no longer exist.

Noun to verb conversion appears to be a convenient method of creating new verbs which conforms to the maxims dictating that language users tend towards the use of forms that give information economically and clearly. Keller's theory dictates that conversion is likely to be chosen as the default word-formation process in many cases, as it is the most 'economical' method of creating a new verb. Of course, there are circumstances in which, for example, a derivation or blend will be preferable, by virtue of the 'clarity' or 'extravagance' maxims, but nevertheless, we now, through this corpus study, have some indications of the motivations that make noun to verb conversion such an important word-formation process in English.

6.2 Method

6.2.1 Categorisation of the functions of noun to verb conversion

From the background literature and from corpus observation, I have devised two frameworks for the categorisation of the linguistic functions associated with noun to verb conversion. The two main categories are:

1. Linguistic functions associated with all noun to verb conversions
2. Linguistic functions associated **only** with new noun to verb conversions.

The linguistic effects are then sub-categorised in terms of the maxim which is judged to be the principal motivating factor for the use of a conversion.

The functions will fall into one of the six categories illustrated by the following table:

Figure 6.1

Motivating principle (or 'maxim')	Functions associated with ALL noun to verb conversions	Functions associated with NEW noun to verb conversions only
CLARITY		
ECONOMY		
EXTRAVAGANCE		

Of course, the maxims are not mutually exclusive; a conversion chosen for its stylistic effects ('extravagance') may in fact be a more economical method of phrasing the same semantic information, thereby satisfying the 'clarity' and 'economy' maxims in addition to the primary maxim of 'extravagance'. For example:

Here he was, a witness for the prosecution in the trial of Louise Woodward, the British nanny accused of first degree murder, and he was about to get *Schecked*.
(Ind9710)

The journalist could have used a conventional verb in the place of the conversion (for example, *cross-examined* or *questioned*), but s/he chooses to create a new conversion in order to make the sentence sound dramatic and to ensure that it stands out and sounds interesting (satisfying the 'extravagance' maxim). As a

result of the use of the conversion, the journalist obviates the need for the longer ‘*cross-examined by Scheck*’ or similar construction, thereby also satisfying the ‘economy’ maxim. Where there are two maxims in play, the function will be classed intuitively under the maxim I consider to be the more important.

6.3 Data

The noun to verb conversions motivating the categorisation given here have been taken from a number of sources:

- (i) neologisms have been collected from the *Independent/Guardian* corpus using the APRIL software.
- (ii) examples of established conversions have been taken from the BNC and the Internet search engine, *Google*.

6.4 Results

6.4.1 Section I: Functions associated with all noun to verb conversions

The categories that follow are those functions concerned with all noun to verb conversions, both new forms and established. The functions have been split into three subsections: those motivated mainly by the ‘clarity’ maxim, by the ‘economy’ maxim and the ‘extravagance’ maxim.

6.4.1.1 Where 'clarity' is the principal motivating maxim

6.4.1.1.1 Function 1: Conversions are used to change the emphasis in the sentence or information-bearing structure

As language users, we have choices as to how we present a text or utterance to interpreters. The maxim of 'clarity' dictates that we should try to order elements within a clause and sentence to obtain maximum clarity and place prominence (or subordination) on the important part of the message.

Leech (1983:64) suggests that there are maxims of 'end-focus' and 'end-weight' operating in English, meaning that:

- a) users prefer to place the new information (as opposed to 'given') at the end of a clause, and
- b) complex constituents frequently appear towards the end of the clause, or, as Leech puts it, preference is given to a 'greater depth of bracketing towards the right on the level of semantic representation.'

Noun to verb conversion is a simple method of creating a verb out of an existing noun, and can be used to realign the emphasis (both on a phonological and functional level) in a sentence.

For example:

In the Eighties we padded our shoulders and *Filofaxed* our appointments to aid our survival. (Ind9201)

Phonologically, the stressed parts of the sentence fall on *Eighties*, *padded* and *Filofaxed*, corresponding to the important semantic information being conveyed

in the sentence. The phonological stress on the conversion makes it one of the primary information-bearing points in the 'new' information. Without the conversion, the verb would have to be replaced with a filler verb, like *put*, instead of the lexical *Filofaxed*, with an additional qualifying prepositional phrase 'in a Filofax', as follows:

...and put our appointments in a Filofax,...

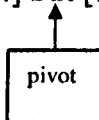
This second option demotes 'Filofax' from a pivotal position to a prepositional phrase function as Adjunct, as well as destroying the symmetry constructed by the coordination of 'padded our shoulders and Filofaxed our appointments'. The use of the conversion allows the emphasis to fall on the key elements of the lifestyle and era being ridiculed here.

A similar effect is found in the following example:

We've asked Santa for the real ones, but unless Santa wins the lottery we're *high-streeting* it. (Guard0311)

The repetition of the first person plural pronoun creates a cohesive framework which encourages the reader to contrast the two verbs, *asked for* and *high-streeting*. This is also aided by the pivotal conjunction *but*, balancing the implications of wishful desire with the more realistic option of *high-streeting* it:

We've asked Santa for[...] **but** [...] we're high-streeting it.



Without the conversion, and in order to retain the semantics implicated with *high-street*, the user would have had to say something like: 'we're

buying/purchasing/getting them from the high-street'. In addition to being a clumsier phraseology, this option would mean that the construction 'we're *X-ing* it', with its parallels with '*slumming it*' would have to have been abandoned.

As the verbs constructed by conversion still look like their noun bases, noun to verb conversion is a means of maximising lexical information, avoiding verbs providing grammatical rather than semantic information.

6.4.1.1.2 Function 2: Conversions are used in order to create a cohesive link across phrase or sentence boundaries

Cohesion⁶⁷ is a signalling device alerting a reader/listener to similarities between parts of a text in order to provide some links for the reader or listener and in order to make the text seem part of a coherent whole. There are numerous types of cohesive links that can be exploited in a text, one of which being 'complex repetition'⁶⁸, where a form is repeated, but with a morphological or grammatical change.

Example 1

It's the Americans who do the hair makeover best. One of the most highly paid makeover artists - at \$500 a shot - is Sally Hershberger, the woman responsible for turning goody-goody Meg Ryan into a shaggy sex kitten, Jon Bon Jovi from monster of perm into male version of Meg, and Hillary Clinton, from headband wearing dowd into chicly coiffed senator. Only the

⁶⁷ For more details of cohesion, see for example, Halliday and Hasan (1976), Hoey (1991, 2001)

⁶⁸ For further details see Halliday and Hasan (1976), Hoey (1991)

sparkly tip of the A list has been *Hershbergered* - and moi, by chance, on a press trip. (Guard0106)

The noun to verb conversion above takes the form of a complex repetition of the base noun, *Hershberger*, mentioned in the previous sentence. This links the verb, *Hershbergered*, to all the semantic information made available through the previous mention, so that the conversion has the following attributes associated with it:

Hershberger = 'One of the most highly paid makeover artists...'

= 'the woman responsible for turning goody-goody Meg Ryan into a shaggy sex kitten, Jon Bon Jovi from monster of perm into male version of Meg, and Hillary Clinton, from headband wearing dowd into chicly coiffed senator.'

Not only does the conversion provide a cohesive link across text, it is also an effective method of condensing and conveying a lot of semantic information, meaning that the 'economy' maxim is satisfied. In addition, as the conversion remains very similar-looking to the noun base, interpretation is not a problem, satisfying the 'clarity' maxim.

Example 2:

So on Sunday night the fellows of All Souls, that bastion of intellectual rigour, were due to be seen **parading around the quad bearing the Lord Mallard on a chair and singing the Mallard Song**. It only happens once a century - in 1901 the **Lord Mallard was Cosmo Lang, a future Archbishop of Canterbury** (strange rituals can be a good career move, ask

any mason). And for the first time women fellows will be *mallarding* - that's modernisation for you. (Guard0101)

The conversion functions in a similar way to the previous example, with a complex repetition, accumulating and linking to all the semantic information associated with the noun, *Mallard*. The noun appears three times (highlighted in bold) in close proximity to the converted form, in slightly different contexts, so that the conversion draws on the semantic information as well as providing a cohesive link across the sentence boundary.

6.4.1.1.3 Function 3: Conversions are used in order to carry a particle or complete to achieve particular meaning

Conversions have two advantages over derivational verbs; the main verb is unrestricted in its meanings (as opposed to verbs with affixes, where the affix has some control over the meaning of the verb), and, as conversions are far more likely to be able to form particle or phrasal verbs, this means that two verbs with the same morphological stem can exist side by side with slightly different meanings (a phrasal/particle conversion and a simple conversion).

Phrasal Verbs

For example:

*bottle*_(V) vs. *bottle up*_(V) (metaphorical use)

Stevie says that grieving is an important part of bereavement and that if she *bottles it up* it will only be worse later.⁶⁹

Nouns can be converted straight into particle or phrasal verbs without the need for a pre-existing non-phrasal/particle verb form. For example, the verbs *chicken out* and *clam up* exist, where **chicken*_(V) or **clam*_(V) do not:

I do it if I really have to, but if I can avoid it I *chicken out*, and I had too much lately.⁷⁰

Both young men then glanced at each other, *clamming up* in some embarrassment as they recalled that the fortune they were at this moment vying for had been lost by Benedict Beckenham.

This is important, and is an area that has, as yet, been neglected in the literature. Where a noun is converted straight into a phrasal verb, users must have thought that the conversion alone was insufficient to guarantee the conveyance of a clear meaning to an interpreter. This conversion from noun to phrasal verb is an important indication that phrasal verbs are capable of being created independently of the 'simple' conversion equivalents:

⁶⁹ From Rutherford, Douglas *A Game of Sudden Death*, found in BNC

⁷⁰ From Forsyth, Frederick *The Negotiator*, found in BNC.

*chicken*_(N) → *chicken out*_(V)

rather than

*chicken*_(N) → *chicken*_(V)

↓
*chicken out*_(V)

In the above cases of phrasal verbs⁷¹, the completives *out* and *up* seem to contribute a significant amount of semantic input to the verbs' meaning;

chicken out ≈ back **out** of something (like a metaphorical chicken)



(where the metaphorical movement implied by the verb *chicken out* is supplied as much by the particle *out* as the main verb *chicken*)

clam up ≈ close **up** tight (metaphorically speaking), mirroring the movement of a clam



(where *up* has connotations of 'completely', cf. *eat up* = finish, vs *eat*; *finish up* vs. *finish*, etc.)

⁷¹ For discussion of differences between phrasal verbs and particle verbs, see Bolinger (1971).

It seems to me that this is a particularly important function of conversion because the completives require the converted verbal element in order to be able to combine to function syntactically as a verb, and to complete the meaning. As the verbal elements (for example, *chicken* and *clam*) do not carry any explicit verbalising morphology dictating the meaning of the verb, the completives or particles are left free to carry some semantic weight⁷². In other words, the relationship between the two elements in the converted phrasal verb is symbiotic, with each element being vital to the verb's meaning and function.

Phrasal and Particle Verbs – what is the difference?

The consensus of the relevant literature⁷³ is that the differences between the completives of the phrasal verbs and particles are complex and controversial. To simplify: a phrasal verb is one where the completive is essential and contributes extensively to the meaning of the verb. Phrasal verbs can be separable or inseparable, as is also true in the case the conversions:

bottle up emotion, vs. *bottle* emotion *up* (verb is separable and transitive)

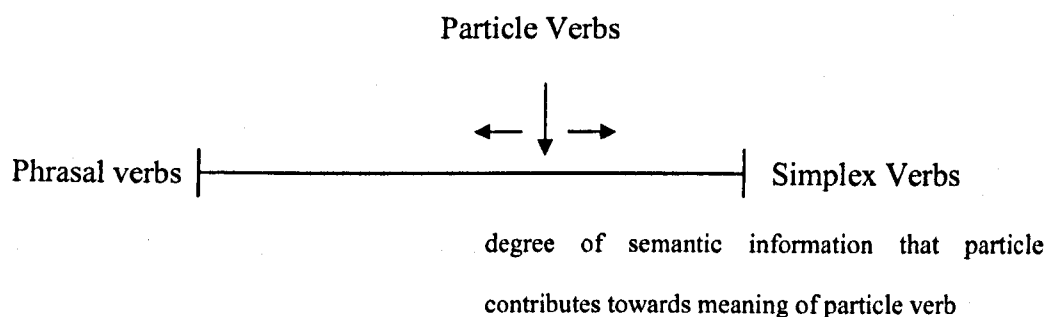
I'll *chicken out* of that, vs. *I'll *chicken* that *out* (verb is inseparable and intransitive)

Particles can similarly be separable or inseparable, but they are not necessarily essential for the verb to exist. Particles add meaning to a verb, but there is a

⁷² Consigny (2002) shows this to be true of phrasal verbs: he found that the most frequent case was where both parts of the verb were equally important.

⁷³ See Bolinger (1971) for an overview; also Quirk et al (1972), Side (1990).

cline between those that are strongly semantically linked with the overall meaning conveyed by the combination, such as those that contribute to a metaphorical meaning, and those that have a weaker effect, such as those that emphasise the verb's meaning.



High contribution: particles contributing towards a metaphorical interpretation of a verb

Example: *grass on* = to tell tales (as opposed to *grass* = to lay grass on a surface)

Medium contribution: 'emphasiser' particles

Example: *finish up* vs. *finish*

The particle 'up' is not essential for the verb to exist, but adds the semantics associated with the idea of completing something.

This field is one that attracts fierce debate, particularly over the grey areas of where particles are necessary for meaning and exactly what they add in terms of semantic information. However, particle and phrasal verbs do make up a significant proportion of noun to verb conversions: 31% of the conversions cited

by Adams and Marchand⁷⁴ can take particles or completives. This figure indicates how common and therefore important this phenomenon is; as conversion is the only candidate for the creation of phrasal and particle verbs from nouns, the importance of the process with regard to the contentious field cannot be emphasised enough and deserves to be given a lot more attention in the literature.

6.4.1.1.4 Function 4: Conversions are used where a derivation based on the same noun already exists, in order to introduce an alternative meaning into the language

The maxim of 'clarity' plays a strong part in this function of conversion. If a new verbal meaning is required of a form that has been derived from a base form, noun to verb conversion can provide an alternative form that draws on the same base but has a distinctive semantic, morphological and collocational profile.

Example 1: *pressure*_(v) vs. *pressurise*_(v):

Conversion:

Most importantly, I think it is a recipe for disaster to assume that our children are going to pursue a particular career, and *pressure* them towards it.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ See Appendix 1 for list of established conversions listed by Marchand (1969) and Adams (1973).

⁷⁵ From Horne, Molly *Life, Love and Laughter*, found in BNC.

Derivation:

Because the 40 metre-deep main is *pressurised* by gravity it does away with the need to pump vast quantities of water -- at great expense -- across London from the Thames 10 miles west of the city.⁷⁶

Both verb forms are based on the noun *pressure* and have very similar meanings, but are used in slightly different contexts. The conversion *pressure*_(V) is associated principally with the metaphorical use of the verb, with only 3 instances of the literal version recorded in the BNC⁷⁷, whereas the derived form *pressurise* can be used to express either the metaphorical or literal meaning, the more scientific meaning, 'put physical pressure on something (usually gas)',⁷⁸.

Example 2: *concrete*_(V) vs. *concretise*_(V):

Conversion:

Would you prefer to move to a flat -- one without so much as a balcony and with no windowsills -- or to *concrete* your garden over and spend your days watching your neighbours at work?⁷⁹

Derivation:

⁷⁶ From 'Business People Publications Limited', found in BNC.

⁷⁷ Where there was only 1 instance of a scientific use of *pressure*_(V) (with all corresponding inflections); the other 2 cases were 'his fingers were *pressuring* over the skin' and 'lips *pressuring* her face'.

⁷⁸ 14% of *pressurise/ize* (including all inflections) carried the literal scientific meaning.

⁷⁹ From 'The Gardener', found in BNC.

Many Voices -- One World and the movement towards a new information order have tried to *concretise* and apply the right to communicate in the real world, both on the national and international levels.⁸⁰

The conversion here provides a verb with the meaning based on the noun *concrete*, meaning ‘use concrete_(N) to cover something’, and is distinct from the meaning associated with *concretise*, ‘to make something concrete_(ADJ) (as opposed to ‘abstract’)’.

Although the difference between forms formed from one base are not necessarily clear-cut, the use of noun to verb conversion, complementing an existing derivation, provides an alternative form, making it easier to differentiate the two meanings whilst maintaining the vital link with the original base form.

6.4.1.1.5 Function 5: Conversions are used if there are phonetic or graphic reasons for avoiding an alternative form

The ‘clarity’ maxim here applies to the phonology and aesthetics of a potential coinage rather than the semantic content of the form; if a base noun is such that the addition of a derivational affix could cause phonological or graphical problems, then a conversion may be used instead. By ‘graphical’ problems, I mean that if a derivational ending does not look aesthetically pleasing when suffixed to the base form, then the derivational form may be rejected.

For example: *ooze*⁸¹

⁸⁰ From ‘Action’, found in BNC.

If such a granitic magma had a low gas content, it would be erupted at the surface as a viscous lava flow, which would *ooze* sluggishly out of the vent, travel only a short distance and pile up into massive heaps.⁸²

Conversion allows the new verb to be uninhibited by extra, potentially difficult phonological material. The derivational suffixes used to create verbs from nouns all begin with a vowel (*ise/ize/ate/ify*) and therefore are not phonologically suitable for affixing to nouns containing mainly vowels (like *ooze*). If, for example, *ooze* was made into a verb using derivation rather than conversion, the result would be phonologically and aesthetic unpalatable: [?]*oozise/oozeise*, [?]*oozize/oozeize*, [?]*oozify/oozeify*, [?]*oozeate/oozate*. The same principle applies to the following examples, *ease*⁸³ and *fire*⁸⁴:

Example 2:

He pulled his toes backwards, hard, to *ease* the cramp.⁸⁵

Example 3:

“As soon as I saw you go down I gave the order to *fire*,” Moran said⁸⁶

⁸¹ OED entry – verb from N² (Cognate with Middle Low German *wös*, *wöse* foam, scum, Old Swedish *ös*, Old Danish *ös* (Danish regional *os*) juice from a plant; further etymology uncertain and disputed. (Prob. not related to Old Icelandic *vás* wetness, toil, fatigue from storm, etc.) **ß** forms show assimilation of *w* to the following vowel. The 17th-cent. forms *oaze*, *oze* may result from association with OOZE *n*.¹

⁸² From Francis, P *Volcanoes*, found in BNC.

⁸³ OED entry – verb from the N (a. OF. *eise*, *aise* (mod. *aise*) fem., cogn. w. Pr. *ais*, It. *agio* (formerly also *asio*), Pg. *azo* masc.; late L. type **asia*, **asium*, of uncertain origin.)

⁸⁴ OED entry - f. FIRE *n*.; OE. had *fýrian* (once, in sense 1); cf. OHG. *fiurên* to be on fire, *fiuren* to set on fire (MHG. *viuren*, mod.G. *feuern*).

⁸⁵ From Craig, David *King Cameron*, found in BNC.

Noun to verb conversion provides an alternative to derivation, which can be used where the noun base ends in a phonological combination which is not compatible with the affixes used in the derivation process. Of course, I cannot predict any hard and fast rules; it is conceivable that some derivations are and will be formed from noun bases ending in a phonological combination similar to the examples given above, but conversion does at least provide a potential form which may create a phonologically and/or aesthetically pleasing verb.

6.4.1.2 Where 'economy' is the principal motivating maxim

6.4.1.2.1 Function 6: Conversions condense and/or simplify the information-bearing structure in a clause

The desire to condense information is a motivation for many processes occurring regularly in English; noun to verb conversion appearing to coexist with and contribute to a trend in English requiring information to be delivered in soundbites.⁸⁷ Mencken (1921) described what he considered to be the American preoccupation with condensing language in an article describing the differences between British and American English:

⁸⁶ From McGahern, *J Amongst Women*, found in BNC.

⁸⁷ Other processes include nominalisation (see for example, Chomsky (1970)), compounding (see Bauer and Renouf (2001), Bauer (1983, 2001) and others), blending (see for example, Danks (2003), Bauer (1983), Adams (1973, 2001)), derivation (see for example, Plag (1997, 1999a, 1999b, 2001, 2003), Bauer (1983), Adams (1973, 2001), Marchand (1969)), acronyms and initialisms, back-formations, clippings (see Bauer *ibids.*, Adams *ibids*, Marchand *ibid* amongst others).

On the one hand it is a habit of verbal economy... a natural taste for the brilliant and succinct, a disdain for all grammatical and lexicographical daintiness [...] And on the other hand there is a high relish and talent for metaphor. (1921:189)

Although the reference is almost a century old, it sums up neatly the trend still occurring today. We also have the added influences of new technology, such as the mobile phone, which encourage economy. This desire to economise with language is not restricted to American English, although it could be argued that many of the language simplification processes have been enriched by the American English style. British newspapers, for example, have many examples of all the phenomena described by Mencken, and a corpus of British spoken language would yield many more examples.

Conversion is a particularly successful method of condensing semantic and pragmatic information in order to simplify a clause. The resulting verb can exploit any and/or all of the meaning of the base noun, thereby simplifying and condensing the semantically important information into the verbal slot.

For example:

Tudor bricks are among two million bricks of every age and type neatly *palletted* and shrink-wrapped at Solopark, The Old Railway Station, Station Road, Near Pampisford, Cambs CB2 4HB. (Ind9209)

The conversion *palletted* takes the place of 'put/place on pallets', condensing all the necessary semantic information into the converted form.

Similarly, the following examples condense what would have had to be a full clause into one word form conveying the same amount of semantic information.

The underlined clauses are proposed alternatives to the conversion:

Example 2:

I *blackjacked* his legs with a toothbrush every day. (Ind9303) (cf. I made his legs as black as a blackjack⁸⁸ with...)

Example 3:

We've *prammed* most of the parks, and the countryside would be unreachable before twilight. (Ind9802) (cf. We've pushed the pram through most of the ...)

Example 4:

Walk down the corridor of Adam's flat, where huge plastic icicles hang from the ceiling and silver-foil stars are *confettied* across the carpet, and you enter the dining-room. (Ind9212) (cf. silver-foil stars are scattered like confetti across...)

Example 5:

It was the mother of the boy I'd *au-paired* two years previously. (Guard0102) (cf. ...I'd looked after as an au-pair two years previously)

⁸⁸ A blackjack is a black liquorice sweet, a pirate's flag or a tarred-leather vessel for alcoholic liquor

6.4.1.2.2 Function 7: Conversions are used to exploit the shared characteristics between the subject/object of the verb phrase containing the conversion and the noun base

As conversion makes an explicit and obvious use of the noun base in terms of form and semantic associations it is therefore useful for constructing phrases neatly where a comparison is needed between the subject or object of a sentence and another noun. This occurs most frequently where the base noun used to construct the conversion is a proper noun with characteristics that will be easily recognised by the reader or audience. This function is probably best demonstrated with examples:

Example 1:

They've '*Wappinged*' part of the harbour with Kew-like greenhouses and a mono-rail, but to compensate there's a marvellous aquarium where you go down and down to walk along a curved glass corridor with huge rays and sharks swimming, not only on either side, but over your head. (Ind9005)

The phrase that could be inserted in place of the conversion, which would still maintain the comparison between the harbour (object of the conversion verb phrase) and the site at Wapping, would have to be something along the lines of:

They've built part of the harbour in the manner of the harbour development in Wapping, with ...

The conversion conveys the information succinctly, meaning that two of Haspelmath's maxims have been successfully satisfied:

the information has been delivered concisely = 'economy'

the phrase is clear and avoids complex phrase structures = 'clarity'

Example 2:

on Tomorrow's World, I was asked to demonstrate a Hoover as Reagan.

'This Hoover', I *Ronnied*, 'reminds Nancy of my foreign policy - it sucks.'

(Ind9005)

In this example, it is the subject of the sentence, *I*, who is being compared with the nominal base of the conversion, which refers to the ex-American President, *Ronald Reagan*. The text contains a number of puns, and as usual with puns, the timing (and therefore the underlying grammatical structure) is crucial, revolving around the concise verb form. The conversion links to the shared knowledge that the reader is assumed to be aware of:

- a) *Ronnie* = Ronald Reagan, ex-President of the USA (1981-89)
- b) *Nancy* = Reagan's wife
- c) *Hoover* = vacuum cleaner
- d) *it sucks* = Americanism, meaning something is bad
- e) *it sucks* ≡ *it inhales*

The use of the noun to verb conversion is one of the options obviating the need for a clumsy clause like *I said, in the manner of (or imitating) Reagan*, or similar, satisfying the 'economy' and 'clarity' maxims. In addition, and more importantly, the conversion allows an implied comparison between the *I* of the text and *Reagan*, as the construction takes the place of the phrase mentioned above, which suggests that the author is of the opinion that the pun is in the style of Reagan's typical humour.

6.4.1.2.3 Function 8: Conversions are used if the base noun is lengthy

As conversion is the shortest morphological method of creating a verb form from a noun (due to the lack of affix), a user may prefer to use conversion where the

base form is already long (in terms of number of letters and/or syllables) and s/he does not want to lengthen the form further. Of course, conversion is only an attractive option if the language user wishes the resulting verb to be as short as possible; it is conceivable that a user may choose to create or use a longer verb for semantic clarity or perhaps to appear more erudite.

It is noticeable that lots of morphologically complex nouns and noun phrases convert, which is perhaps an indication that conversion is preferable under normal circumstances (over derivation), where the base noun or phrase is considered to be long. To quantify this using available data, of all the new verb forms derived or converted from nouns found using the APRIL software and the Independent/Guardian corpus, there were 2 new compounds or phrases that had been derived (both using the *-ize* suffix), as opposed to over 200 that had undergone conversion.

The reason for conversion being an attractive verb formation process where the chosen base noun or phrases is long is simple: if there is a choice between a derived verb that is difficult to pronounce and/or spell (and mentally formulate by rule) and a shorter converted form, then the latter is logically more convenient and will become the likely default option.

In the following sentences, the base forms are already at least three syllables in length and would be extended by a further one or two (depending on the suffix) if they were derived:

Because I had been *understudying* Constance Donovan I was now to play Lydia, the second lead.⁸⁹

Spencer and Gillen *photographed* and detailed aborigines dressed as animals, emitting animal cries to promote fertility.⁹⁰

Confounding the ignorant, belittling the proud, *chronicling* the insignificant.⁹¹

A recent study has *documented* the many ways in which Conservative spokesmen have tried to manage the media and been conscious of the image of the government and Mrs Thatcher.⁹²

This year he's a golden boy again, packing out arenas, *jack-the-ladding* his way through some long, predictable interviews, hyping us all to nausea.
(Ind9003)

It would not be impossible for the bases to undergo derivation, the derivation *soliloquising* occurs despite the base form being long, but it is logical to suggest that, in the case of a long base noun, if there are no circumstances requiring the extra morphological or semantic information provided by a derivational suffix,

⁸⁹ From Haines, P *The Diamond Waterfall*, found in BNC.

⁹⁰ From Crawford, Robert *The Savage and the City in the work of TS Eliot*, found in BNC.

⁹¹ From 'New Musical Express', found in BNC.

⁹² From Kavanagh, Dennis *Thatcherism and British Politics*, found in BNC.

then conversion will be used in order to prevent unnecessary syllables and letters being introduced into the verb form.

6.4.1.3 Where 'extravagance' is the principal motivating maxim

6.4.1.3.1 Function 9: Conversions are used in order to facilitate or respond to a collocational change or to create a negative or positive semantic prosody

Previous studies⁹³ have shown that each word form in a language typically occurs within a relatively small set of collocational environments. In addition, word forms have the potential to become associated with a negative or positive 'semantic prosody'⁹⁴, whereby they become 'charged' with a positive or negative semantic polarity, according to the types of linguistic environments in which they are most frequently found. For example, *ordeal* is associated with a negative prosody as ordeals tend to be *harrowing*, or *traumatic*.

Sub-class 1: Conversion is used in order to increase or introduce positive semantic prosody

Example:

Swallowtails can be found *nectaring* on marsh thistle, ragged robin, marsh valerian and red campion. (Ind9209)

The noun *nectar* is typically associated with positive attributes; significant collocates of *nectar*⁹⁵ include *seductive*, *abundant*, *beauty*, all of which are

⁹³ See Firth (1957), Sinclair (1991), and many others.

⁹⁴ See Sinclair (1991) and Stubbs (1996:173).

⁹⁵ According to BNC data.

generally deemed to be positive epithets. If the verb used was *eating*, *feeding* or *devouring*, then different profiles and expectations would emerge from each.

By creating a conversion from a noun with a positive semantic prosody, some of those associations are automatically retained in the new verb. Of course, each individual word form has its own collocational patterns, and over time the new form may diverge semantically from the noun base's associations; however, the beauty of noun to verb conversion is that a reader or listener is likely to be aware of the intended semantic prosody as a result of familiarity with the noun base.

Sub-class 2: Conversion is used in order to increase or introduce negative semantic prosody

Example:

International impatience is going to grow with regard to the Serbs if they want to continue *carnaging* Bosnia when not so long ago they approached the accord as if it was a good deal. (Ind9303)

Any verb chosen to complete the clause in which the conversion is found is likely to be negatively charged due to the semantic and prosodic context, but there are degrees of severity which can be exploited here. The noun *carnage* is associated with scenes of absolute devastation and chaos, whereas perhaps a slightly more neutral choice might have been *fighting*, where there is less of an implication of one-sided violence. The author capitalises on the stronger semantic implications of the noun through the use of the converted form, thereby conveying a picture which is more vivid and more effective. The surrounding context, both textual and pragmatic, will, of course, also have a large part to play

in creating a negative atmosphere, but the conversion, with its strongly negative prosody, certainly aids this.

Sub-class 3: Conversion enriches the particular lexical field in which it occurs

Example:

The corner is pinged in and Morientes – about 10 yards out – flies high to head home. Spain nearly score. The ball *pinballs* around the box, Chilavert misses it, the ball's cleared off the line. (Ind9303)

The imagery used in this example is of a pinball game, where the ball (a football taking the place of the ball bearing) is being flipped around, ricocheting off obstacles and people in its way. *Pinged* sets off the lexical field of pinball, helped by *flies* in the following clause, and the conversion picks up on this and contributes to that field with *pinballs*. The imagery is aided by the short, clipped nature of the clauses which also give movement and excitement to the text, but it is the conversion that brings together the lexical field with its specific mention of the pinball game.

Noun to verb conversion is especially useful for a user who wishes to augment the number of words contributing to a lexical field in order to create a particular image or retain a sense of continuity. If the words that would normally be included in this field are nominal, then conversion provides a simple source of verbs within that field without the user having to compromise the 'clarity' or 'economy' maxims.

7.4.1.3.2 **Function 10: Conversions are used in order to avoid repetition of a clause or part of a clause.**

Competent language users are encouraged (by teachers and the example set by other expert users, such as journalists and textbook writers) to make the language used as interesting as possible, within the normal boundaries of factual and logical accuracy. This maxim is socially determined; it is not necessary to use varied language in order to be understood or to make grammatical sense.

For example:

Goram's first involvement was in the 15th minute when he saved well from Andreas Thom and five minutes later he *fingertipped* away a McStay shot.

(Ind9305)

The verb that would be the most obvious to fill the 'slot' where the conversion lies would be *saved*, but, as this has already been used once in that sentence a second use may make the sentence appear awkward or clumsy. The use of the conversion prevents the need for this duplication and also adds some extra dramatic information; *fingertipped away*, a hyponym of the original noun *saved*, describes much more vividly the action of a goalkeeper just managing to save a goal.

Example 2:

I tell him that I felt guilty – not because I had broken the law but because I had used a can of paint to get revenge and the boy had to live with his name *Duluxed* across the road. (Guard0307)

In this second example, a complex repetition *paint* and *painted* is avoided by the use of the conversion. The cohesive link is still maintained as the complex

repetition is simply replaced with a periphrastic relationship between the words⁹⁶, so the sentence still has cohesive ties whilst exploiting varied language.

Noun to verb conversion provides scope for alternative and innovative language use and allows a user to manipulate word forms in order to avoid repetition.

6.4.1.3.3 Function 11: Conversions may be used to facilitate syntactic flexibility

As conversion can change the grammatical structure of a clause or sentence (see also functions 1 and 5), it follows that the word forms in the vicinity of the new conversion also undergo syntactic change. This means that if a language user wishes to use an adverb to describe an entity, in place of an adjective for some reason, then that noun could be made into a verb to facilitate this.

For example:

the Americans have just accidentally *mustard-gassed* a local port.

(Ind9202)

The adverb *accidentally* is relatively common in English (531 instances in the BNC) and conveys the important message that the following action was made in error. As the error is the most important point in the above clause, it is likely that the author may have already decided on the adverb before having to supply a verb in order to fill out the rest of the sentence. In this case, conversion is a very useful resource to exploit since the user can exploit the adverbs of choice, whilst obviating the need for a less semantically dense verb like *used* or *dropped* in combination with the more semantically important noun *mustard gas*.

⁹⁶ *Dulux* is a paint brand name.

6.4.1.3.4 **Function 12: Conversions are used to create a particular literary effect**

A conversion may be chosen in order to elicit a particular response from the reader/audience or to align the text with others with similar constructions and vocabulary choices. For example, poetry exploits innovative language use, free from some of the grammatical restraints of more formal text. Shakespeare is often cited as being a prolific user of conversion⁹⁷, ignoring the boundaries of word class and convention to create new verbs in order to fit the rhythm, metre and semantic content of his verse.

Example 1:

Lord Angelo *dukes* it well in his absence (*Measure for Measure*: 3.2.91)

Other authors also capitalise on the creativity associated with conversion and licence it offers to create the necessary literary or poetical atmosphere for their work. In a review of Keats' '*Endymion: A Poetic Romance*' by John Wilson Croker, in *The Quarterly Review*, April 1818, the reviewer bemoans Keats' use of conversion and accuses Keats of merely copying another poet and making up new words rather than manipulating those already available; 'we now present them with some of the new words with which, in imitation of Mr Leigh Hunt, he adorns our language.':

"We are told that 'turtles *passion* their voices,' (p. 15); that 'an arbour was *nested*,' (p. 23); and a lady's locks '*gordian'd* up,' (p. 32); and to supply the place of the nouns thus verbalized Mr Keats, with great fecundity, spawns new ones" (emphasis my own)

⁹⁷ See, for example, Jovanović (2003:428), Biese (1941:401).

Whilst Wilson Croker may be offended by Keats' innovations, it is nonetheless true to say that conversion is an established method by which new verbs are made in order to create a stylistic effect without the necessity for a completely new and unrecognised word form.

There also non-literary examples of the use of conversions in order to create a particular literary effect:

Example 2:

By 7-3 and the final whistle, high in the Hampden press box eyrie a rookie local football reporter, Hugh McIlvanney, was *woodpeckering* at his typewriter the introductory paragraph to head his running story for the Scotsman. (Guard0205)

The conversion, *woodpeckering*,⁹⁸ conveys a vivid image of both the sight and sound of the reporter feverishly tapping away at his typewriter; the metaphor succinctly describes the scene and successfully communicates the atmosphere to the reader.

Similarly, the following example, *hopscotches*, is used cleverly in the following text, exploiting the connection between the fact that the sentence is describing a book about childhood and the name of the childhood game, *hopscotch*.

Example 3:

The book *hopscotches* from illness memoir to childhood reminiscence to short fiction and research notes. (ind9207)

⁹⁸ *Pecking* would normally be the verb associated with the noun *pecker*, but this has not been used; the author has instead opted for the non-standard conversion.

Example 4:

In the barbers, Roth notices how 'sunlight, split into golden bars by the blinds, *bullioned* its way into the room'. (Guard0108)

The author of the conversion in example four helps to create a vivid picture by using a verb that connects to the previous clause (golden bars \equiv gold bullion). It is also somewhat similar in sound to other words associated with referents which are either large or powerful, for example *million*, *billion*, *battalion*, *rebellion*. This connection conveys a very clear image of the sunlight streaming irrepressibly in through the bars and falling in a block shape onto the floor of the room. The noun to verb conversion functions as a very clever manipulation of language and helps to build the vibrant pictures that are fundamental to the descriptive prose favoured by many literary artists.

6.4.1.3.5 **Function 13: Conversions may be used in order to form a pattern of parallelism**

Parallelism occurs where a grammatical or syntactic string pattern is repeated and may be used in order to satisfy a grammatical or stylistic function.

For example:

United have been in their current pre-eminence beyond reproach in the manner in which their merchandise machine - derided, pilloried and *Hunter Daviesed* though it might be - has subsidised ticket prices at Old Trafford: a season ticket for Spurs, for instance, costs twice one to watch United. (Ind9504)

The past participle form used with the first verb form has been repeated twice, forming a pattern of three verbs sharing the same grammatical form. The noun to verb conversion allows the grammatical pattern to be continued, without the interruption of a different syntactic structure. This creates a list structure, emphasising the relentlessness of the criticism levelled at the financial dealings of Manchester United football club and gives a sense of the bombardment of criticism from all sides. The idea of using lists to give emphasis is a well-established and documented rhetorical device⁹⁹; the user builds up momentum through the clause using, in this case, grammatical repetition.

Example 2:

The New Lads to which the magazine is appealing can drool over top chefs *coquing* the vin, *oranging* the duck and *trifling* the sherry. (Ind9611)

In this example, the parallelism extends over three short clauses:

present participle	+	definite article	+	noun
<i>coquing</i>		<i>the</i>		<i>vin</i>
<i>oranging</i>		<i>the</i>		<i>duck</i>
<i>trifling</i>		<i>the</i>		<i>sherry</i>

The verb forms used are all unestablished and innovative noun to verb conversions, the combination adding wit to a piece of journalism which is intended primarily as entertainment.

Example 3:

Their feet were bare, their heads recently shaven, they smiled beatifically in that I'm-a-little-grasshopper way that makes you long to wallop them on the

⁹⁹ Theories of Rhetoric have been discussed as far back as the writings of Plato and Cicero

head with a rolled-up copy of Meditation News, they swayed and *bongoed* about demonstrating their transcendent, Nirvana-seeking apartness from their immediate environs, the most worldly street in the western hemisphere. (Ind9908)

The extract exemplifies a pattern frequently seen with noun to verb conversions, in particular with neologisms: a new or unestablished form appears in a parallelism structure with an established form. The parallelism possibly aids the comprehension and acceptance of the new form as the reader/listener is aware of the meaning and grammatical class of the established form and can therefore assimilate the neologism with the aid of this knowledge. This works in terms of the creation of a new conversion too; a user can simply use the knowledge s/he has about another verb structure to apply to the noun in order to create the conversion. Conversion is therefore a useful tool for parallelism, but the relationship does not only work one way; parallelism can also help a user in both creation and comprehension of a new form.

6.4.2 Section II: Linguistic effects associated only with new noun to verb conversions

6.4.2.1 Where 'clarity' is the principal motivating maxim

6.4.2.1.1 Function 14: Conversions are created in order to exploit a reader's existing knowledge and thus avoid the need for a paraphrase

This aspect of conversion was looked at in more detail in the section of the thesis looking at whether noun to verb conversion requires the same level of explicit contextual clues as other neologisms (see chapter 5). As conversion makes obvious and explicit use of the noun base, the reader is already aware of the

semantics and contexts associated with the base and is able, therefore, to use that information to aid interpretation of the new verb. This allows a user to create a new verb form that s/he knows will not need much (or any) accompanying explanatory material.

For example:

An Australian woman in the King's Road once *hypnotherapied* me for an hour. (Ind9108)

Although the reader is unlikely to be familiar with the unestablished verb form, a competent language user should have few problems with its meaning. The conversion exploits the most obvious action likely to be associated with *hypnotherapy*, i.e. 'practise hypnotherapy', rendering an explanation unnecessary.

Example 2:

Barnett Newman, which seemed to downgrade his stripes just by *production-lining* them in such quantity. (Guard0212)

Here, the conversion exploits the metaphorical associations connected with the noun base, rather than the literal meaning; the verb could be paraphrased 'churning them out like a production line'. A competent language user will be aware of the function of a production line and will transfer the necessary associations in order to make sense of the new verb presented to them. As the new form retains a strong similarity with the original noun base, there is little to add extra confusion, other than the necessary syntactic and grammatical change brought about by the use of the form as a verb.

6.4.2.1.2 Function 15: Conversions are created where a technical term is needed

This function follows directly on from function 14 above; conversion is an option for creating new verbs from existing technical terms without the need for excessive explanation or paraphrase. If a verb with similar semantics to those already associated with the noun base is needed, then it makes sense to exploit those associations further in the converted verb form, rather than generating a completely new technical term that will need to be assimilated into a user's vocabulary. A conversion has advantages on two fronts: the new form will be easily recognised as a result of a reader's/listener's knowledge of the existing term, and the new verb will share the technical associations with the noun base, obviating the need for an additional term with a similar semantic profile. So, conversion is convenient from both the user's and the interpreter's points of view; it provides an easily recognised, technically accurate new verb to fill a language gap.

For example:

If it *epicentred* below Shinjuku, a ward containing many skyscrapers in the western part of the city, and at 6am, the quake would cause 1,000 fires to break out destroying more than 16 million square feet of the capital within one hour and 67,700 people would be killed or injured. (Ind9501)

Epicentre is a technical term, used to describe the starting position of an earthquake. The term describes a precise phenomenon, and the corresponding conversion simply uses the associations of the noun to create a verb, without compromising the precise nature of the base or confusing the interpreter.

Example 2:

There will be a requirement for the default fund to be '*lifestyled*', whereby assets in the fund are gradually moved from equities towards fixed income as the policyholder nears retirement. (Guard0307)

Lifestyle is a noun that is used in a number of different contexts and is usually associated with the idea that each individual has his/her own way of leading their life, and refers to the choices that people make in order to live that way. The conversion uses the noun in order to create new business jargon, exploiting the semantic associations of the noun, but transferring them into a financial context. The new verb retains its semantic and formal links with the base noun, whilst gaining a new grammatical and collocational profile which is suitable for the technical usage of the conversion.

Noun to verb conversion can either be used to create a verb from a technical term (as in the *epicentred* case), in order to broaden the use of an existing term, or it can create a technical verb from an existing noun which is in general use (as in *lifestyled*), where the verb develops the semantic profile of the noun in conjunction with the additional technical connotations. The advantage of conversion is that the form of the noun base is maintained, and with it the semantic associations, removing the necessity for a completely new verb with similar characteristics to an existing term.

6.4.2.1.3 Function 16: Conversions are created so that their meaning is free of the semantics associated with derivational morphology

Plag (2003) states that conversion does not have the same restraints as derivation: 'verbs derived by conversion exhibit the widest range of meanings of all verb-

deriving processes' (2000:8) and 'Conversion is semantically indeterminate, converted verbs can express all those meanings that overtly affixed verbs can and many more.' (2000:12)

Derivational affixes have various different meanings¹⁰⁰, and have been characterised as follows:

X-en No longer productive according to Plag, and therefore unlikely to be regarded by users as a viable alternative, but is associated with semantics of 'make X', for example, *lengthen*

X-ize/ise and X-ify Both the *-ify* and *-ise/ize* suffixes are listed as 'change-of-state' verbs (Plag 2000:5) and have the following meanings:

put in(to) X (e.g. *hospitalise*)

provide with X (e.g. *electrify*)

make more X (e.g. *randomize*)

make into X (e.g. *liquidify*)

become X (e.g. *museumise*)

perform X (e.g. *anthropologize*)

act like X (e.g. *cannibalize*)

¹⁰⁰ As shown by Jespersen (1942:319), Marchand (1969:320) and Plag (2000)

X-ate The suffix *-ate* is strongly restricted; it is only used on nouns associated with chemistry and its meaning is confined to a subset of the meanings associated with *-ify* and *-ize/ise*:
provide with X (e.g. *fluorinate*)
make into x (e.g. *methanate*)

If a user is unsure of the exact implications that a derivational affix might add to the verb they are creating or if the user does not think that the exact semantic associations can be created using the derivation process, then they might choose conversion. It is difficult to find verbs to exemplify this function as we cannot be sure where it might have been a consideration, but it is logical that, if conversion allows a greater semantic diversity than derivation, then the conversion process will be useful where that variety is necessary or desirable. For example:

I have been *bean curding* like mad the last few weeks. (Guard0106)

Here the conversion has the meaning 'eating bean curd'. This meaning would not be easily conveyed by any of the derivational alternatives available, therefore making conversion a convenient word-formation process for the user to exploit in order to allow maximum clarity.

Similarly, the conversion in the following text is not easily characterised by any of the meanings associated with the derivational suffixes:

Not a male model type, like the one who, on my first visit to New York's Royalton hotel, grabbed my bags, *catwalked* me to my room, swung open the door, caught sight of himself in the mirror, gave a small scream and dashing my bags to the ground - ran to the mirror. (Ind9506)

6.4.2.2 Where 'economy' is the principal motivating maxim

6.4.2.2.1 Function 17: Conversions are created where users resort to grammatical rule rather than the mental lexicon

This function is likely to be used more in speech or informal written contexts, where swift communication of ideas is more of a driving force than the maxim of 'conformity', indicating that noun to verb conversion is an important operation that is so ingrained that it can be used immediately in the event of a user failing to find the established form for any reason. The function manifests itself in provisional speech and writing when a user finds him/herself grasping for a verb and cannot recall (or cannot be bothered to think of) the established form. As noun to verb conversion is so prolific, and is the easiest method of creating a verb from a noun, it is an obvious option for a user to resort to as a provisional measure.

Example 1:

Well since this is skateboarding thread tho i dont do it but would like to, anyways my question is how many times have you gotten urself hurt badly, cuz i remember like in 2002 40,000 or 400,000(not sure) skateboarders were *hospitaled* cuz of skateboarding¹⁰¹

The text in this example appears as if it has been written quickly and without regard for conventional forms or 'rules'; the author resorts to the conversion in order to convey his/her meaning quickly without stopping to recall the more conventional verb form *hospitalised*.

¹⁰¹ From a skateboarding chatroom (found 03/09/04)

http://forums.gameinformer.com/gi/board/message?board.id=off_topic&message.id=223312&page=3

In both the following cases (examples 2 and 3), the user has used an existing noun base that has been derived from the particular verb form, and therefore has made the resulting verb more morphologically complex than necessary. It is possible that the user brought the derived noun to mind instead of the more basic verb, and once this had occurred, the easiest and most economical method of making a provisional verb with the desired semantic associations is to add the verbal inflection to the noun.

Example 2:

Tropical Journeys 020-7849 4113 Sri Lanka Seven nights at the three-star
Tropical Villas in Beruwela is 349pp *departuring* May 14 and 22 from
Heathrow. (Guard0005) (cf. *departing*)

Example 3:

A key element is that more expensive petrol will be offset by other savings
to be decided by national governments, such as *adjustmenting* income tax
or social security payment levels. (Ind9205) (cf. *adjusting*)

6.4.2.3 Where 'extravagance' is the principal motivating maxim

6.4.2.3.1 Function 18: Conversions are created in order to generate puns

The function that is immediately obvious from looking at a list of new conversions in context is word play; conversions are readily available for the popular process of word play and linguistic gymnastics. Noun to verb conversion will be the word formation process of choice if the resulting verb forms will sound or look like another form, and can then be used to play on the

similarity between the two word forms. It occurs primarily where a converted form takes the place of a verb form in a well-known phrase in order to play on the words involved. As conversions do not have distinctively verbalised suffixes, they are more likely than derivations to have homophonic or homonymic relationships with other established word forms in English.

For example:

In a move to counter supermarket chains selling CDs and videos, Tower Records this week begins selling cut-price fruit and veg at its main London store. [...] They published and were *damsoned*. (Ind9611) (cf. *damned*)

The converted form looks sufficiently like *damned*, the conventional verb form in the phrase 'publish and be damned'¹⁰², for the reader to make the connection between the clause and the previous statement about the fruit and vegetables, completing the pun.

Example 2:

Consider the Sun's splash headline, "Brits *Cained* 'Em" (Guard0004) (cf. *caned*)

This conversion draws a comparison between 'cane' in the phrase 'to cane someone', meaning to beat someone resoundingly, and the homophonic surname of the actor, Michael *Caine*, suggesting that the quintessential British actor beat the foreign opposition hands down (at an award ceremony).

¹⁰² Attributed to Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington as a retort to a discarded mistress who threatened to publish her letters.

Example 3:

Would weathermen be *isobarred* and vicars taken out of service? (Ind9903)

The pun here exploits the homonymic relationship between *bar*_(v) (to stop someone) and *isobar*, the measure of pressure used by weather forecasters. The conversion has obviously been coined in order to play on this relationship and to show a display of linguistic virtuosity and presumably the author does not mean the verb to be used again in any other context.

Example 4:

He could beet Hitler over the head with a vegetable crop until he *artichoked* and his pulses ceased. (Ind9808)

The final example is the most densely packed with puns. The author exploits:

- b. the homophonic relationship between *beat* and *beet* (abbreviation of *beetroot*)
- c. the polysemy of *crop*, with its two meanings: *vegetable crop* and *riding crop*
- d. the homonymic relationship between *choked* and *artichoked*
- e. the polysemy of *pulse*, meaning 'legumes' and 'pressure in blood caused by the heart beating'
- f. the fact that Hitler was a vegetarian
- g. all the unpleasant associations that the general public have with the proper noun *Hitler*.

The conversion is just one method of creating the wordplay in this example; the author demonstrates the various ways of punning in English and the role that noun to verb conversion can play in this.

This function, along with function 17, serves a slightly different purpose in language: they create forms for the sole purpose of fulfilling a temporary language need. They are deliberately ephemeral and specific to the context for which they are created, rather than more widely applicable and usable. Whilst any of the forms created by conversion may only be used once, the pun is designed to do exactly that and is a prime example of a function fulfilling the 'extravagance' maxim.

6.4.2.3.2 **Function 19: Conversions are created to make a clause more dramatic or memorable**

As the conversion process necessarily packs a lot of semantic information into one syntactic unit, it is easily exploited by a user who wants to make their text punchy and dramatic-sounding. As the conversion is new, the reader will be unprepared for the change of grammatical word-class and corresponding collocational changes, making the phrase remarkable and stylistically effective without being too semantically opaque.

Example:

On Wednesday the book was *fast-laned* back to London to be launched in a cork-popping atmosphere reminiscent of the annual wine races from France. (Ind9403)

The conversion could be replaced with a number of simplex verbs which would convey the meaning of speed, for example, *zoomed*, *whizzed*, *sped*, etc, but these would not have the same impact that the neologism (or at least an unestablished verb) has. The neologistic conversion is vivid, creating a good picture of a book being whisked in a fast car straight to London, whilst also giving the impression

that the book must be important for it to be necessary to receive such special treatment.

To sum up, noun to verb conversion works well in this function, as the meaning of the verb is not obscured by any extra morphological affixal information and the base will be instantly recognised. The conversion combines and exploits all the potential drama associated with the noun with the novelty of the neologism in order to generate a distinctive verb, which adds interest value to a clause.

6.4.2.3.3 Function 20: Conversions are created to make contemporary allusions

Conversions are a simple way for a user to show that they are aware of current trends and to create language that will be considered to reflect that fashion-consciousness: trends in fashion and taste can be traced by looking at the nouns being converted at any point in time. Nouns will only be eligible for conversion if there is a need for a verb with the semantics associated with the noun, and if the creator can be sure that the interpreter will be aware of those associations, which means that a product or a person has to be sufficiently famous for the noun to undergo conversion successfully. In addition to this, a conversion uses the pertinent associations that a noun has in order to make the verb, and therefore it is possible to see what attitude the creator has towards the noun base.

Example 1:

Pringle is undergoing a major revamp right now and is doing everything it can to get the 'right' people to wear their logo: David wore it to his book

signing last year and Victoria has just worn her Pringle biker jacket (with her Louis Vuitton bag - double whammy) others who have been *Pringled* include Robbie Williams and Cat Deeley. (Guard0110)

The clothing company *Pringle* had, at the time of the creation of the conversion, been enjoying a resurgence in profits due to its adoption by fashionable British icons, such as the glamorous footballing/singing couple the Beckhams, the singer Robbie Williams and the presenter Cat Deeley. The conversion indicates that this resurgence is sufficiently newsworthy to warrant a verb to describe 'being clothed in garments made by *Pringle*'.

Example 2:

Before he was '*Folletted*' his favourite colour was brown. He says: 'I've never been very clothes-conscious. (Ind9105)

This example relates to the series of news articles dedicated to the image restyling of some of the Labour Party ministers by Barbara Follett. This caused a big enough stir for the journalist to feel that readers would comprehend the semantic associations necessary for the creation of the new form. The conversion only lasted as long as the language community had a need for it and therefore did not become an established verb with more widespread semantic associations.

By tracing the rise and fall of the new conversions in English, a picture can be built up of the nouns and their referents considered to be important (however momentarily) in a society. This could be viewed on both the large and small scale; for instance, a newspaper reflects what its journalists imagine are the preoccupations of a large community of language users, whereas the analysis of

one person's linguistic output would show the fashions affecting that individual. The output of the process of conversion reflects the society producing the forms; as nouns become prominent, so the need or desire for an allied verb is heightened and noun to verb conversion is one of the processes that can be chosen to facilitate the creation of a new verb form from the noun whose referent happens to be in the spotlight.

6.4.2.3.4 Function 21: Conversions are created to make prose more informal in style

If a language user coins a new conversion, s/he has often made a decision to choose the new form over any other existing alternative. The creation of new forms where an existing verb would have sufficed is usually met with mixed reactions: some language users seem to resist language change strongly, whilst others embrace the new form more readily and actively assimilate it into their vocabulary. Of course, this reaction is complex and depends on a number of interacting factors, including the context and medium in which the new form is found, and the level of formality of the language surrounding the new form, amongst others.

It would be quite unusual to find a new conversion in a very formal text or speech act, unless it was strictly necessary; new coinages tend to appear in more informal texts. Once the conversion has become more firmly established in the language, it appears that the limits are lifted and the conversion is treated as any other verb would be. New noun to verb conversions are frequently associated with word play or with terms reflecting vogue fashions, and therefore tend to be

more relevant in texts or speech where these functions are acceptable. As a by-product of this, new conversions could be used to make prose or speech sound more informal; if a language user wished to make his/her language sound similar to other informal texts, then the introduction of a new conversion will help to establish the level of formality required.

For example:

Having *dirt-tracked* his way round New Zealand with the Lions in the summer of '93 - the Test places occupied by his fellow Scot, Andy Reed, and England's Martin Bayfield and Martin Johnson - Cronin returned to face the music with Scotland when the All Blacks came calling in November. (Ind9502)

The conversion is one of a number of linguistic devices that indicate that the text is informal: the phrases 'returned to face the music', and 'came calling' are colloquial expressions, found normally only in informal contexts. Also, the use of hyphens, in place of the more formal phrase dividers, is an indication of informality (see also Davy and Crystal (1969)).

Formality is decided by a number of factors, and the use of a 'frivolous'¹⁰³, unestablished noun to verb conversion in the main body of a text indicates an informality. Competent language users are aware of the subtleties of the different levels of formality and can use noun to verb conversion as one of many tools exploited by journalists and other writers to establish the required level of formality.

¹⁰³ This does not apply to the use of conversion to create a technical term

Example 2:

Where was it then? Whack. The ice-cold contents of a can of Coke caught me full in the face. I'd been *yobbed*. (Guard01050)

This text has been printed in a broadsheet newspaper (The Guardian), which would lead a reader to expect a certain level of formality. However, by using a combination of tactics; short sentences, the onomatopoeic *whack* and the innovative noun to verb conversion *yobbed*, the journalist exploits a more colloquial approach in order to convey an image of the situation and perhaps to imitate conversational language. These tactics mean that the text is obviously less formal than a news report and reduces the incident to a personal account rather than the impersonal description of events we might expect in certain sections of the paper.

6.4.2.3.5 Function 22: Conversions are created as part of an exclusive language, transparent only to members of a select group

Conversion is a very popular method of creating verbs from proper noun bases (see also Proper Nouns, (Chapter 3), possibly as the proper noun base remains recognisable and relatively unadulterated by the process. If proper nouns with associated characteristics that are only recognised and available to a certain subset of people undergo the process of conversion, then the resulting verb is semantically opaque to all but that particular set of people.

Take the following extracts for example:

As Celtic are also reportedly interested in *Agathe-ing* another decent player away from one of these tiny no-mark clubs, it wasn't long before Dundee circled their wagons.¹⁰⁴

In the space of 2m 39.45 seconds, every last one of them was thoroughly *Aidanned*.¹⁰⁵ (Guard0206)

These conversions would only be fully understood by people who knew the characteristics likely to be exploited in a related verb; the set of people who can use and understand the conversion are part of a community with a shared language.

Example 2:

On arrival we were instantly *Guntered*: charmed by the hotel manager and made to feel that our accommodation was substantially more than a bed for the night. (Guard0303)

In this extract, the conversion is explained and therefore anyone who has read the article in which this conversion is introduced will be able to comprehend the conversion. This means that there is the potential for the people who recognise the characteristics associated with *Gunter* to use the conversion to refer to similar situations in the future. However, only those people who are party to the explanation behind the first use of the conversion will be able to use it, as other language users will not understand its significance.

¹⁰⁴ Agathe is a football player.

¹⁰⁵ Aidan O'Brien is a horse racing trainer

This function is probably more relevant in a situation where the reference point is clearer, for example, different generations usually have different tastes in music and will have different ideas of what constitutes a musical icon. If a person from a younger generation uses a conversion making reference to current figure from the world of music, then it is unlikely that their grandparents will understand the verb (and vice versa). Noun to verb conversion can show up language differences over different sets of language users and this can be exploited in order to create or maintain a form of language that is exclusive to a particular group.

6.5 Conclusions

The study on which this chapter is based has identified a large number of different functions that are associated with noun to verb conversion and has shown why the process could be chosen by a user in many linguistic contexts. Noun to verb conversion is an extremely adaptable and versatile word formation process and the huge numbers of new noun to verb conversions entering the language daily reflects this fact¹⁰⁶.

¹⁰⁶ Plag (1999:104) shows that in the OED, conversion is more popular than derivation in the creation of new verbs from nominal bases (488 conversions, 346 -ize, 87 -ate, 30 -ify and 2 -en derivations). This is also backed up with the findings of this thesis where there were 797 new conversions and 109 new derivations in the Independent and Guardian newspaper data spanning the 15 years 1989-2003.

Conversions are used to:

1. Change emphasis
2. Create cohesive links
3. Make particle and phrasal verbs
4. Create forms with semantics distinct from existing derivations
5. Avoid alternative forms for aesthetic reasons
6. Shorten clauses
7. Highlight parallels between two nouns
8. Shorten word forms
9. Respond to/create semantic prosody
10. Avoid repetition
11. Allow syntactic variation
12. Achieve a literary effect
13. Achieve parallelism
14. Avoid paraphrase
15. Create technical terms
16. Create verbs free from the semantics of derivational affixes
17. Generate verbs by grammatical rule
18. Create puns
19. Create drama
20. Make contemporary allusions
21. Achieve informality
22. Add to a language available to an exclusive group

The primary analytical framework, which I have imposed on the categories of functions, shows that there are slightly different uses associated with new and established conversions, indicating that as the form becomes more established in the language, so its profile of use changes slightly. An established form cannot retain the element of surprise and novelty, but it has the advantage of being able to move into the position of being the default option over the other alternative verbs if it is more convenient for the user.

The functions associated with conversion are not necessarily simple and do not fit neatly into any one categories in my framework. A function which seems to the linguist to be an example of a user exploiting any one particular maxim might be influenced by other maxims and additional factors which are not reflected here. The classification system has been simplified in order to provide a clear framework, but in reality, each of the maxims used to define the categories interacts with the others, and functions belong somewhere on a cline between any of the three maxims. It would be possible to propose a far more complicated framework which would reflect the functions more realistically, but as the purpose of the study was to look at the range and versatility of noun to verb conversion, the model proposed is sufficient.

The framework shows that noun to verb conversion provides a very effective method of exploiting the principles which are a factor in the choices that users make; the framework highlights why the process is so useful in language, both in the creation of neologisms and with more conventional verb choices, as it can produce forms that adhere closely to those principles.

The model also shows that language use is not just motivated by the system of maxims we have derived from Haspelmath, Grice and others, but that each word form will be motivated by the interaction of a number of desirable functions available to the user. A good language user will instinctively choose a word (in this case a verb) in order to make certain that their message will be comprehended and received in a particular way, and if those chosen functions

can be fulfilled effectively with a noun to verb conversion, that verb form will be chosen.

The study has shown that noun to verb conversion is a versatile process, but more importantly, it has shown that it is valuable for the fulfilment of some specific functions. In particular, conversion is vital for the production of puns and for the creation of particle and phrasal verbs. Both of these areas are important in English use and need further investigation in order to find out more about the implications that might be associated with the use of conversion to fulfil these linguistic functions.

6.6 Advances made in the field

- A functional investigation has been undertaken, which complements all the formal research previously documented in the literature; I have investigated and listed the different functions associated with conversions and exploited by language users.
- A model of language has been applied to noun to verb conversion and the model used to impose a framework on the functions.
- The framework shows that the principle of 'extravagance' plays an important role, particularly in the creation of new noun to verb conversions, and deserves to play a bigger part in theories of language use.
- The wide range of roles that conversion plays in English is demonstrated; noun to verb conversion is shown to be important in functions as diverse as the purely 'frivolous' word play and the more practical use of a conversion to introduce a new verb with a slightly different meaning from the existing corresponding derivation with the same noun base.
- An important, neglected, area has been identified; the use of conversion in the creation of phrasal and particle verbs is one which seems to be important and yet one that has been overlooked in the literature. There is still a great deal of work left to be undertaken in the areas covered by this chapter, but this study flags up those important areas and shows where the field could be further enhanced.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSIONS

7.1 Outline

The aim of this thesis was to find out more about the nature of noun to verb conversion and its role in English through the analysis of real corpus data. This was approached by investigating five aspects of the word formation process, in order to discover whether there are any patterns associated with the likelihood of some noun bases being used to coin conversions rather than others, and why and how conversions are (and are not) used in the language.

In this final chapter of the thesis, the research questions posed in the Introductory chapter are revisited (section 7.2) and the findings of the thesis are drawn together in the light of those questions. In addition, the advances that have been made in the field by this thesis are summarised (section 7.3) and some areas which would benefit from further research are highlighted (section 7.4).

7.2 Research Questions revisited (and answered)

At the outset of the investigation, I established a list of five research questions, which were subdivided into twenty specific areas of enquiry. These questions will form the structural basis of section 7.2; answering the main research questions gives an overview of each section of the thesis, and the narrower research questions allow for a brief recapitulation of the main findings:

7.2.1 Research Questions:

1. Can all conversions be said to be fully integrated into the verb class?
2. What kinds of proper nouns are used as bases for conversion?

3. Are there any restrictions on the process of noun to verb conversion?
4. How do language users comprehend new conversions?
5. How and why are conversions used?

7.2.1.1 Can all conversions be said to be fully integrated into the verb class?

The investigation carried out in the 'Partial and full conversions' chapter aimed to discover more about the formal process of noun to verb conversion in terms of how prototypically 'verbal' the result could be. The study first established the criteria by which a conversion could be categorised, as either being a 'full' conversion or at one of three stages of 'partial conversion'. The conversions were categorised using corpus evidence to show that some of the conversions are not used with the full range of possible inflections, meaning that they could not be said to have reached full prototypical verb status. Despite the fact that the study showed that most conversions do attain 'full' conversion status, those falling into the 'partial conversion' categories still need to be acknowledged and accounted for; the study showed that noun to verb conversions can exist at different states of assimilation within the verbal category. Noun to verb conversions have the potential to participate fully as verbs in the language, and most do, but many are not used in the full range of tenses, aspects, moods or voices that are available to the verb form in English. The study used data from the BNC, which is designed to be a synchronic corpus, containing texts from 1975 to 1991, so although the study cannot chart any specific changes in a

conversion's status diachronically, the findings should reflect the use of those forms in the written and spoken English of the late twentieth century

7.2.1.1.1 What is the proportion of conversions that remain 'in limbo' as partial conversions?

The results of the categorisation showed that there was a continuum between 'full' conversion status and those 'partial' conversions that are restricted in their use: approximately 60% of the conversions tested complied with 'full' conversion status, and 27% fell into the 'partial conversion' categories. Of those in the 'partial' conversion categories, over half were categorised as being 'type I' conversions, the closest partial conversion category to 'full conversion' status. The proportion of conversions classified as 'partial conversions' was reasonably high (27%), especially as the conversions examined had all been in the language long enough to be in general currency.

7.2.1.1.2 Is noun to verb conversion an irreversible process?

The study found that some of the conversions that had been cited by Marchand and Adams (1969 and 1973 respectively) no longer had either the noun base or the verb form attested in the current corpus data: 2% of the conversions no longer had the base form in existence. For example, *boycott*_(v) is a conversion based on the proper noun *Charles C. Boycott*, who was an English land agent in Ireland. However, the history of the verb form is not known by most language users, leaving the conversion isolated as a verb form only. Conversely, 13% of the conversions listed by Marchand and/or Adams thirty years ago were no longer

attested as verb forms at all, suggesting that the process of noun to verb conversion is not a permanent one and the verb form can fall out of use.

7.2.1.1.3 Are some inflections likely to be more fundamental with noun to verb conversions than others in the language?

In categorising the conversions in terms of the number of inflections that are attested with the stem, I found that there were patterns indicating that if the conversions were restricted in use (partial conversions), then they were more likely to be found with certain verbal inflections: the *-ing* inflection (present participle) occurred most frequently, followed by the *-ed* inflection and the base form, with the *-s* inflection occurring far less frequently. The control test established that the *-s* inflection is the least likely to occur generally (not just with conversions), so this final observation needs to be considered with the results of this control test in mind.

7.2.1.2 What kind of proper nouns are used as bases for conversion?

The 'proper nouns' chapter aimed to fill the literature gap concerning proper nouns and conversion: proper nouns made up nearly a quarter of the new conversions appearing in the newspaper data used to analyse new noun to verb conversions, and yet they are largely disregarded in the literature. The investigation discovered that there were trends governing the numbers of proper nouns being used as bases for conversion across the different categories of proper nouns, both on the level of the referential type (place, person, etc) and on the smaller scale within those referential types; for example, some professions provided more candidates for conversion than others.

7.2.1.2.1 What types of proper noun are used most frequently for conversion?

The largest number of conversions (61%) was based on the names of people, with trade names providing the second largest source (25%) of proper noun bases. Within these larger categories, it was found that people who participated in sport, entertainment and politics (in that order) were the most likely to have their names used as the base for a new conversion. It seems that conversion takes place most frequently where the referent is well-known to the public and promoted by the media for a particular characteristic; the proper nouns used as conversion bases are those associated with one of two prototypical characteristics that are easily recognised as being features of that referent and therefore easily exploited in a new conversion.

7.2.1.2.2 Are there any proper noun categories that do not get converted?

There were found to be some restrictions on the conversion of proper nouns: there were surprisingly few place names used as bases for conversion; only 4% of the proper noun conversions investigated were based on place names. This was probably the result of a 'blocking' procedure; if a verb is required denoting the characteristics of place names, users tend to use the derivational process of adding an *-ize* suffix to the adjectival base; for example, *Africanize*, perhaps by analogy with other known verbs or in order to give the new verb the semantics associated with the suffix.

The second notional category that provided very few new conversions was 'time', where only 1% of the new conversions created from proper nouns had a time proper noun as its base. This was likely to be the result of two factors: the limited number of bases available for conversion may restrict the creation of new forms, and there may also be a practical restriction relating to the fact that language users may not need a verb with the semantic associations of the time proper noun. As temporal proper nouns tend to be members of small closed sets of nouns, it is likely that any necessary verbs with the semantics of the time nouns have already been created via conversion or other word formation processes.

7.2.1.2.3 What is the relationship between the proper nouns and their conversion counterparts? Is there a correlation between the referential type of proper noun and the relationship?

The study looked at the argument structure generated between the base proper noun and the resulting conversion and found that conversions based on proper noun bases could be used in a number of different argument relationships: 'agentive', 'ablative', 'act for', 'instrumental', 'ornative', 'performative', 'locative', 'resultative' and 'pun'. The relationships employed most frequently are those which allow a direct comparison between the proper noun used as the base for the conversion and the subject of the sentence; for example, the 'performative' argument, 'be what the base denotes', requires a comparison between the subject (*he* in the following example) and the characteristics being exploited in the conversion (*captain* = in charge of vessel): 'he *captains* a ship'. The relationships concerning the movement of the referent ('locative') and the

removal of something from the referent ('ablative') were less frequent amongst the new proper noun conversions; perhaps these relationships are not obvious actions associated with the proper nouns commonly used as bases for conversion.

With respect to the correlations between the referential type of proper noun and the argument relationship, trade names were most frequently converted into verbs with an instrumental argument, and people's names were more likely to be used to form verbs with performative and resultative arguments. Presumably, this is because the proper nouns are associated with attributes which are more easily exploited using certain arguments; products are normally used ('instrumental') and people's actions are compared with other related performances ('performative' and 'resultative').

7.2.1.2.4 Are proper nouns that are established in the language more likely to be converted than proper nouns that are considered to be new?

The investigations uncovered two results with relation to this question: the more general result, which looked at all the referential types together, revealed that source nouns are more likely to undergo conversion once they have been in the public eye for a time and that ephemeral proper nouns were less likely to be converted, perhaps as they have not generated a distinctive enough semantic profile to allow exploitation as a verb. The second result, which was generated by taking each referential category separately, revealed that a higher proportion of people's names than any of the other referential types were converted after only short-time exposure, showing that people are very quickly associated with

strong characteristics in newspaper text, allowing the conversion of ephemeral proper nouns from this referential type.

Proper nouns that had been established in the language for a long time were the least likely to undergo conversion in my sample; this might be explained by the fact that journalists are more likely to use the proper nouns that have a novelty value in order to create innovative new conversions, rather than using those proper nouns that are more established in the language.

7.2.1.2.5 How common is the use of metaphor in the creation of a conversion from a proper noun?

Metaphor is a feature that has been not been investigated in the literature concerning conversion, but this study shows that, in the case of proper nouns, metaphor is created by the conversion in 35% of the cases, and is something that requires attention. In addition to the level of metaphor used to convert proper nouns to verbs, a further 8% of the conversions were based on word play, showing the importance that non-literal interpretations of the characteristics associated with the proper noun plays in the conversion process.

7.2.1.3 Are there any restrictions on the process of noun to verb conversion?

The fourth chapter of the thesis looked at the cases where conversion had not taken place in order to see if there were any factors inhibiting the process. The study examined top frequency word lists in order to see if there were any perceivable differences between those nouns that had undergone conversion and

those that had not. Previous literature had suggested some theoretical inhibiting factors which were said to 'block' conversion, but there had not been a systematic survey of real data in order to check these theories. This chapter aimed to look at each of the non-converted forms in order to see if there might be any inhibiting factors preventing conversion and from that information, ascertain whether the factors did affect the production of noun to verb conversions.

7.2.1.3.1 What are the restrictions inhibiting the production of a noun to verb conversion?

Ten potentially inhibiting factors were identified and investigated in the chapter. Those were: a morphologically simpler form within the base noun, an alternative affixed form, synonymy, homophony and homonymy, an abstract base, semantic domain restrictions, the length of the base noun, lack of a need for a new verb ('failure of hypostatisation'), the presence of a nominal suffix on the base noun; and adverse public reactions to the potential conversion. Of these inhibiting factors, two were found to be unmeasurable: 'failure of hypostatisation' and the adverse public reaction, as these were sociolinguistic inhibitions and therefore could not be 'seen' or counted.

7.2.1.3.2 Do some restrictions inhibit conversion more than others?

The factors were categorised according to the level of inhibition that they had on the process of conversion. There were four bands set up: band one included the strongly inhibiting factors, band two were the slightly inhibitive factors, band three contained factors that had little inhibiting effect according to the data and band four contained the factors that could not be measured (see 7.2.3.2).

Band	Inhibiting factor
1	The presence of a morphologically simpler form within the noun base The length of the base noun (base noun \geq 3 syllables)
2	The presence of a nominal suffix on the base noun An abstract base A rival derivation with the same base form
3	The presence of a homonym or homophone The presence of a synonym Semantic domain
4	'Failure of hypostatisation' Adverse public reaction to potential form

7.2.1.3.3 Are there any combinations that are particularly restrictive?

The inhibition of a potential conversion does not usually have a simple explanation, and although none of the inhibiting factors singly prevented the creation of at least some conversions, there were no examples of conversions occurring with all the inhibiting factors in place.

The combinations of inhibiting factors containing at least one factor from band one were found to be the most restrictive. In addition, if the base noun was long and there was an alternative form available, then the potential form was strongly inhibited. At the other end of the spectrum, combinations containing a nominal suffix were found to have the least effect on the production of noun to verb conversions.

7.2.1.4 How do language users comprehend new conversions?

Although conversion is known to be a highly productive method of creating verbs from existing nouns, the literature has neglected to look at neologistic

conversions and how they are introduced into texts. Conversion is unique as a word formation process; it involves the production of a form that looks identical to the original noun, which means that the new verb should, in theory, be easily comprehended by users, and yet, as with the derivational processes, the form created is used in a different syntactic position from the base and can be created from any of a number of literal or metaphorical associations that the noun has. This means that although the likely semantic associations exploited by the conversion can be estimated, a user still depends on the context for the exact interpretation of the new form. The chapter 'New conversions and contextual clues' examines whether neologistic conversions are treated as more or less transparent by their creators, by investigating whether they are embedded in as many contextual clues as other neologisms.

7.2.1.4.1 Do new conversions require more contextual clues than other neologisms?

There is a difference between the kinds of clues that are knowingly supplied by the writer because s/he knows that the reader will need those clues to understand the conversion ('overt' clues) and the kinds of clues that accompany any word in the interests of textual coherence. This second type of clue ('covert' clue) helps the reader to comprehend the exact meaning of a new conversion, but it is not necessarily intentionally put there to do so.

According to the literature, approximately 2.5% of neologisms (i.e. all neologisms, not just conversions) were found to occur with overt contextual clues, whereas 15% of the neologistic conversions investigated appeared with

overt clues, which suggests that new conversions are thought by the writer to require more help within the text than other neologisms. The implications of this finding are interesting; conversions are obviously not always felt to be any more semantically transparent than other neologisms (which include derivations, compounds and new simple forms). If the covert clues are also taken into account, then the level of contextual help given to conversion is even higher than the literature suggests for neologisms: two thirds of conversions had at least one contextual clue, overt or covert.

7.2.1.4.2 Where do the contextual clues occur?

The contextual clues were found to appear both preceding and following the new conversion; interestingly, in the cases where the clues occurred exclusively to one side of the conversion, there were slightly more instances of clues occurring **after** rather than before the conversion. The proportion of clues appearing either side of the conversions varied according to the different types of contextual clue; root repetitions and parallelisms were found more frequently after the conversion, whereas semantically similar words and phrases were slightly more likely to occur before the conversion in the text. The reason for some of the clues being more likely to occur before the conversion and some afterwards may be due to the fact that conversions only require a 'fine tuning' for a reader to be able to comprehend the exact intended meaning, and therefore this can be obtained either by the setting up of the semantic environment before the occurrence of the conversion or a reinforcement of the meaning through analogy (via parallelism or repetition) afterwards.

7.2.1.4.3 Do contextual clues combine in order to give further clarity?

The data analysed in the chapter show that only one third of the conversions had two or three contextual clues occurring with the new forms; these examples were usually where one of the clues overtly signalled to the reader that the form was new, or that s/he is expressing uncertainty over the validity of the word; for example, the use of inverted commas, indicating that the writer recognises the potential need for contextual aid. However, there were more conversions found with only one contextual clue amongst my data, which may suggest that conversions are generally felt to only need a minimal amount of contextual aid in order to clarify their meanings, and users rely on the reader to bring their knowledge of the base noun in order to comprehend the likely meaning(s) of the new form.

7.2.1.5 How and why are conversions used?

The 'Functions' chapter addresses an aspect of noun to verb conversion that other linguists have overlooked in favour of formal issues. The study of corpus data allows the linguist to observe large amounts of relevant text and to discern patterns of use that will not be identified by examining isolated conversions. Although the formal issues relating to conversion are vital for establishing its place in the grammar of the language, it is also interesting and important to investigate its use in the language in order to have a fuller understanding of why the process is so productive.

The study investigated why conversion is a necessary process in English in terms of its general uses, by imposing a framework developed with reference to Gricean maxims and to Haspelmath (using Keller's 'Invisible Hand Theory') and also identified twenty-two specific roles that noun to verb conversions play in the language, roles that reveal the process to be a useful method of creating lively and colourful language in an economical manner.

7.2.1.5.1 Which functions do noun to verb conversions fulfil in English?

Conversion is shown to have a wide range of functions, and the process conforms to all the behaviour characterised in the maxims set out by Grice and Haspelmath as being important for effective communication: conversions condense semantic information in order to convey meaning in an economical fashion; they are morphologically simpler than derivational forms and therefore allow the user to convey information clearly; and finally, they are an important source of new forms, which allow the user to invent and play with language without sacrificing economy or clarity.

The functions of conversion are relevant both at word and clause level: they can condense and help the user to reorder information within a clause, as well as retaining all or as many as necessary of the meanings associated with the base noun within the new form. The process is also shown to be important in pragmatic, semantic, aesthetic and rhetorical terms, indicating the wide range of uses to which conversion can be put.

7.2.1.5.2 Are there any differences between the functions of established and new conversions?

The functions were divided into two categories: those relevant to all noun to verb conversions and those associated with neologistic noun to verb conversions only. This division was used as a categorisation criterion in response to my analysis of the conversions in previous chapters; there is a continuum between those conversions that are used for the first time and are consciously coined as potential additions to the lexicon, and those that are chosen from the established verb forms available to competent language users. The difference between new and established conversions is not clear-cut and static and some conversions are coined to fulfil the same needs as those already in the language, and the chosen criteria seemed the most practical for differentiating between those functions.

7.3 Advances made by the thesis

This section will provide a brief overview of the main advances made in each section of the thesis in order to show how a text-based study has benefited research into the important field of noun to verb conversion.

7.3.1 Partial and full conversion

Although some attention had been given to the idea of partial conversion between the word classes of adjective and noun, there had been no research carried out into the potential extent of partial conversion in noun to verb conversion. The first important development was to clarify the definition of 'partial conversion' in relation to noun to verb conversion: partial conversion was defined as being where conversions are not attested as having been used

with the full range of the possible verbal inflections. The corpus-based approach used in the thesis shows that partial conversion does occur in noun to verb conversion; nouns that are converted are not necessarily used with the full range of grammatical functions available to verbs. In addition to quantifying the extent of partial conversion amongst noun to verb conversions, a system of categorisation was set up along the continuum between fully converted forms and those that are used only in restricted grammatical contexts.

The corpus-based approach also identified a number of established conversions that had developed either into completely independent verbs, where the original noun base had disappeared from normal use; or where the converted form was no longer used, leaving the noun without its converted pair. These findings show that each form functions independently of its conversion pair and that the process is not a stable, irreversible method of word-formation.

7.3.2 Proper noun to verb conversion

Proper nouns are an important source of new conversions and yet tend to be ignored in favour of common nouns in the literature. The thesis examined 175 new conversions which had been created from proper noun bases, and found that there were patterns of correlation between the likelihood of a conversion being created and the referential category of the proper noun, the argument structure generated between base and conversion, and the length of time and extent to which the base is recognised.

Although the chapter restricted the investigation to new conversions based on proper nouns, the results can be used to indicate wider trends relating to conversion; the study showed that metaphor and word play are essential characteristics of noun to verb conversion and deserve more thorough investigations in their own right. In addition, the study found that conversions are more likely to be created from one characteristic of the source noun than the combined features or an evaluation associated with that base noun; this may also be true of common noun to verb too, and perhaps might hold some truth more generally for new derivations.

7.3.3 Factors inhibiting the production of noun to verb conversion

Other linguists have identified factors with potentially inhibitive effect on word-formation, but the general consensus is that conversion is basically unrestricted. The study found that although conversion may well be subject to fewer restrictions than other word-formation processes due to its lack of overt morphology, there are some factors inhibiting the process. These were identified and classified into bands according to their inhibiting 'strength', which was calculated using corpus data. A corpus-based approach means that the theories put forward by other linguists can actually be tried and tested and it has led to the establishment of a classification of inhibition and enables analysis of combinations of the different factors.

7.3.4 New conversions and contextual clues

This investigation applied existing knowledge of neologisms to new conversions in order to see if language users introduce conversions in the same way as they

do other neologisms. Contextual clues were first examined to see how they aid the comprehension of new conversions, and then condensed into seven different types according to the type of help they provided.

The study found that new conversions do attract at least as many overt contextual clues as neologisms, indicating that users do not deem the process to be any more semantically transparent than derivation or compounding, despite the process being, at least superficially, simpler.

The investigation also studied where the clues occurred and found that there are tendencies for particular clues to occur before, and some after, the new form. This information may aid the automatic extraction of neologistic conversions as well as helping language learners to identify the clues pinpointing the exact intended semantics of the new form.

Combinations of contextual clues were examined and it was found that new conversions have a tendency to need one only contextual clue to anchor meaning, suggesting that whilst writers feel that new conversions are not completely semantically transparent, they need only a minimal amount of contextual aid for their comprehension.

7.3.5 The functions of noun to verb conversion

As the thesis was concerned with noun to verb conversion as it occurs in real texts, the functional aspect of the process was inevitably an important part of the

study as a whole. Previous studies have preferred to research the more formal side of the process, leaving the more interesting functional aspect alone.

The chapter sets up a framework for the categorisation of the functions, using a combination of two models of language and a division, which suggested itself from analysis of the data, between functions relating to any noun to verb conversion and those associated only with new conversions.

The framework highlights the importance of an 'extravagance' principle, which is missing in the influential Gricean maxims, where the noun to verb conversion process is often associated with the coinage of puns or deliberately ephemeral forms. In addition, the analysis of the functions highlights the hitherto overlooked correlation between conversion and phrasal and particle verbs, an area deserving of substantial further research.

7.3.6 General advances made

The emphasis that the thesis places on observing real corpus data and the differences between new and established noun to verb conversions means that we now have a better understanding of why conversions occur, how we comprehend the exact meaning of new coinages, which bases are commonly exploited in the process and how new conversions are different from and similar to those that survive in the language. Focussing the thesis on just one form of conversion also means that we can investigate noun to verb conversion in detail as well as taking it as a possible indicator of wider trends that may exist within conversion and other word-formation processes. As noun to verb conversion is such a prolific

word-formation process, we now have more text-based knowledge of a large section of both our established verbs and the tendencies that will be echoed by any future noun to verb conversion coinages.

7.4 Re-examining some of the theoretical issues raised by the thesis

Although the thesis looks specifically at noun to verb conversion, the issues raised by the research have wider implications. The research set out to investigate conversion objectively and without the bias of any particular theory, but in examining way in which nouns and verbs work and are used, further theoretical issues emerged. The findings show the importance of a user's awareness of the effect of using forms within the context of a specific text or utterance. The following sections outline the major theoretical implications highlighted by the data analysis.

7.4.1 Conversion and 'grammatical metaphor'

The 'functions' and 'proper nouns' chapters discuss the use of conversion as a means of expressing information in an alternative way. According to Halliday (1985:321), although he does not deal explicitly with noun to verb conversion, this use of conversion might be seen as 'grammatical metaphor'. For example, 'we *weekended* in Scotland' and 'we spent the weekend in Scotland' are two metaphorical representations of the 'literal' fact that 'we' were resident in Scotland for the duration of a weekend. He explains that the difference between the two representations of the same situation is as follows:

They are not synonymous; the different encodings all contribute something to the total meaning. But they are potentially co-representational, and in

that respect form a set of metaphoric variants of an ideational kind.
(1985:322)

The high level of conversion in English may be due to the tendency towards metaphor that Halliday claims is true of adult language; conversion allows us to adapt a literal configuration into an incongruent (metaphorical) expression. Certainly, it can be seen, as in chapter six, that conversion is used to give the user the option of presenting information differently in order to give words a particular emphasis, or to create deliberate syntactic or semantic variety.

The crossover between morphology, metaphor and phrase construction is something that has been exposed by this research and it would be interesting to see how far Halliday's theory accounts for conversion, and following on from there, how far the use of conversion is driven by the desire for metaphor in the language.

7.4.2 Word class classification

Conversions, alongside gerunds and participles, challenge the traditional categorisations of 'noun' and 'verb', and highlight the need for closer scrutiny of the theory behind them.

Categorisation of words into classes on the grounds identifying groups of words with similarities in form seems adequate for prototypical cases of nouns and verbs, but, as the second chapter examining partial and full conversion shows, there is a cline between prototypical nominal and prototypical verbal status. This

is not easily accounted for by the theory of formal categorisation and leaves forms that do not fit into either the 'noun' or the 'verb' category.

An alternative classificatory system seems to account far more easily for this aspect of conversion. If words are classified according to their functions, then their status must be decided on the basis of form in its context. Each use of the form has a word class, and there might be a tendency for certain forms to occur more often as either a noun or a verb. This seems to account both for instantial uses of conversion, where a noun has been used as a verb for the specific purpose made clear by the context, and for established conversions, where noun and verb coexist with examples occurring in both categories. This, clearly, is important for word class theory: if classification is best decided as a result of the context in which a form is used, then the notion of 'nouns' and 'verbs' becomes redundant, and we need refer only to the nominal and verbal functions of forms.

7.4.3 Phrasal and particle verbs and conversion

The 'functions' chapter, chapter six, investigated briefly the conundrum raised by the role of conversion in the creation of phrasal and particle verbs: if a particle or completive is added in the creation of a verb, then does that element qualify as a suffix? If this is the case, then we need to create a new subcategory of derivation to account for these examples. If, as discussed in 7.4.2, we classify forms on the basis of their functions, then it would seem that completives (for example *out* in *chicken out*) share similarities with suffixes in that they indicate a change of grammatical function and add semantic information to the base. However, the morphological objects traditionally classified as suffixes are attached to and are

inseparable from the main verb form. Completives and particles, on the other hand, can be separated from the verb and could be argued to have been applied in order simply to intensify meaning after the creation of the main verb.

The problem of how particle and phrasal verbs can be said to fit in to the morphological system raises similar theoretical issues to those of more general word classes, described above. The classification of completives and particles is called into question, particularly as there are different functions associated with particular particles, as well as differences between particles and completives; we also need to clarify if the verb forms involved can be included under the umbrella of conversion. It would appear that particle and phrasal verbs occur at a halfway point between conversion and derivation; although the verb forms (without the completive or particle) look like conversions, the extra morphological information added by the particles and completives in the transfer between nominal and verbal functions act in some ways like suffixes, thereby rendering them at least partly in the derivation camp.

7.4.4 Compound nouns

As with the phrasal and particle verbs, compound nouns require the user to compute complex forms by 'chunking' strings together as one item. In the case of phrasal verbs, we perceive the verb and particle as one unit semantically; indeed, a basic test of a phrasal verb is that it can be substituted for a single lexical verb. Similarly, compound nouns and even relatively complex noun phrases are readily converted into verbal functions, as shown in 6.4.1.2.3, indicating that compounding is so strongly entrenched and accepted as a word

formation device that we are able to transfer the complex reference from the nominal to a verbal function seemingly without difficulty.

Despite compound nouns and noun phrases having potentially complex semantic associations (for example, *jack the lad* has associations of male characteristics; someone who prefers the company of friends rather than a regular partner; someone with an immature attitude towards women, and so on), they still only refer to one item (a person/place/thing/place, etc.) in a given context and therefore has the same basic function in language as a simple noun. This, again, links back to the theory outlined in 7.4.2; the logical solution to classification is to class items by their functions. English is particularly suited to the use of items in multiple functions, due to our relative lack of inflection. Even though some forms are far more likely to occur with a nominal function, we can still comprehend their use in a verbal function, indicating the complex interaction between expectation, the need for variation and metaphor and the clear grammatical functions assigned by context. Although we may not like the function assigned to a form, as it contradicts our expectations of its role in language, we are able to understand its use in the unfamiliar context. It is rare that a form has an ambiguous function, so it follows that language users work out the specific semantics attached to the form within the function defined by the context, rather than needing to have a word class category innately attached to each word form.

The next and final section suggests further research that has been suggested by the findings of this thesis in order to extend the knowledge of word formation and its place in the language.

7.5 Further Research

The thesis investigated five related areas of noun to verb conversion, but in doing so has unearthed a whole range of areas that have research potential. These have been mentioned in the relevant areas in the thesis, so what follows is a brief summary of the major unexplored areas which have surfaced from this research.

The obvious starting point for this section is to mention that the research carried out here on noun to verb conversion needs to be extended to cover the other areas of conversion (adjective to noun, verb to noun, adjective to verb, etc) in order to complete the picture for conversion, and even further in order to achieve a greater understanding of the larger field of word-formation. For example, although adjective to noun partial conversion has been debated by many linguists, there have been no corpus-based large-scale investigations into how common the phenomenon is and whether there are different stages of partial conversion in that case. Grammatical word classes are complicated and controversial phenomena and there is still a great deal of research to be done on their interactions and the continua that may exist between them. Research into partial conversion and the interaction between partial and full conversion across the different word classes may yield interesting results concerning the way in

which we use one form with particular semantic associations in a variety of syntactic constructions in English.

It would also be interesting to extend the study of where new conversions occur into the area of verb to noun conversion. Preliminary tests were carried out investigating the importance of domain and style on the process of conversion, and these indicated that there are certain text-types that invite new conversions and others that do not (for example, there were more new conversions found in 'sport' and 'editorial' sections of the newspaper than in the 'business' or 'news' sections). The investigation could not be included in the thesis due to lack of space, but this area would benefit from research as it looks as if it would lead into an interesting study into the interaction of conversion (and other word-formation processes) and genre, register, domain etc..

The remaining areas that were brought to my attention whilst researching the thesis were those of 'metaphor' and 'phrasal and particle verbs'. These are both areas that have been investigated in great detail, but there has been no research carried out into their interactions with conversion. As they are important for the production of conversions, and conversely, especially in the case of particle and phrasal verbs, the conversion process is an important source of new verbs with the potential for the addition of particle or compleative. Indeed, as it may be debatable as to whether phrasal verbs created via conversion are true conversions, due to the addition of extra semantic and morphological material, it seems to me that the area offers a contentious and valuable investigation still to be explored.

Although conversion is a well-recognised phenomenon in English, it remains an opaque and difficult one for most linguists as it appears to fall outside of the remit for morphology and (some might argue) word-formation. Despite these formal difficulties, the process is prolific in the language; it is hoped that this thesis has helped to show why noun to verb conversion is important and also how its versatility makes it such a varied and interesting linguistic subject.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: List of established noun to verb conversions from Marchand (1969) and Adams (1973)

<i>accord</i>	<i>bill 'peck'</i>	<i>cage</i>
<i>account</i>	<i>bivouac</i>	<i>calve</i>
<i>afterdate</i>	<i>blackberry</i>	<i>camp</i>
<i>age</i>	<i>blacklist</i>	<i>campaign</i>
<i>air</i>	<i>blame</i>	<i>can</i>
<i>anchor</i>	<i>blanket</i>	<i>candy</i>
<i>anger</i>	<i>bloom</i>	<i>cane 'hit'</i>
<i>angle 'fish'</i>	<i>blossom</i>	<i>cannonball (into someone)</i>
<i>angle 'run into corner'</i>	<i>blot</i>	<i>canoe</i>
<i>annoy</i>	<i>blue-pencil</i>	<i>cap</i>
<i>anvil</i>	<i>bluff</i>	<i>captain</i>
<i>ape</i>	<i>bolt</i>	<i>capture</i>
<i>arch</i>	<i>bomb</i>	<i>caricature</i>
<i>arm</i>	<i>bone</i>	<i>carpet</i>
<i>array</i>	<i>book</i>	<i>cart</i>
<i>asphalt</i>	<i>boss</i>	<i>cash</i>
<i>audition</i>	<i>bottle</i>	<i>casket</i>
<i>awe</i>	<i>boycott</i>	<i>catalogue</i>
<i>axe</i>	<i>brain</i>	<i>catapult (shoot something with)</i>
<i>baby</i>	<i>brake</i>	<i>catcall</i>
<i>back</i>	<i>bran</i>	<i>cave (in)</i>
<i>background</i>	<i>branch</i>	<i>cellar</i>
<i>backwash</i>	<i>bribe</i>	<i>cement</i>
<i>badger</i>	<i>bridge</i>	<i>centre (on)</i>
<i>bag</i>	<i>bridle</i>	<i>chain</i>
<i>balance</i>	<i>brine</i>	<i>chair</i>
<i>bale</i>	<i>broadcast</i>	<i>change</i>
<i>balloon</i>	<i>bronze</i>	<i>channel</i>
<i>balm</i>	<i>brush</i>	<i>chaperon</i>
<i>bar</i>	<i>buck</i>	<i>chapter</i>
<i>barb</i>	<i>buckle</i>	<i>charge</i>
<i>barge</i>	<i>buckram</i>	<i>charm</i>
<i>bark 'take off'</i>	<i>bud</i>	<i>charter</i>
<i>barrel</i>	<i>bugle</i>	<i>chase</i>
<i>bastinado</i>	<i>bulge</i>	<i>chicken (out of)</i>
<i>bath</i>	<i>bully</i>	<i>chronicle</i>
<i>bayonet</i>	<i>bum (around)</i>	<i>chum</i>
<i>bed</i>	<i>bundle</i>	<i>cipher</i>
<i>beggar</i>	<i>bur</i>	<i>claim</i>
<i>belt 'gird with'</i>	<i>burgeon</i>	<i>clam (up)</i>
<i>belt 'hit'</i>	<i>burgoyne</i>	<i>clamp</i>
<i>benefit</i>	<i>burrow</i>	<i>class</i>
<i>berry</i>	<i>butcher</i>	<i>claw</i>
<i>bicycle</i>	<i>butter</i>	<i>cloak</i>
<i>bike</i>	<i>by-pass</i>	
	<i>cable</i>	

cloister
cloud
clown
club 'hit'
coal
coast (to sail by
coast) cocoon
coffer
coffin
coin
collar
colt 'run wild'
comb
comfort
commission
concrete
contact
copenhagen
copper
copy
corner
cornwallis
corral
cosset
cost
counsel
count
counter-weight
cradle
crane
cream
crease
cripple
crusade
crutch
cub
cuckold
curry
curse
curtsy
cushion
dart
date
diamond
discipline
ditch
dock
doctor
document
dog

doubt
drum
duel
dust
dwarf
dynamite
earmark
ease
ebb
echo
elbow
enamel
end
evidence
experience
experiment
eye
face
fan 'winnow'
fancy
farm
father
fathom
fawn
feature
fence
ferret (out)
fiddle
field (ball)
file
filter
fin
finance
fine 'put a fine on'
finger
fire
fish
fissure
fist 'fight'
flavour
fleece
flock
flood
floor
flower
flute
foal
foam
fodder

fold 'make
sheepfolds' fool
fork
form
fowl
fox
fraction
frill
frolic
froth
fuel
fume
gangrene
garden
garner
gas
gesture
ghost (writer)
gill
ginger
gipsy
girdle
glove
golf
grade
grass
gravel 'ships'
grease
grimace
ground
group
guarantee
guillotine
guitar
gull
gun
gut
gypsum
halter
hammer
hand
handcuff
harangue
harm
harp
harvest
hasp
haste
hay

head (as in expedition)
head 'take off'
heap
heat
hedge
helm orig 'cover with helm'
hinge
hire
hoard
hog
hole (up in)
holiday
honeycomb
honeymoon
hoof
hook 'bend'
hook 'catch with'
hop
hop 'drink'
horn
horse
house
hue 'form' later 'colour'
hulk
hull 'remove'
hunger
husk
hut
inconvenience
ink
inn
jack-knife
jewel
joke
journey
kennel
kite
kitten
knife
knight
knob
knot
knuckle
label
labour
lacquer
ladle

lamb
lampoon
land
landscape
lantern
lash
latch
lather
launder
laurel
leaf
leaven
lecture
leech 'heal - I-ed, rest met)
leg
libel
lid 'put one on'
lighter 'transport with'
lime
lip
list
litter
loaf 'form a loaf'
loan
lock
lodge
loot
lord
lump
lust
machinegun
mail
major
malt
man
manufacture
mark
market
marshal
martyr
mask
masquerade
mast
master
mate
message
metal
milk

mill
mimic
mire 'plunge into'
mirror
mob
model (as in clay)
monkey
moon
mop
moss
mother
motion
mould 'bread'
mouse 'catch'
mouth
mushroom
muzzle
nail
name
needle
neighbour
nerve
nest
nickel
nickname
night
nose
nurse
nut
oar
oil
onion
ooze
orbit
order
orphan
outlaw
outline
package
padlock
page
palaver
panic
parachute
parade
paraffin
parcel
park
parley
parody

parrot
partition
patch
pattern
paw
pawn
pearl
people
pepper
pestle
pet
photograph
phrase
picket
picture
piece
pig
pig (it)
pile
pillory
pilot
pimp
pinion
pinnacle
pioneer
pipe
pirate
pirouette
pit 'cart into pit'
pitch (tar)
pity
placard
place
plague
plane (tool)
plant
plaster
plow/plough
pocket
poison
pole
police
pool
portage
portion
powder
prawn
pressure
priest
process

procession
pulley
pulp
puncture
pup
puppy
purse (lips)
putty
queen (it)
queue
quilt
rabbit
race
raft
rafter
rage
rain
ransom
ration
referee
register
reign
resin
riddle (speak in)
riddle 'corn'
ridge
rime
ring (circle)
rival
rivet
robe
rocket
room
roost
root
rope
roughcast
rubber
rule
rust
sabotage
sack
saddle
safeguard
sail
salt
salve
sample
sandpaper
sandwich

sauce 'season'
saw 'cut with'
scabbard
scale
scale 'fish'
scalp
scar
scent
schedule
scheme
school
scrap
screen
screw
scythe
seal
seed
segment
serenade
service
shadow
shaft
shame
shanghai
shark
sheaf
shell
shell 'hit with'
shelter
shepherd
shield
shin
ship
shoe* cf. shod
shop
shoulder
shovel
shower
shrimp
shrine
shroud
side
signal
silhouette
silt (up)
silver
skate
ski
skin
skirt

skunk
skyrocket
slave
sled
sledge
slug
smear
smoke
snake
snow
snowball
soldier
somersault
spark
spawn
spear
speck
speed* cf. sped
spiral
spirit (something
away)
sponge
spot
squirrel (hoard)
stage
star
steam
stilt
stocking
stomach 'be offended'
stone 'fruit'
stone 'hit with'
story
strand
strap 'fasten'
strap 'hit'
stream
structure
stucco
style
subpoena
sugar
sun
supper
surface
swarm
table
tag
tail
tailor

tap
tar
taxi
team
telescope
tent
thieve
thirst
thong 'fasten'
thong 'hit'
thumb
thunder
timber
tin
tincture
toboggan
token
torpedo
torture
touch
tour
tower (up over)
treasure
trouble
truck
trumpet
trustee
tub
tunnel
tutor
twist
umpire
understudy
upgrade
usher
vacation
van
vapour
varnish
veil
veto
view
vision
voice
vow
waitress
waltz
water
wax
wed

weed
weekend
whale
wheel
whelp
whip
widow
winter
wire 'send with'
wisecrack
witness
wive
wolf
wonder
word
worm
wound
wreck
wrinkle
x-ray
yacht
yoke
zeppelin
zone

**Appendix 2: List of new noun to verb conversions from
Independent/Guardian corpus**

<i>A-bombed</i>	<i>bazooka-ed</i>	<i>bottom-edging</i>
<i>achilles-heeled</i>	<i>Beachwooded</i>	<i>bottom-lined</i>
<i>aciding</i>	<i>bean curding</i>	<i>bouffant-ed</i>
<i>activitied</i>	<i>Beatty-ing</i>	<i>bourreed</i>
<i>adjustmenting</i>	<i>bed-and-breakfasted</i>	<i>Branaged</i>
<i>Agathe-ing</i>	<i>bed-bathed</i>	<i>brand-marked</i>
<i>Aidanned</i>	<i>beelined</i>	<i>breeze-blocked</i>
<i>air-balled</i>	<i>bee-lined</i>	<i>Bridesheading</i>
<i>Airbused</i>	<i>belly-laughed</i>	<i>Brockmaned</i>
<i>air-gapped</i>	<i>benchmarked</i>	<i>brouhaha-ed</i>
<i>Akrammed</i>	<i>Berlitzing</i>	<i>brown-sandaling</i>
<i>Alan Partridged</i>	<i>Bernaded</i>	<i>bruleed</i>
<i>Alf Garnetted</i>	<i>Berry-ed</i>	<i>brunched</i>
<i>Alka-Seltzered</i>	<i>best-guessing</i>	<i>Brunoing</i>
<i>Amazoned</i>	<i>beveraging</i>	<i>Brylcreem-ed</i>
<i>Ambrosed</i>	<i>big-brothered</i>	<i>buggied</i>
<i>ambulanced</i>	<i>Big-Topped</i>	<i>bulldozering</i>
<i>amoeba-ed</i>	<i>billboarding</i>	<i>bullioned</i>
<i>anecdoted</i>	<i>bill-postered</i>	<i>bunfighting</i>
<i>angsted</i>	<i>Bingleyed</i>	<i>bunnying</i>
<i>ankletted</i>	<i>bingoing</i>	<i>burgered</i>
<i>anoraking</i>	<i>Birting</i>	<i>bushfired</i>
<i>Antwone Fishered</i>	<i>Black and Deckering</i>	<i>busloaded</i>
<i>Araldited</i>	<i>blackandeckering</i>	<i>caddieing</i>
<i>Armageddoned</i>	<i>black-flagged</i>	<i>caesareaned</i>
<i>artichoked</i>	<i>blackjacked</i>	<i>Cained</i>
<i>Asif Mujtabaed</i>	<i>Blaired</i>	<i>calypsoed</i>
<i>Auerbached</i>	<i>blimping</i>	<i>camcordering</i>
<i>au-paired</i>	<i>blitzkrieging</i>	<i>cameo-ing</i>
<i>autopiloted</i>	<i>blood-bathing</i>	<i>Camerooning</i>
<i>backcrawling</i>	<i>blowtorched</i>	<i>Campbelled</i>
<i>backlashed</i>	<i>blue-lighted</i>	<i>carbon-copied</i>
<i>backstroked</i>	<i>bluesing</i>	<i>carnaging</i>
<i>bagatelling</i>	<i>blurbed</i>	<i>carouselling</i>
<i>bailiffed</i>	<i>Blutacking</i>	<i>carpet-slippering</i>
<i>balladeered</i>	<i>BMXed</i>	<i>carrier-pigeoned</i>
<i>ball-and-chained</i>	<i>boat-hooking</i>	<i>carving-knifed</i>
<i>ball-boying</i>	<i>Bobbited</i>	<i>cashflowing</i>
<i>Bambering</i>	<i>bobsleighd</i>	<i>Castereted</i>
<i>bandwagonned</i>	<i>body-blocked</i>	<i>caterpillaring</i>
<i>bansheeing</i>	<i>body-blowed</i>	<i>cathetered</i>
<i>barbed-wiring</i>	<i>bogpapered</i>	<i>cattled</i>
<i>Barbieing</i>	<i>bongoed</i>	<i>cattle-marketed</i>
<i>barmitzvahed</i>	<i>bookended</i>	<i>cattle-prodded</i>
<i>Barshaked</i>	<i>bookmarking</i>	<i>catwalked</i>
<i>Bashired</i>	<i>botoxed</i>	<i>caviared</i>
<i>Baycolled</i>	<i>bottle-banked</i>	<i>Chain-ganged</i>

chainsawed
Chairlifted
chambermaiding
chaplaining
cheeseing
Chequed
cherubing
chesting
chiefed
chinning
chino-ed
chintzed
choiced
chopsticking
Chubb-locked
circular-sawed
Clareshorted
clienting
Clintoned
clipboarded
cloakroomed
cloching
cloroxed
close-shaving
clothes-lined
clothes-pegged
coat-tailing
combo'ed
commandeered
conceiving
Concorded
confettied
conkered
Coopered
co-piloted
cotton-wooled
cowboyed
Cowellled
crash-tested
croissanted
CS-sprayed
cubbing
cubby-holed
cunting
curfewing
Cursoring
custard-pied
Czech-ing
daleked
damp squibbing

damson-ed
Dave Smithed
daylighted
dead-legged
decisioned
deed-polled
Delia Smith-ed
departuring
Dettoxed
DHLed
dhobiing
diapering
didgeeridooed
direct-debiting
dirt-tracked
Disneying
Dixie-Chicked
DIY-ing
doglegged
dogsbodied
dolls-housing
dolphining
doormatting
dosaged
dot-matrixed
double-entendred
doughnuted
dressing-roomed
dropshotting
Drummonded
duchessed
duct-taped
dudded
Duluxed
dustbinned
dustpanned
Dyno-Rodded
earth-mothering
earthquaked
Ecclestoned
Edelweissing
efforting
E-ing
electorated
electric-chaired
electric-fenced
Emily-Barr-ed
endoscoped
Enronned
epicentred

escaloping
Eurostarred
exclusived
Exxonned
false-started
falsettoed
fast-laned
fauna-ed
feather-dustered
Fedexed
FedExed
feng-shuing
fested
feuilleton-ed
fiasco-ing
fibreing
fifth-guessed
Filofaxed
finalled
fine-pointing
fingernailed
fingertipped
fireballed
firewalled
fireworked
first-gearing
first-ladying
first-stepping
fitness-tested
flagshipped
flamencoed
Florence
Nightingale-ing
flu-jabbed
foghorned
Folletted
foreplaying
forklifting
fourth-guessed
foxy-ladying
Francophiled
Fredded
free-kicked
Freeserved
frisbeed
gaffer-taped
galetted
galloning
ganneting
garbing

genocided
geysering
ginghamed
glad-ragging
Glasgowed
glissandoed
glitched
goated
gofered
golf-clubbing
gooped
Gordon-ing
goth'ed
gouting
Grammied
greasy-poled
Greecing
Grinched
Grosvenored
grungeing
Guggenheimed
Guntered
Gurskying
gutsed
hacksawing
Hagued
hairpinned
halfhitched
hammer-drilling
hammocked
handspringing
hand-tooling
Hank Marvinned
Hanking
hardshipped
Hasselbainking
hatchbacking
H-bombed
heffering
heisting
Henmaning
heritaged
heroned
Hershbergered
Heskeyed
Higginsed
Higgsed
high-jumping
high-stepped
high-streeting

hipstered
hockeyed
Hollywooded
homonymed
honky-tonked
hoopla-ed
hootered
hopscotched
horseplaying
hostelled
hot-spotting
house-husbanding
hovercrafting
Hovis-ed
HRT-ed
Hunter Daviesed
hypnotherapied
IDing
Immac-ing
Interneted
Isaac Newtoned
isobarred
J Arthured
Jack Russelled
Jack Spratted
jackhammered
jack-the-ladding
jambonned
jamjarring
Jannered
jayed
JCB-ed
Jesusing
jette-ing
Jo Moore-ed
jonesing
jpegged
judoed
juggernauting
Juuned
Kached
Kaiserred
Keaning
kebabbed
Keeganed
Kehled
Kennedyed
Kerouaced
keyworded
kirby-gripped

kitchen-sinked
knee-jerked
ladded
lairded
lambada-ed
land-lorded
landmarking
landsliding
laser-scanned
latexed
league-tabling
left-footing
leg-ironed
lemminged
letter-boxing
Liam-ing
librariated
life-sentenced
lifestyled
limericking
limoed
limousined
lipoed
lipping
liquid-papering
Little Mermaided
live-taped
lockboxed
Lomued
long-legging
loofahed
loudspeakered
macassared
macheteing
machine-stitching
macramed
Magimixed
mail-shotting
mallarding
mamboing
marriaging
Mars-Barred
master-classed
masterplanned
matadoring
Matthewsed
Mauriced
mayored
McGrathed
McGuffined

medicalled
Meena-ed
mentored
Merseying
metamorphosising
Michael Winner-ed
Mickelsoned
Midging
millimetering
mind-gamed
mini-seriesed
MMRed
mommed
Monkeeing
Montyed
Mortoned
MOTed
mother-henned
moth-holing
motocrossed
Motorailed
motorcaded
Mottramed
mouse-hunting
mousselining
mouth-washed
Mr Jonesed
MRI-scanned
muffleded
muppeted
Mushtaqed
mustard-gassed
nail-bombed
name-tagging
Naomi Campbell-ed
napalm-bombed
nappied
Nasdaqed
Nayim-ed
nectaring
Netscaped
next-guessing
Nicky Clarked
nicodemused
Nigella-ing
nilled
nitroglycerining
Nolaned
Norrised
novembering

nutmegging
oafing
OBE-ed
Octobered
ofsteded
old-manned
Olympicing
Oprah Winfreyed
oranging
othered
ouijaed
Oxfammed
PA-ing
palletted
Panthering
pantseed
paralysising
Paul Michael Glaser-ed
paupered
Paxmaning
payrolled
pebbledashing
pelvic-thrusted
pen-knifing
Penn-and-Tellered
PEPed
photo-shopping
pied-pipering
pieing
pinballed
pincering
pipebombed
pit-stopped
pixied
pixie-dusted
placemeted
platinumed
PMS-ing
pockmarking
poeting
Polaroiding
Polonskied
pomandered
powerhousing
Powerpointing
power-suiting
prairie-dogging
prammed
pretzeling

Pringled
production-lining
promming
promo-ing
prousted
PRPing
Puffin-ed
punked
pushchairing
railway-tracked
Rambo-ing
raspberried
razor-blading
real-worlding
red-carded
red-stickered
restauranted
rhinoed
ribbeting
rickshawed
rissoled
Robocopping
Ronnieed
Rooneyed
rottweilered
RSI-ing
runwayed
Ruttered
Rydering
Saatchied
sailored
satellite TV-ing
Schecked
Schumachered
Scotchguarding
sea-sprayed
second-bested
security-tagged
sensored
serumed
service-faulted
sessioning
Shirley Templing
Shirley Valentined
shitbagging
short-arseing
sicklisted
sinbinned
Sir Humphreyed
sloganeered

smart-bombed
snailmailed
snowmobiled
soccered
social-worked
souffleing
soundbiting
Southgated
Southgating
spammed
spanglering
spannering
special-effected
speed-bumped
speed-trapped
spinnakered
spliffed
Spocked
spot-fined
spray-canned
sprogging
Stanleyed
Starbucked
starfished
star-trekking
steaked
Stealthed
steam-pressing
Stephanie-ing
sticky-taped
stomach-pumped
storyboarded
straight-lining
strawing
straw-polled
street-partied
studding
sturged
subtexting
summer-camped
Summerhilled
summiting
Sumo-ed
sunlighted
superglued
supermodelling
suplexed
synopsised
taglined
Tamagotchi-ed

Tango-ed
tappeting
Tarbucked
T-boned
teening
Tefloned
teleconferenced
telephone-canvassed
televised
terrined
text-messaging
TGV-ed
theme-parked
thermidored
thicketed
thin-edging
third-guessed
third-personned
thread-marked
ticker-taped
time-bombed
time-trialled
tissued
tithed
tomorrowing
tooth-picked
top-edged
toplined
tormented
tourniqueted
traffic-policed
trapezed
trashcanned
trevved
triple-jumped
trip-wired
trolley-bussed
tumble-weeded
turked
turkeying
unicorned
usheretting
vasectomied
Velcroed
vibing
videoconferenced
videomailing
Virgin Megastored
vogued
voice-overed

v-signed
wafered
wagon-trained
walleting
Walshed
Wappinged
Waqared
war-danced
wardrobe mistressing
Warholing
Wasimed
watercannonned
Watsoned
Waughing
webcammed
wedgied
wheelying
white-carding
whitelisted
whoming
Widdecombed
widgeting
wildfowled
windowpaning
wok-ing
womanning
wombed
woodpeckering
woodshedded
word-searched
wristbanded
wrongsided
yellow-carded
yellow-stickered
yobbing
Zebo-ed
zesting
zinc-creamed
zombying

Appendix 3: Full analysis of *cloud*_(v) from BNC data

	Transitivity		Modality	Voice		Tense		Aspect			Mood		Infinitive	Reflexive
	Transitive	Intransitive	Modal	Active	Passive	Past	Present	Progressive	Perfect	Simple	Subjunctive	Imperative		
He spends all his free time studying and he doesn't <i>cloud</i> his brain.	Y		Y	Y			Y						Y	
He would <i>cloud</i> it with his breath or splash it to pieces with his hands.	Y		Y	Y			Y						Y	
There is a school of thought that to give personal rewards to youngsters for attempting an outdoor pursuit can <i>cloud</i> one's thinking.	Y		Y	Y			Y						Y	
Such famous errors surely resulted not from incompetence, but from Cortot's nervous, high-pitched intensity; a sheer involvement that could easily <i>cloud</i> his composure or unsettle his equilibrium.	Y		Y	Y			Y						Y	
The fact that you have enjoyed a few jars together will not <i>cloud</i> a journalist's judgement.	Y		Y	Y			Y						Y	
All the discussion in the world about register and appropriateness in English might still fail to reveal crucial aspects of Panjabi, Gujarati or even German, and may even <i>cloud</i> the issue.	Y		Y	Y			Y						Y	
If the problem persists it may <i>cloud</i> her attitude to school.	Y		Y	Y			Y						Y	
The Heilbron Committee took the view that the majority decision of the House of Lords was correct in principle, that it would neither <i>cloud</i> the real issues in rape trials nor encourage juries to accept bogus defences.	Y		Y	Y			Y						Y	

As well as giving him moral ascendancy over the rest of the company, driving himself to exhaustion might also <i>cloud</i> critical judgement, so that comments would be made on the effort that had gone into the show rather than on its quality.)	Y		Y	Y			Y						Y		
Self-delusion could easily once again <i>cloud</i> the judgment of the shadow cabinet and Labour could go it alone at the next election, perhaps with the same misplaced confidence in a "safety first" stance that will deliver success if the dangers inherent in new initiatives are avoided and new ideas anathemised.	Y		Y	Y			Y						Y		
However, he warns that competition, especially in a recession, can <i>cloud</i> a company judgement.	Y		Y	Y			Y						Y		
Initial impressions can <i>cloud</i> later perceptions, and so it is important to consider the ways in which a favourable initial response can be achieved.	Y		Y	Y			Y						Y		
The second is that their long-term view may be <i>clouded</i> by immediate short-term factors.			Y		Y		Y						Y		
Perception of the needs of cultures in other countries can be <i>clouded</i> by the point of view of our own cultural background.			Y		Y		Y						Y		
Our vision should not be <i>clouded</i> by present logistic and structural constraints: the NHS reforms have shown how quickly these can be changed.			Y		Y		Y						Y		
How sad that such goodwill should be <i>clouded</i> by Mr Lamb saying that the other lot cheated, and the other lot saying that they didn't.			Y		Y		Y						Y		

The blood leakage that was clouding her vision had drained away now, and everyone was holding their breath that there would be no more episodes of the problem.	Y			Y		Y		Y					Y	
SUDDENLY, the course of history seemed to change: penalties, a subject that had always clouded Barcelona's relationship with Real Madrid, now fell upon the Catalans like gentle rain.	Y			Y		Y		Y					Y	
In the beginning he had found Maud appealing, and on their wedding day he had really believed that he loved her, but ambition had clouded his vision.	Y			Y		Y		Y					Y	
Other scenes had clouded that weekend.	Y			Y		Y		Y					Y	
Steam from the water had clouded the mirrors in the bathroom; condensation had formed a dewy veil over the tiles.	Y			Y		Y		Y					Y	
Her attempts at explication had only clouded her own contemporary voice, and led her far astray from the feeling heart of the matter.	Y			Y		Y		Y					Y	
Speculation about a possible realignment of the EMS clouded the air too.	Y			Y		Y		Y					Y	
The "state of war" declaration clouded what might otherwise have been a clear-cut case of American aggression and gave the White House the makings of a case under international law.	Y			Y		Y		Y					Y	
Fright and the pain of the examination dried Frankie's mouth, turned his legs to jelly and clouded his vision.	Y			Y		Y		Y					Y	
Confusion and anguish and fear clouded his face.	Y			Y		Y		Y					Y	

But I'm sure there will be a simple explanation – "Concern <i>clouded</i> his eyes " – Mr → 'Arcy, do you seriously think that I could be in any danger from these people?"	Y			Y		Y				Y			Y		
All sorts of doubts <i>clouded</i> my mind.	Y			Y		Y				Y			Y		
All the promises of help from the LTA failed to materialise, but nothing <i>clouded</i> her ambitions or her aspirations.	Y			Y		Y				Y			Y		
Even so, a little frown of apprehension <i>clouded</i> her face as her thoughts strayed to the hours ahead.	Y			Y		Y				Y			Y		
She sucked in a deep breath then looked up, squeezing her eyelids tightly together as if to clear the fuzziness which <i>clouded</i> her vision.	Y			Y		Y				Y			Y		
Her perfume <i>clouded</i> his breathing, and he stepped back, then bowed again.	Y			Y		Y				Y			Y		
As he was not an insensitive or a brave man, the larger items in the national dailies frequently upset him and <i>clouded</i> his mind with vague anxieties.	Y			Y		Y				Y			Y		
The financial and political consequences of the dispute <i>clouded</i> his tenure of office, which was cut short by his premature death.	Y			Y		Y				Y			Y		
Bastian's sponsorship of spontaneous generation and his opposition to the germ theory of disease <i>clouded</i> his later reputation and many of his papers were rejected by learned bodies.	Y			Y		Y				Y			Y		
Doubt <i>clouded</i> his face, and he was troubled.	Y			Y		Y				Y			Y		
Unfortunately a flu bug attacked most of the crew during this week which <i>clouded</i> our impressions of Shetland.	Y			Y		Y				Y			Y		

Now he danced to the airs of a dying house, keeping its remote stateliness alive above the enveloping neglect that <i>clouded</i> the memories of Lizzie and her slaves.	Y			Y		Y				Y			Y		
Then suspicion <i>clouded</i> her face.	Y			Y		Y				Y			Y		
The haze of his first cigarette <i>clouded</i> the room briefly and in the streak of light from the curtains he saw the heaped clothes and the mark on the hotel carpet where he'd knocked over the glass of water.	Y			Y		Y				Y			Y		
"Anger, just for a moment, <i>clouded</i> my professional judgement.	Y			Y		Y				Y			Y		
It <i>clouded</i> the sense of his own achievement, the sense that his own cunning had mastered the obstacles.	Y			Y		Y				Y			Y		
Tears <i>clouded</i> her eyes as she remembered those dark days, but she blinked them away.	Y			Y		Y				Y			Y		
Total and abject sadness <i>clouded</i> those lovely little features.	Y			Y		Y				Y			Y		
Her perfect Cupid's-bow mouth, more used to curving in a heart-stopping smile, pursed, and concern <i>clouded</i> her large blue eyes.	Y			Y		Y				Y			Y		
The fact the player has been at Tamba Bay Rowdies, and has an agent, <i>clouded</i> my judgement."	Y			Y		Y				Y			Y		
Twenty years earlier, R. A. Butler had shared the same fate, recalling the "blood curdling demands" made annually at the Conservative Party Conference for the restoration of corporal punishment which had "quite <i>clouded</i> " his time as Chairman of the Party.	Y			Y		Y				Y			Y		

Has the doctor diagnosed accurately or have "ageist" considerations <i>clouded</i> medical judgement?	Y			Y		Y				Y			Y		
This general approach rather <i>clouded</i> the other important conclusion that tribunals are a new method for the independent adjudication of disputes.	Y			Y		Y				Y			Y		
Redpath had seen violent death in many forms, and to some extent the technical problems it involved <i>clouded</i> the human side of it.	Y			Y		Y				Y			Y		
Yet drink <i>clouded</i> his mind, and in his heart Cranston knew that Athelstan was right to disapprove.	Y			Y		Y				Y			Y		
Although worry still <i>clouded</i> his face, Prior William nodded immediate acceptance of this statement.	Y			Y		Y				Y			Y		
Most of the glass had been removed, but the dirt had not, <i>clouding</i> the air and deadening the surfaces.	Y			Y		Y	Y						Y		
He began to think it must have been his imagination when a motorbike zoomed across their path, <i>clouding</i> the corridor with smoke.	Y			Y		Y	Y						Y		
An unusual sight, Barry's face <i>clouding</i> with concern.	Y			Y		Y	Y						Y		
In windy conditions, Toftingall becomes impossible to fish, because the bottom is churned up, <i>clouding</i> the water.	Y			Y		Y	Y						Y		
Not only do you have to fold it with fastidious care to avoid pinching and <i>clouding</i> the plastic rear window, but fitting it in a hurry is simply impossible.	Y			Y		Y	Y						Y		
He went down fast, clawing at the water with his hands, trailing his useless leg, and praying there was no blood pumping out, <i>clouding</i> the water, and contaminating it with its smell.	Y			Y		Y	Y						Y		

The pigments are striped, accentuating the length and thinness of the foliage, rather than <i>clouding</i> it as in broad-leaved species.	Y			Y			Y	Y				Y		
"You never know how little you have to beat," he once said, a doleful look momentarily <i>clouding</i> his large, countryman features and global eyes.	Y			Y			Y	Y				Y		
This may be true, but he should not be <i>clouding</i> the issue with irrelevant gibes at the "competition."	Y			Y			Y	Y				Y		
<i>Clouding</i> the issue	Y			Y			Y	Y				Y		
You would rather stand with your nose to the window, <i>clouding</i> the strange blue view	Y			Y			Y	Y				Y		
Using the wine has its dangers, because bits of pear may drift off, <i>clouding</i> the liquid, which must remain absolutely clear for the sake of the final éclat.	Y			Y			Y	Y				Y		
"Don't you ever threaten me," he whispered, his breath <i>clouding</i> the cold air between them and freezing on her parted lips.	Y			Y			Y	Y				Y		
"Somehow I suspect that emotion is <i>clouding</i> your memory of that period," Luke returned incisively.	Y			Y			Y	Y				Y		
Rebecca shook her head, a wild, remote look <i>clouding</i> her pale blue eyes.	Y			Y			Y	Y				Y		
Robyn repeated her question with difficulty, and saw puzzlement <i>clouding</i> his features until incredulity and exasperation took its place.	Y			Y			Y	Y				Y		
personal motivation is not <i>clouding</i> your judgement	Y			Y			Y	Y				Y		
It arises from too much enthusiasm <i>clouding</i> the judgement of those developing the new electronic products.	Y			Y			Y	Y				Y		
If the sheer quantity of information about 1992 is <i>clouding</i> your vision, look no further for the silver lining.	Y			Y			Y	Y				Y		

Totally uninformed judgements yet again clouding the issue.	Y			Y			Y	Y					Y		
Fred's voice came through the headphones to her and she glanced towards the control-room, barely seeing the figures clustered behind the glass for the tears clouding her eyes.	Y			Y			Y	Y					Y		
The fumes from the amount of wine she had consumed seemed to be clouding her brain.	Y			Y			Y	Y					Y		
Then suddenly, while aware she had told him that she did not love Travis, she realised that here was her chance of clouding the issue of who it was that she did love.	Y			Y			Y	Y					Y		
But at least one leading health expert believes that the party broadcast furore is clouding the real debate about the future of the NHS.	Y			Y			Y	Y					Y		
"It's clouding my mind."	Y			Y			Y	Y					Y		
On the other we have Forey asserting that "Fossils have clouded rather than clarified our attempts to reconstruct phylogeny."	Y			Y			Y		Y				Y		
However, while some real tensions existed between the church and a number of vested interest groups within England, no such animosity appears to have clouded relations between the English state and the papacy.	Y			Y			Y		Y				Y		
The players gave En Shao his required speed, demonstrating what fine form they are in despite the financial problems which have clouded the organisation of late.	Y			Y			Y		Y				Y		
There was a mood, if we cloud all this up in realms of high theology then we shall all agree on what we cannot understand.	Y			Y			Y			Y			Y		
Veterans' memories cloud the good news from Berlin.	Y			Y			Y			Y			Y		

In part one (chapters one to four) our objective is to examine the nature of doubt, setting it off clearly from three common misconceptions which <i>cloud</i> the issue today.	Y				Y				Y				Y		
The process of encouraging staff collectively to analyse and share their own concepts of "remedial" and "need" can bring to the surface the anomalies, inconsistencies and injustice which at present <i>cloud</i> the vision of some teachers.	Y				Y				Y				Y		
No nightmares <i>cloud</i> this vision.	Y				Y				Y				Y		
Self-doubt creeps in and negative thoughts <i>cloud</i> the mind -- "will I get hurt? how will I know what technique to use? will I make a fool of myself?"	Y				Y				Y				Y		
Tears <i>cloud</i> my eyes.	Y				Y				Y				Y		
Frustrations will <i>cloud</i> your horizons for a time but you will shake them off and emerge well pleased with your efforts.	Y				Y				Y				Y		
But both Kylie and Waterman ignored the incident, refusing to let it <i>cloud</i> her triumph.	Y				Y				Y				Y		
Will this <i>cloud</i> governors' thinking?	Y				Y				Y				Y		
But 22-year-old Alison Scott, who was hit in the back, says she will not let the incident <i>cloud</i> her life.	Y				Y				Y				Y		
As Broad and Wade point out, the rhetoric and mythos of science <i>cloud</i> these universal frailties and create the comforting image of linear progression toward truth.	Y				Y				Y				Y		
While anger may stimulate the courage to do something, it may at the same time <i>cloud</i> the perception of what to be courageous about.	Y				Y				Y				Y		
Failure to eliminate a suspect food will undoubtedly cause confusion and <i>cloud</i> the whole picture.	Y				Y				Y				Y		

There are to his mind terminological ambiguities that <i>cloud</i> the use of the term records in the context of the electronic environment.	Y			Y			Y			Y			Y		
But I do not think it is this threat alone which explains the sick feeling of dread – rather like the feeling of a man who knows he is to be hanged in a fortnight – which <i>clouds</i> the prospect of a Labour victory.	Y			Y			Y			Y			Y		
What <i>clouds</i> the issue is that I have caught hundreds of bream, of all sizes, and from a variety of waters, when the surface of the water has not been broken once by a fish.	Y			Y			Y			Y			Y		
If logic and reason can interpret the information sent in by the senses and produce a conclusion that would change as the information changes, it is emotion that <i>clouds</i> our vision and leads to a state in which we do not see things as they are.	Y			Y			Y			Y			Y		
If we do not know about something or do not realise what is addressed can be understood in another manner or seen through another lens, it skews our viewpoint; it limits our options; it <i>clouds</i> our perspective.	Y			Y						Y			Y		
In Robert Pinget's <i>Le Fiston</i> (1959), the grief of the drunken narrator <i>clouds</i> his view of the world.	Y			Y			Y			Y			Y		
Miss O'Keeffe's work suggests to me that kind of passionate mysticism that <i>clouds</i> the seeing eye with visions false to it, like some sweet drug.	Y			Y			Y			Y			Y		
There was a general view – confirmed when Major remarkably rejected claims that Mellor had broken ministerial rules when quite clearly he had – that the PM's judgement was being <i>clouded</i> by friendship.					Y	Y		Y					Y		

Reflecting on the parson's fortitude in distress, his manifest care for his wife, and his humble acceptance of divine will, Agnew had felt a sense of shame that his original impulse had been <i>clouded</i> by the passing years.					Y	Y							Y		
Railfreight's success in the 1980s was <i>clouded</i> by one area of uncertainty.					Y	Y							Y		
But on that morning my happiness was <i>clouded</i> by something he said to me as we were walking home to lunch: "Your parents know about you, Jim – you know that, don't you?"					Y	Y							Y		
Insurance group Sun Alliance was <i>clouded</i> by a £466m loss on the back of its exposure to mortgage indemnity insurance.					Y	Y							Y		
But the win, achieved with four balls to spare, was <i>clouded</i> by an injury to opening batsman Aamir Sohail, who strained a thigh muscle and could miss half the series.					Y	Y							Y		
Part of her was proud and delighted that Constance was learning so much but another, darker side was <i>clouded</i> by jealousy.					Y	Y							Y		
But, with the prospect of a GATT trade deal already <i>clouded</i> by Mr Clinton's dithering, the last thing he should do is damage world economic relations further by failing to prevent an international tax war.					Y	Y							Y		
While the position was <i>clouded</i> by the forthcoming abolition of the area health authorities, regional officers seemed to be forming a view that some areas, left to themselves, would not react in an appropriate way to the circumstances of rundown.					Y	Y							Y		

The stars were <i>clouded over</i> , the gas lights were dim then grew a bit brighter, and I could hear a tinkly organ out of tune, the sound came from the direction of the Iron Pier.					Y	Y							Y		
Nevertheless a brilliant scientist was being fired from government service and his reputation as a patriot <i>clouded</i> (although he was affirmed a "loyal citizen") – because of what?					Y	Y							Y		
It was Lucy who gasped the greeting, through clenched teeth, blue eyes <i>clouded with</i> fear and pain.					Y	Y							Y		
Her eyes <i>clouded with</i> pain.					Y	Y							Y		
These informed assessments have, however, been <i>clouded</i> by a profusion of misconceptions, misinterpretations and misunderstandings that have served to blur the picture available to teachers.					Y		Y			Y			Y		
The conflict between central and local government referred to in Chapter 4 has been <i>clouded</i> by both inter- and intra-party disputes.					Y		Y			Y			Y		
Arber et al argue that some important issues have been <i>clouded</i> by a failure in the literature to distinguish between the two different types of household structure: old living with old, and younger living with old.					Y		Y			Y			Y		
They can prove useful if used in conjunction with the undergravel filters, as a method of clearing water that has been <i>clouded</i> by feeding heavily for instance.					Y		Y			Y			Y		

This theme has been <i>clouded</i> by different and even contradictory ideas, such as a stimulus package and an investment tax-credit to pep up an economy that will probably grow by 3% this year.					Y		Y		Y				Y		
Vocabulary is an important factor in assessing Paris's habits, but that picture has been <i>clouded</i> by polemic and the fact that its musical theatres developed their own methods of direction.					Y		Y		Y				Y		
The true facts of the matter have been <i>clouded</i> by many cases where the exact nature of the staccato did not greatly matter and where consequently Mozart made no deliberate effort to distinguish the two types.					Y		Y		Y				Y		
But my judgement may have been <i>clouded</i> ...					Y		Y		Y				Y		
The picture is further <i>clouded</i> by the stance the Government will take.					Y		Y						Y		
The outlook for sterling is <i>clouded</i> by confusion about whether the Chancellor has set a new floor for the pound.					Y		Y						Y		
The position is further <i>clouded</i> by the curious share structure of Racal Telecom where most of the free floating shares are US held.					Y		Y						Y		
NEARLY half a billion Indian voters yesterday started to choose their next government, in a general election <i>clouded</i> by violence and charges of poll-rigging.					Y		Y						Y		
But as in all aspects of forecasting the greenhouse world, the task of prediction is <i>clouded</i> by uncertainty.					Y		Y						Y		

Only after two weeks did any serious Soviet account of the disaster – a tale of bungling bureaucratic incompetence, <i>clouded</i> by secrecy – begin to filter out.					Y		Y						Y		
It is on such black days that Woosnam's public relations front is <i>clouded</i> by a red mist.					Y		Y						Y		
The reality is always worse if it is <i>clouded</i> with fear.					Y		Y						Y		
The controversy over lethal-versus non lethal methods of predator control is <i>clouded</i> by uncertain science and by politics.					Y		Y						Y		
Were it not for human judgement and conscience being <i>clouded</i> by such a comfortable belief, and fears of retribution being removed by the further endowment of the "god" with a power to forgive transgressions, many of the unwise human acts which lead on to unhappiness, would never have been undertaken.					Y		Y						Y		
The paramount mistake has been that the intelligence of the individual has been permitted to be <i>clouded</i> by childhood teaching to such an extent that he has been persuaded that the religious writings came from some other source which renders them inviolate.					Y		Y						Y		
The resulting adult – child interaction is <i>clouded</i> by this conflict.					Y		Y						Y		
They loved titles and titled people – they are no non-resistants and their vision is <i>clouded</i> by wealth and worldly importance – though there are many kindhearted and munificent men among them.					Y		Y						Y		

Don't allow your personal feelings to <i>cloud</i> your judgement in finances or joint arrangements - a tall order because you seem to be emotionally involved, too.	Y			Y									Y	Y	
The Liverpool manager refuses to allow the sentiment surrounding his friend and predecessor's return to the Kop to <i>cloud</i> his pursuit of three vital Premier League points.	Y			Y									Y	Y	
This woman is unsentimental; she does not want to <i>cloud</i> the light.	Y			Y									Y	Y	
Ian was very upset by his father's intransigent attitude but he knew what he wanted to do and that was to pursue his studies by every means possible, although by now doubts were beginning to <i>cloud</i> his mind.	Y			Y									Y	Y	
Do small quantities at a time, because the grinding together of individual particles as you wash it makes more brown nasty mess to <i>cloud</i> your water.	Y			Y									Y	Y	
The unsavoury bickering between Transvaal President Dr. Luis Luyt, the ANC and the SARFU over whether or not playing the anthem broke a formal agreement or not tended to <i>cloud</i> the issue.	Y			Y									Y	Y	
This gain was included in the profit and loss account as an extraordinary item, Bonelli said, "so as not to <i>cloud</i> the true operating position" of the company.	Y			Y									Y	Y	
However, the shadow of war was beginning to <i>cloud</i> the cricket world.	Y			Y									Y	Y	
There is nothing in between to impede man's absorption of this natural beauty - no smog, no skyscrapers, no big city pressures to <i>cloud</i> the mind.	Y			Y									Y	Y	

These comments should not be allowed to <i>cloud</i> the picture too much.	Y				Y													Y	Y	
Blackness was beginning to <i>cloud</i> Ruth's eyes, as if she were fainting.	Y				Y													Y	Y	
My letter to your Honour of the fifth January last being writ before the great events that are upon us now, would lead your judgement astray as to our progress in these fair Isles, for mighty Saturn threw his sinister shadow heavy upon me at that juncture and many untoward and grievous events had combined to <i>cloud</i> my spirits that now are light as a summer breeze again.	Y				Y													Y	Y	
Dissatisfaction with facilities offered to the ARC fleet in Barbados is said to be one of the chief reasons why the destination has changed, although a hint of rancour appeared to <i>cloud</i> references to the former destination.	Y				Y													Y	Y	
Pointless to <i>cloud</i> the issue with a description of that scene on the veranda, their kiss and Tom's cryptic words afterwards.	Y				Y													Y	Y	
She had allowed her own feelings to <i>cloud</i> her judgement.	Y				Y													Y	Y	
I feel very sad about leaving Evan, but harsh though it may be, I don't want an adolescent tomcat to <i>cloud</i> what relationship I still have with Lucker.	Y				Y													Y	Y	
Opposition politicians, however, dismissed the "coup" revelation as a ruse to <i>cloud</i> the issue of his responsibility in the scandal.	Y				Y													Y	Y	
He had perhaps allowed hatred of the Hohenstauffer to <i>cloud</i> his vision.	Y				Y													Y	Y	

The brouhaha of recent days over the behaviour of Lonrho, and the Observer newspaper which it owns, should not be allowed to <i>cloud</i> this issue.	Y				Y												Y	Y		
They tried to <i>cloud</i> the issue even further by mixing the question of L M S with the reforms which my group brought in while we were in control of the Council which is in stark contrast to the true situation.	Y				Y													Y	Y	
None of us it is a matter of extreme regret that they were terrified in the way they claim they were, but that sympathy must not be allowed to <i>cloud</i> your judgement on the issue about whether the police were reasonable.	Y				Y													Y	Y	
You're gonna really <i>cloud</i> the issue if you if you s if you say denim's allowed.	Y				Y													Y	Y	
So amidst the doom and gloom that seems to <i>cloud</i> the the African horizon, we can see that aid does work and in the example I've just given, that it works indeed for children.	Y				Y													Y	Y	
She had agreed to this dinner to try to find out the truth, and she mustn't allow the attraction she felt for him to <i>cloud</i> that.	Y				Y													Y	Y	
Unfortunately, you have a tendency to allow your obviously muddled, rather juvenile feelings about myself to <i>cloud</i> your judgement."	Y				Y													Y	Y	
Some strong emotion seemed to <i>cloud</i> Michele's eyes, but he asked lightly enough, "Do you and your aunt have ESP?"	Y				Y													Y	Y	
A series of potential rows threatens to <i>cloud</i> the special relationship between Britain and the United States in advance of the first encounter between the two leaders since President Clinton took office.	Y				Y													Y	Y	

That means concentrating on what our customers need and on the things we do best without allowing boundaries to <i>cloud</i> our vision.	Y			Y								Y	Y
Though the five years they spent here were to be ultimately <i>clouded</i> by the death of first their eldest daughter in 1869 and then a few months later their infant son, it was probably the happiest period in their marriage, and they enjoyed social life with the local landowning gentry.	Y		Y		Y	Y						Y	Y
The sky, which had been clear and filled with stars, was <i>clouding</i> over and a moist wind blew in from the sea.		Y		Y		Y		Y				Y	
When they left it was <i>clouding</i> over and beginning to drizzle.		Y		Y		Y		Y				Y	
All that had once seemed clear was <i>clouding</i> now, and she chafed under the demand for moral adjustment to this difficult guest with her very real needs.		Y		Y		Y		Y				Y	
That day, the skies had <i>clouded</i> and, for the first time, the weather was cooler.		Y		Y		Y		Y				Y	
His face <i>clouded</i> again at the thought.		Y		Y		Y		Y				Y	
Everything <i>clouded</i> .		Y		Y		Y		Y				Y	
Everything <i>clouded</i> again.		Y		Y		Y		Y				Y	
Then his expression <i>clouded</i> again.		Y		Y		Y		Y				Y	
The car occupants did not move at first, a rising condensation choked the dying ventilation, the inside of the windscreen visibly <i>clouded</i> to reveal nothing more than a general silhouette of the two figures in the front seat deliberating their actions.		Y		Y		Y		Y					
The whites of her eyes <i>clouded</i> with red.		Y		Y		Y		Y				Y	
His face <i>clouded</i> .		Y		Y		Y		Y				Y	
His wife's face <i>clouded</i> .		Y		Y		Y		Y				Y	

Her face <i>clouded</i> , then suddenly her eyes shone again.	Y		Y		Y				Y			Y	
His face <i>clouded</i> .	Y		Y		Y				Y			Y	
The green eyes <i>clouded</i> momentarily.	Y		Y		Y				Y			Y	
Joan's smile disappeared and her face <i>clouded</i> .	Y		Y		Y				Y			Y	
Her eyes <i>clouded</i> .	Y		Y		Y				Y			Y	
He frowned, and the handsome face <i>clouded</i> momentarily, petulant as a child's.	Y		Y		Y				Y			Y	
As they spoke the sky <i>clouded</i> , the brilliantly lit room darkened.	Y		Y		Y				Y			Y	
Her face <i>clouded</i> .	Y		Y		Y				Y			Y	
The sky <i>clouded</i> , grew overcast and heavy, and they waited patiently for the rain to start in on them again, knowing they would be in the warmth of Ivrigar by nightfall	Y		Y		Y				Y			Y	
Ratagan's face <i>clouded</i> .	Y		Y		Y				Y			Y	
Ratagan's face <i>clouded</i> , but Bicker laid a hand on his arm.	Y		Y		Y				Y			Y	
Alice's eyes <i>clouded</i> .	Y		Y		Y				Y			Y	
Her gaze <i>clouded</i> .	Y		Y		Y				Y			Y	
Theda's eyes <i>clouded</i> .	Y		Y		Y				Y			Y	
Then, as Theda's eyes <i>clouded</i> , she relented.	Y		Y		Y				Y			Y	
But her eyes <i>clouded</i> almost at once and she sat up, urgently grasping his coat again with her free hand.	Y		Y		Y				Y			Y	
Her eyes <i>clouded</i> .	Y		Y		Y				Y			Y	
Her eyes <i>clouded</i> .	Y		Y		Y				Y			Y	
Then her face <i>clouded</i> .	Y		Y		Y				Y			Y	
His face <i>clouded</i> , slightly.	Y		Y		Y				Y			Y	
The woman's face <i>clouded</i> .	Y		Y		Y				Y			Y	
Her eyes <i>clouded</i> briefly.	Y		Y		Y				Y			Y	
Lindsey's green eyes <i>clouded</i> .	Y		Y		Y				Y			Y	
Her green eyes <i>clouded</i> .	Y		Y		Y				Y			Y	
The other girl looked up from straightening the curtains around the examination couch, her brown eyes <i>clouded</i>	Y		Y		Y				Y			Y	
Her hazel eyes <i>clouded</i> .	Y		Y		Y				Y			Y	
His face <i>clouded</i> instantly with concern.	Y		Y		Y				Y			Y	

Because the rain blew in gusts, the doors were usually closed and the glass <i>clouded</i> and wept, and the world closed in and nothing existed at all except a diseased crew, buffeted and windswept, butting their way through the void.		Y		Y		Y				Y			Y		
His face <i>clouded</i> with irritation.		Y		Y		Y				Y			Y		
Certainly, an attack on southern planning models, national legislation, and perhaps even bureaucratisation was implicit in all of this but the issue of personal culpability <i>clouded</i> and discredited these important points.		Y		Y		Y				Y			Y		
Vologsky's face <i>clouded</i> for a second.		Y		Y		Y				Y			Y		
There were a few wooden tables and benches and those who occupied them drank diablo , white wine <i>clouded</i> with crème de menthe .		Y		Y		Y				Y			Y		
She saw baggies, their heads <i>clouded</i> in violent imminence, shooting Chesarynth, who fell with the same gut-twisting thud that Ember's flesh had made.		Y		Y		Y				Y			Y		
As she exhaled, her own breath <i>clouded</i> before her.		Y		Y		Y				Y			Y		
The keel stayed solid for a few moments, then <i>clouded</i> and became clear as glass.		Y		Y		Y				Y			Y		
For a moment Merrill's grey eyes <i>clouded</i> ; winding up Elise's affairs after her death had been a painful business, but there was no one else to do it.		Y		Y		Y				Y			Y		
The face relaxed and slid from view, the brick wall <i>clouded</i> and the screen blacked.		Y		Y		Y				Y			Y		
Lisabeth's eyes <i>clouded</i> and I knew I'd done enough.		Y		Y		Y				Y			Y		
Jenny's face <i>clouded</i> with disappointment, but she did not say anything more about Matthew.		Y		Y		Y				Y			Y		

His breath <i>clouded</i> on her skin just an instant before his mouth found hers.	Y		Y		Y				Y			Y		
There was a short silence during which his face <i>clouded</i> before he said, "You're right, your personal life is none of my business."	Y		Y		Y				Y			Y		
Virginia's green eyes <i>clouded</i> in dismay.	Y		Y		Y				Y			Y		
His eyes <i>clouded</i> with suspicion.	Y		Y		Y				Y			Y		
Tuesday dry with sunny spells at first, then <i>clouding</i> as the day continues.	Y		Y			Y	Y					Y		
She watched from the unlit half-landing window as Maurice climbed into the Mercedes, its rear lights blurred and twin exhausts <i>clouding</i> in the misty air.	Y		Y			Y	Y					Y		
She hesitated, her eyes <i>clouding</i> a little.	Y		Y			Y	Y					Y		
Almost as an afterthought, her eyes <i>clouding</i> , she added, "No one has called me that for years."	Y		Y			Y	Y					Y		
"No," her father agreed heavily, green eyes, a paler version of Virginia's, <i>clouding</i> with pain.	Y		Y			Y	Y					Y		
Yet for a moment he found his mind <i>clouding</i> .	Y		Y			Y	Y					Y		
Something in her manner must have got through to him, for when she turned abruptly towards the sitting-room without another word he followed her, his face <i>clouding</i>	Y		Y			Y	Y					Y		
and the details have <i>clouded</i> like a plasterer's bucket	Y		Y			Y		Y				Y		
Once the tub was full, he'd pour liberally from the bottle, relishing its glottal stop, and watch the water <i>cloud</i> with a great writhing dragon of disinfectant.	Y		Y			Y			Y			Y		
liquid products as a measure of liability to crystallize or <i>cloud</i> ;	Y		Y									Y	Y	

In the minds of men the Created God could, in the course of time, become personified as the immortal keeper of the good which ensures the continuing development of life in accordance with the desired pattern, but that personification should never be allowed to cloud the origins of the Created God, which came from life.		Y		Y										Y	Y	
---	--	---	--	---	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	---	---	--

Particle and phrasal forms of cloud_(v)

Nothing, though, could have clouded out completely the romance of David Gower's successful return to the fold after 17 months in the wilderness.	Y		Y	Y			Y		Y					Y		
The delicate tracing of his fingers over her naked breast nearly clouded her mind off forever.	Y			Y		Y				Y				Y		
It goes like this and then it'll cloud over and rain.		Y	Y	Y			Y							Y		
The man and woman chose to disobey God, and their act of disobedience severed their relationship with their creator: they lost the divine likeness and his image in them was clouded over – though not lost – through this separation.					Y	Y								Y		
The sky, which had been clear and filled with stars, was clouding over and a moist wind blew in from the sea.		Y		Y		Y		Y						Y		
When they left it was clouding over and beginning to drizzle.		Y		Y		Y		Y						Y		
The sky had clouded over; the cloud coming up from the desert and spreading over the whole wide sky in a matter of minutes.		Y		Y		Y			Y					Y		
But his mind had clouded over again at the wrong moment and now it was too late.		Y		Y		Y			Y					Y		

Mary Ann's expression <i>clouded over</i> .		Y		Y		Y				Y			
For a moment his eyes looked at her beseechingly, then they <i>clouded over</i> and were vacant.		Y		Y		Y				Y			
Manville's face <i>clouded over</i> as he remembered.		Y		Y		Y				Y			
The fickle opinions of the Foreign Office's legal eagles and those of the attorney-general grew in importance as global vision <i>clouded over</i> .		Y		Y		Y				Y			
After an hour the sun <i>clouded over</i> , so they picked up their things and started back towards the fence where they had left their bicycles.		Y		Y		Y				Y			
The moaning combine in the field, the tractor and trailer with grain trickling from the back of it as it rumbled off to the corn drier, the waving haze of barley still to be cut, these things all fell into shade as the sun <i>clouded over</i> .		Y		Y		Y				Y			
Sometimes it <i>clouded over</i> with rays of darkness.		Y		Y		Y				Y			
Then it <i>clouded over</i> , purple and menacing.		Y		Y		Y				Y			
Her face <i>clouded over</i> in confusion at his curt tone, and another set of emotions rioted through him.		Y		Y		Y				Y			
Daylight broke, a stiff breeze struck up and the sky <i>clouded over</i> .		Y		Y		Y				Y			
He was a mere dot on the horizon when the sky <i>clouded over</i> and the storm broke.		Y		Y		Y				Y			
The Prince's face <i>clouded over</i> .		Y		Y		Y				Y			
The blue skies <i>clouded over</i> abruptly.		Y		Y		Y				Y			
His eyes <i>clouded over</i> for a moment, and his voice became gruff.		Y		Y		Y				Y			
A little while after ni-Frith the sky <i>clouded over</i> thickly.		Y		Y		Y				Y			
Her eyes <i>clouded over</i> .		Y		Y		Y				Y			
His face creased up in knotted lines again and the vacant blue eyes <i>clouded over</i> .		Y		Y		Y				Y			

For the briefest moment her eyes <i>clouded</i> over.		Y		Y		Y				Y			
Her eyes <i>clouded</i> over with the pain of the memories being allowed to surface after so many years of being ruthlessly suppressed.		Y		Y		Y				Y			
The intense blue of her eyes shaded away into a translucent green in a bright light, burning into emerald in her moments of laughter or animation, <i>clouding</i> over into a ferny darkness when she was grave.		Y		Y		Y	Y					Y	
"And the traffic will be so congested at this time of afternoon, you'll hardly get down the High at all, and it's <i>clouding</i> over, and Felicity should acclimatize herself before she goes out, particularly since Magdalen is so cold at this time of --"		Y		Y		Y	Y					Y	
The most common late manifestation is interstitial keratitis in which the cornea of the eye gradually <i>clouds</i> over, rather like a cataract.		Y		Y		Y				Y			
Even though critics may not be as learned as their art-historical colleagues, there is no good reason for their practised eyes to <i>cloud</i> over when looking at art of other periods.		Y		Y								Y	Y
Leaving our Teutonic heroines behind, we carried happily on along the grassy ridge to Meall Corranaich, although a small matter of some concern was that Ben Lawers had started to <i>cloud</i> over.		Y		Y								Y	Y
Disease may cause it to <i>cloud</i> over.		Y		Y								Y	Y
"It's going to <i>cloud</i> over, do you see?"		Y		Y								Y	Y
His vision was starting to <i>cloud</i> over, and take on a red tinge.		Y		Y								Y	Y
Nor did it help that the morning, which had started so bright, began to <i>cloud</i> over.		Y		Y								Y	Y

Appendix 4: Full analysis of *police*(v)

	Transitivity		Modality	Voice		Tense		Aspect			Mood			Infinitive	Reflexive
	Transitive	Intransitive	Modal	Active	Passive	Past	Present	Progressive	Perfect	Simple	Subjunctive	Imperative	Indicative		
Reciprocating coalitions are an important feature of these multi-male groups and particular friends at the top of the hierarchy can effectively <i>police</i> the unit, reducing the frequency of quarrels and maintaining a low level of disturbance of pregnant and lactating females.	Y		Y	Y			Y			Y			Y		
" He envisages any show as a complete theatrical entity-staging, set design, choreography, he'll map out the whole show, then monitor it bar by bar -- <i>police</i> it.	Y		(Y)	Y			Y			Y			Y		
And since, in practice, it is through the UK that by far the largest numbers of works of art are imported and exported, it looks at though, in effect, it is going to be Britain that will have to <i>police</i> Italian laws.	Y		Y	Y			Y			Y			Y	Y	
They will have to <i>police</i> the discounts, both for someone's initial eligibility for the discount, and for any change in circumstances that might take away that eligibility.	Y		Y	Y			Y			Y			Y	Y	
He says that they have to <i>police</i> a large area, with officers spread thinly.	Y		Y	Y			Y			Y			Y	Y	
Mary-Rose Caden, a smoker and teachers' representative on Lothian education committee, forecast it may be impracticable: "If it's a complete ban, then they'll have to <i>police</i> it in some way.	Y		Y	Y			Y			Y			Y	Y	
The authorities must therefore <i>police</i> themselves, a problem the more poignant since their own sewage works are often the worst polluters.	Y		Y	Y			Y			Y			Y		Y
In order to protect the public from the charlatan or the quack, entry into the profession must be guarded, its standards <i>policed</i> , and its rules of practice defined in the first instance by the profession itself ...	Y		Y		Y		Y			Y			Y		
Discount levels are determined according to aggregate purchases over three years and will apparently be <i>policed</i> every four months.	Y		Y		Y		Y			Y			Y		

It will be swift and sharp, and Spectrum Radio will be <i>policed</i> at every step."	Y		Y		Y				Y			Y		
Now that Swindon is in the premier league more of their matches will be so-called high priority and will be <i>policed</i> accordingly, like the match against Liverpool.	Y		Y		Y		Y		Y			Y		
In extensive talks in New York and Washington over the weekend, the European Commission and US government also radically disagreed on how a transatlantic steel subsidy code should be <i>policed</i> and enforced.	Y		Y		Y		Y		Y			Y		
The whole scheme will be <i>policed</i> by Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Pollution, currently seriously understaffed with suitable recruits hard to find.	Y		Y		Y		Y		Y			Y		
The regulations will be <i>policed</i> by Environmental Health officers and factory inspectors, and any employers not complying could be prosecuted.	Y		Y		Y		Y		Y			Y		
"It'll be <i>policed</i> so heavily there will be no extra work for us."	Y		Y		Y		Y		Y			Y		
The system will be held together and <i>policed</i> by a franchising authority and a rail regulator.	Y		Y		Y		Y		Y			Y		
Mohawk Grand Chief Joe Norton warned that there would be further violence unless the Quebec authorities agreed to return policing of the reservation to the control of the Indians, who had <i>policed</i> it for 11 years prior to the outbreak of the 1990 trouble.	Y			Y		Y			Y			Y		
They <i>policed</i> Northumberland with its rural areas, small towns, country villages, and tracts of moorland and hills.	Y			Y		Y			Y			Y		
Oddly, consuming countries are also members of the International Coffee Organisation, which <i>policed</i> the old cartel.	Y			Y		Y			Y			Y		
Formidable members of the Black Shorts, more formally known as the "Water Patrol", <i>policed</i> the contest areas, warning off errant outsiders.	Y			Y		Y			Y			Y		
Women in the movement found their sexuality doubly <i>policed</i> , both by social conventions and by Party "discipline".	Y			Y		Y			Y			Y		

Especially in the early 1930s, notwithstanding the pay-cuts, police officers in the city had a job secure from redundancy -- which was more than you could say for most of those they <i>policed</i> .	Y			Y		Y				Y			Y		
The counts of Champagne were quick to realise the lucrative sources of income that could be made from these fairs and dropped any inhibiting feudal dues, guaranteed the safety of the merchants and generally <i>policed</i> the fairs.	Y			Y		Y				Y			Y		
The way it was <i>policed</i> and who <i>policed</i> it was similarly defined by national rather than local considerations.	Y			Y		Y				Y			Y		
In peace, Athens kept a standing fleet of sixty, which <i>policed</i> the Aegean, collected the tribute and escorted it home.	Y			Y		Y				Y			Y		
The Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC) <i>policed</i> Ireland for nearly ninety years.	Y			Y		Y				Y			Y		
The object was to give them a sense of purpose and once they were harnessed to that proposition, they <i>policed</i> themselves, so to speak.	Y			Y		Y				Y			Y		Y
Women <i>policed</i> each other, stopping rebellious acts with cold and disapproving stares.	Y			Y		Y				Y			Y		Y
The executive has been <i>policing</i> the safety of genetic engineering since the mid-1970s, but parts of the system were voluntary agreements rather than legal requirements and some parts have been overtaken by developments in the technology.	Y			Y		Y	Y	Y					Y		
SIX RAF Tornados and two refuelling aircraft will form part of an allied force <i>policing</i> the skies over Southern Iraq.	Y			Y		Y	Y						Y		
Sparc International is <i>policing</i> its Sparc trademark privileges: it has sent hierarchical storage start-up Hiarc Inc a cease and desist notice to stop using the name Sparcus on the software that transparently manages Unix files.	Y			Y		Y	Y						Y		
You are <i>policing</i> rivers is about the simplest way of explaining quality control.	Y			Y		Y	Y						Y		
... You are seeing where pollution is and you are <i>policing</i> .	Y	*		Y		Y	Y						Y		

Rather, Geoffrey Dear -- the Chief Constable who disbanded his own Serious Crimes Squad for malpractice and then, in a shock decision, joined the ranks of Her Majesty's inspectors <i>policing</i> the police -- is the man who exerts the most influence.	Y			Y			Y	Y					Y		
On the face of it, those <i>policing</i> information from the Gulf war have less problems with the great bulk of the British press.	Y			Y			Y	Y					Y		
Almost 50 officers are <i>policing</i> the event.	Y			Y			Y	Y					Y		
A vast amount of work remains to be done before the UK can really claim to be properly <i>policing</i> trade in wildlife.	Y			Y			Y	Y					Y	Y	
Whatever the original guidelines given them, goes the argument, the agents get drawn into doing what is in the best interest of those they are regulating -- they are, wittingly or unwittingly, captured by the people they are supposed to be <i>policing</i> (see, for example, Stigler, 1971).	Y				Y		Y	Y						Y	
If the police are truly interested in being accountable to and building bridges with those that they <i>police</i> , why did they not discuss their plans with representatives of the community organisations on the estate?	Y			Y			Y			Y			Y		
The thing about being a neighbourhood policeman is the way you <i>police</i> your beat.	Y			Y			Y			Y			Y		
Women " <i>police</i> " other women's bodies because we know how important our appearance is in a society which objectifies us.	Y			Y			Y			Y			Y		
The groups <i>police</i> their own work and require the minimum of supervision.	Y			Y			Y			Y			Y		
Teams of security staff <i>police</i> the laboratory, guarding the precious property, protecting what potentially could lead to the greatest fortune ever; the combined wealth of Rockefeller, Vanderbilt and Onassis is a mere drop in the ocean compared to the promise of test-tube fusion.	Y			Y			Y			Y			Y		

It seems that young women fear having the terms applied to them (by men and also by one another), and they <i>police</i> their self-presentation and sexual behaviour to avoid being labelled slags.	Y			Y		Y		Y		Y		
Wages inspectors (who <i>police</i> Britain's minimum-wage system), have been cut by 40 per cent.	Y			Y		Y		Y		Y		
They <i>police</i> waterways, clean coastlines, help ships in trouble, and are basically an integral part of international co-operation and patrol.	Y			Y		Y		Y		Y		
To make sure that you know, they've got to understand we <i>police</i> it from that which means that you go over to collect the details.	Y			Y		Y		Y		Y		
It's in the case of how we <i>police</i> students that the question about where we draw the line and how far we become engaged are most problematic, I think, and it's in that case really that I'm proposing this distinction.	Y			Y		Y		Y		Y		
The programme aims to stimulate the children to find out the truth about Jesus through the eyes of His enemies, the Pharisees and the "secret agents" that were often sent out to investigate and <i>police</i> His teaching and activities.	Y			Y		Y		Y		Y		
At the moment, local authorities, which are supposed to <i>police</i> many of the new controls, do not have either the expertise or the money to make them work.	Y			Y		Y		Y		Y		
"It is surely wrong to make unions <i>police</i> unofficial action which they have not endorsed."	Y			Y		Y		Y		Y		
"Let them <i>police</i> you."	Y			Y		Y		Y		Y		
How do you <i>police</i> erm an area sensitively.	Y			Y		Y		Y		Y		
Moreover, each patch has to be walked by two men: one providing cover for the other while he <i>polices</i> his beat, so that each spends only half of the shift on their particular area.	Y			Y		Y		Y		Y		
This stance has now been inverted by a puritanical moralising clerisy which virtually <i>polices</i> conduct and enquiry in the name of a postmodern triptych -- as Terry Eagleton has put it -- of class and race and gender.	Y			Y		Y		Y		Y		

Monitoring the climate convention and the impact of climate change would require a mandate and an establishment at least equivalent to that of the Vienna-based International Atomic Energy Agency, which <i>polic</i> es the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.	Y			Y		Y			Y			Y		
Last year Mexico blocked agreement to tighten up the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, which <i>polic</i> es world trade in nuclear fuel, because others refused to commit themselves to a test ban.	Y			Y		Y			Y			Y		
Before considering precisely what "priority" means, let us examine who determines it, who <i>polic</i> es it and who benefits from it.	Y			Y		Y			Y			Y		
Moreover, LIFESPAN regularly <i>polic</i> es its own work space and can identify any user whose modules have been illicitly changed – no matter how minor the change.	Y			Y		Y			Y			Y		
In the West Mercia force, which <i>polic</i> es Hereford and Worcester, it's estimated that on average, one officer is attacked every day.	Y			Y		Y			Y			Y		
The group members used flexitime without clocks and effectively <i>polic</i> ed their own team discipline.	Y			Y					Y			Y		
since the union negotiated this, union officials have " <i>polic</i> ed" the radio stations to ensure their compliance.	Y			Y		Y		Y				Y		
Several months before, he had been almost sleek, thanks to fourteen-mile walks and his wife's efforts to <i>polic</i> e him at the table.	Y			Y		Y			Y			Y	Y	
In the United States, it is fair to say, these people have usurped the idea of animal welfare from the animal welfare societies that historically have helped <i>polic</i> e them.	Y			Y		Y			Y			Y	Y	
Unable to <i>polic</i> e the world unaided, Britain was losing its freedom of manoeuvre – including its freedom to avoid involvement in future European wars.	Y			Y		Y			Y			Y	Y	

Feminist psychologists can, like other psychologists, try to develop a psychology based on conventional ideas of the subject, in order to <i>police</i> subjectivity; or they can deal more fully with the complexities of gendered subjectivity, by using psychoanalysis.	Y			Y			Y			Y			Y	Y	
Our most important priority is to secure the agreement of the industry to effective voluntary agreements and then to <i>police</i> them robustly.	Y			Y									Y	Y	
Secondly, that the framework of current investor protection is adequate but that the self-regulatory organisations are not sufficiently funded and hence lack the resources to fully <i>police</i> the financial system.	Y			Y									Y	Y	
They cause no great problem to anybody, and what ought to happen is that the gipsies and certainly the tinkers ought to be encouraged to buy sites and develop them and <i>police</i> them themselves.	Y			Y		Y				Y			Y		?Y
Ancient customs such as "bundling", intimate but fully clothed and ritualistic forms of petting, cuddling and courtship in bed, which had been <i>policed</i> by local traditions in rural society, continued into industrial society.	Y				Y	Y			Y				Y		
The larger forests were divided into wards, each <i>policed</i> by a forester who kept vert and venison under the warden.	Y				Y	Y				Y			Y		
The Government investigations paint a picture of decadent fraud flourishing in a climate of lax controls dating back to the 19th century and <i>policed</i> by professional advisors who paid insufficient attention to the task at hand.	Y				Y	Y				Y			Y		
London and the United Kingdom was the wrong environment – too cold, too sunless, too well <i>policed</i> .	Y				Y	Y				Y			Y		
Soldiers from the South Lebanon Army (SLA), Israel's proxy militia which <i>policed</i> the zone, used tanks and heavy machine guns to force the deportees back to their makeshift camp.	Y			Y		Y				Y			Y		

Those living near the common have said the festival was like an invasion, but questions are being asked about the way the festival was <i>policed</i> .	Y				Y	Y				Y			Y		
Though many of these posts overlapped and the bulk of the membership were passive, it is clear that almost every avenue of expression or opinion -- from welfare to warfare, from motoring to flying -- was controlled, regulated and <i>policed</i> by the NSDAP.	Y				Y	Y				Y			Y		
A yet further, intriguingly perverse, aspect of this convergence involves the phenomenon whereby the culturally negated other becomes the focus of the very desire which is being <i>policed</i> within the dominant culture: the other, in the very process of being identified, displaced, and negated, becomes the object of -- indeed may actually incite -- desire.	Y				Y		Y	Y					Y		
Instead of all the new controls being <i>policed</i> by the National Rivers Authority some of the responsibility was being handed over to Her Majesty's Inspector of Pollution, with decisions being taken by the Department of Environment.	Y				Y		Y	Y					Y		
They also had to share ordinary police duties with Royal Military Police in order to give the latter civilian experience and to condition the public to being <i>policed</i> by them.	Y				Y		Y	Y							Y
Their visibility or otherwise, the ways in which they are coded, <i>policed</i> , censored, constructed, praised or punished, the ways in which and levels at which they are represented as engaging with the viewer, and the contexts in which women's bodies are placed in images and how images of women's bodies are then distributed and consumed -- all this adds up to a subtle politics of the representation of women's bodies.	Y				Y		Y			Y			Y		
they have stated that all use of animals must be justified and it very carefully <i>policed</i> by the Home Office, as well as locally.	Y				Y		Y			Y			Y		

Thus it was agreed that a buffer zone <i>policed</i> by the regional peacekeeping force ECOMOG (ECOWAS Monitoring Group) was to be established as soon as possible along the border with Sierra Leone.	Y				Y		Y			Y			Y		
Would my right, would my right honourable friend agree that the use of American and French and British planes to bomb the hills around Sarajevo may not necessarily produce lasting peace in Bosnia and would he further agree that if the idea is to achieve a demilitarised zone, <i>policed</i> effectively around Sarajevo then the best chances of so doing are by ensuring that Russian soldier in United Nations uniforms, in integrated units with British and French forces so help in the policing of that zone.	Y				Y		Y			Y			Y		
He points out that contrary to the view held by many consumers: "We are in fact very well <i>policed</i> ."	Y				Y		Y			Y			Y		
When recycling or re-use is not practicable, C&P's waste is sent for landfill or incineration by professional contractors who are authorised and <i>policed</i> by the regulatory bodies.	Y				Y		Y			Y			Y		
After those expensive lessons in prudence, banks are now properly <i>policed</i> .	Y				Y		Y			Y			Y		
Oldham, <i>policed</i> by the same force, are also at home on that night, against Scarborough.	Y				Y		Y			Y			Y		
In the station in which the unit is based (not Easton), the attitude of the policemen towards it is not positive, partly as a result of their ambivalent attitudes toward sex crimes, but mostly because it is <i>policed</i> by women, who therefore are said to spend their time in Boots and Marks and Spencer, making it an easy duty (FN 30/11/87, p. 18).	Y				Y		Y			Y			Y		
It seems to be particularly bad in the country, because we are inadequately <i>policed</i> .	Y				Y		Y			Y			Y		
A spokesman said: "The motorways are <i>policed</i> intensively."	Y				Y		Y			Y			Y		

I understand that they are <i>policed</i> by the State Veterinary Service, but where the wholesomeness of the animals' feed is involved, the Environmental Health Service may be brought in.	Y				Y		Y			Y			Y		
Each district is <i>policed</i> by a field officer responsible to an area supervisor.	Y				Y		Y			Y			Y		
Her thoroughly Nineties image of modesty and purity is carefully <i>policed</i> .	Y				Y		Y			Y			Y		
I think if you compared people who are struggling with very little resources with very low incomes, and with er living in areas of kind of multiple deprivation, erm, then you would, you would find that maybe people in those circumstances have higher rates of trouble and sometimes it's er it's also those areas that are more heavily <i>policed</i> that children are more likely to be picked up in, and picked on.	Y				Y		Y			Y			Y		
But London's river is also <i>policed</i> by a special force of River Police, expert rivermen, who have a distinguished place in the history of the Thames.	Y				Y		Y			Y			Y		
All these are <i>policed</i> by Gloucestershire's royal protection squad -- and the county's tax payers contribute a million pounds towards the bill, which comes out of the police budget.	Y				Y		Y			Y			Y		
Cyclists and the Forestry Commission have come up with a special scheme, <i>policed</i> by rangers on mountain bikes, cyclists are allowed anywhere in the forest, apart from 3 nature reserves which are out of bounds and families as well, as the more energetic are catered for with an 11 mile trail along disused railway tracks.	Y				Y		Y			Y			Y		
Geographically isolated and heavily <i>policed</i> because of the number of VIPs who live in the constituency, it is not an easy target for the gunman or bomber seeking a swift escape from his latest atrocity.	Y				Y		Y			Y			Y		
Is the area well lit and well <i>policed</i> ?	Y				Y		Y			Y			Y		

There are growing fears that the cash-starved klondykers, no longer <i>policed</i> by political commissars from their own nations, could be used by international drug dealers to smuggle large consignments of illegal substances into the UK.	Y					Y		Y					Y		
Indeed, both construction workers and "oilies" are usually seen by Shetlanders as potential troublemakers who need to be amused, <i>policed</i> and, above all, contained.	Y					Y		Y					Y	Y	
That autumn the EC and UN mediators drafted a peace plan for Bosnia & Hercegovina, to be <i>policed</i> by 60,000 - 75,000 peacekeepers.	Y					Y		Y					Y	Y	
It appears therefore that whilst "private" homosexual conduct may have been decriminalised, the "public" margins came to be increasingly <i>policed</i> .	Y					Y		Y					Y	Y	
No estimate of numbers need be given, although this is clearly of considerable importance in making tactical decisions about how the procession is to be <i>policed</i> .	Y					Y		Y					Y	Y	
Nobody had wanted to be regularly <i>policed</i> as people were abroad, preferring to leave it to the magistrates to swear in special constables as they'd always done in times of civil disturbance, or use the troops.	Y					Y		Y					Y	Y	
Many former rebels were expected to remain within two government development zones covering 25,000 sq km in the south region bordering the San Juan River, to be <i>policed</i> by 300 armed former contras.	Y					Y		Y					Y	Y	
Could I ask through you chair er how this system is going to be <i>policed</i> ?	Y					Y		Y					Y	Y	
You are trying to <i>police</i> without wearing helmets.		Y			Y								Y	Y	

**Appendix 5: Established Conversions (from Marchand and Adams)
analysed for 'full' or 'partial' conversion status**

Key:

* = fewer than 3 citations in corpus

(1) = 1 example in corpus

/ = category not applicable

	Base	-ed	-ing	-s	Transitivity	Reflexivity	Active/ Passive	No noun
accord	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y*(1)	A/P	
account	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y*(1)	A/P	
afterdate	X	X	X	X	/	/	/	Y
age	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P	
air	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P	
anchor	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P	
anger	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P	
angle 'fish'	Y	Y	Y	X	I	X	A	Y
angle 'run into corner'	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P	
annoy	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P	Y
anvil	X	X	X	X	/	/	/	
ape	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P	
arch	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P	
arm	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P	
array	X	Y	Y*(1)	X	T	Y	A/P	
asphalt	X	Y*	X	X	T	X	P	
audition	Y	Y	Y	X	T/I	X	A/P	
awe	Y*	Y	X	Y	T	X	A/P	
axe	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P	
baby	Y*	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P	
back	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P	
background	X	Y* (2)	Y*(1)	X	T	X	P	
backwash	Y	Y* (1)	X	X	T	X	A/P	
badger	Y	Y	Y	X	T	X	A/P	
bag	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P	
balance	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P	
bale	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P	
balloon	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A	
balm	Y* (1)	Y* (1)	X	X	T	X	A	
bar	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P	
barb	X	Y	X	X	T*(1)	X	P*	
barge	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A	
bark 'take off'	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A	
barrel	Y	Y	Y	X	T/I	X	A	
bastinado	X	Y* (1)	X	X	T	X	P	Y
bath	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P	
bayonet	X	Y	Y*(2)	X	T	X	A/P	

bed	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P	
beggar	Y	Y	X	Y	T	Y	A	
belt 'gird with'	X	Y	Y*(2)	Y	T/I	X	A/P	
belt 'hit'	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P	
benefit	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P*(1)	
berry	Y*	X	X	X	I	X	A	
bicycle	Y	Y	Y	X	I	X	A	
bike	Y	Y	Y	X	I	X	A	
bill 'peck'	Y*(1)	X	Y*(1)	X	I	X	A	
bivouac	Y	Y	Y	Y	I	X	A	
blackberry	X	X	Y	X	I	X	A	
blacklist	Y	Y	Y	X	T	X	A/P	
blame	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P	
blanket	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P	
bloom	Y	Y	Y	Y	I	X	A	
blossom	Y	Y	Y	Y	I	X	A	
blot	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P	
blue-pencil	X	X	X	X	/	/	/	
bluff	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A	
bolt	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P	
bomb	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P	
bone	Y	X	X	X	T	X	A	
book	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P	
boss	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P	
bottle	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P	
boycott	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P	Orig noun obsc.
brain	Y	Y	Y	X	T	Y	A/P	
brake	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A	
bran	X	X	X	X	/	/	/	
branch	Y	Y	Y	Y	T*/I	X	A/P*	
bribe	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y*(1)	A/P	
bridge	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P	
bridle	X	Y	Y	X	T	X	A/P	
brine	X	X	X	X	/	/	/	
broadcast	Y	Y ¹	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P	
bronze	Y*	X	X	Y	I	X	A	
brush	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P	
buck	Y	Y	Y	Y	I	X	A	
buckle	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A	
buckram	X	X	X	X	/	/	/	
bud	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P	
bugle	Y*(2)	X	X	X	T	X	A	
bulge	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A	
bully	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P	
bum (around)	Y	Y	Y	X	T/I	X	A/P	

¹ p.p. usu. irregular

bundle	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P	
bur	X	Y	X	X	T	X	A/P	
burgeon	Y	Y	Y	Y	I	X	A	Y
burgoyne	X	X	X	X	/	/	/	Y
burrow	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P	
butcher	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P	
butter	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P	
by-pass	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P	
cable	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P	
cage	Y	Y	Y	X	T	X	A	
calve	Y	Y	Y	X	T(2)/I	X	A/P(2)	
camp	Y	Y	Y	Y	I	X	A	
campaign	Y	Y	Y	Y	I	X	A	
can	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A	
candy	X	Y*	X	X	T	X	P	
cane 'hit'	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P	
cannonball (into someone)	X	X	X	X	/	/	/	
canoe	Y	Y	Y	X	T/I	X	A	
cap	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P	
captain	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P	
capture	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P	
caricature	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P	
carpet	Y	Y	Y	X	T	X	A/P	
cart	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P	
cash	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P	
casket	X	X	X	X	/	/	/	
catalogue	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P	
catapult (shoot something with)	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P	
catcall	X	X	X	X	/	/	/	
cave (in)	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A	
cellar	X	X	X	X	/	/	/	
cement -	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y*(1)	A/P	
centre (on)	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P	
chain	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P	
chair	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P	
change	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P	
channel	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P	
chaperon	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P	
chapter	X	X	X	X	/	/	/	
charge	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P	
charm	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P	
charter	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P	
chase	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y ²	A/P	
chicken (out of)	Y	Y	Y	X	I	X	A	
chronicle	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P	

²e.g. "go chase yourself" - insult

chum	Y	Y	Y	X	T/I	X	A	
cipher	X	X	X	X	/	/	/	
claim	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P	
clam (up)	Y	Y	Y	Y	I	X	A	
clamp	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P	
class	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P	
claw	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P	
cloak	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P	
cloister	Y	Y	X	X	T	Y	A/P	
cloud	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P	
clown	Y	X	Y	Y	T/I	X	A	
club 'hit'	Y	Y	Y	X	T	X	A/P	
coal	X	X	X	X	/	/	/	
coast (to sail by coast)	Y	Y	Y	X	I	X	A	
cocoon	Y	Y	Y*(2)	X	T/I	Y	A/P	
coffer	X	X	X	X	/	/	/	
coffin	X	X	X	X	/	/	/	
coin	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P	
collar	Y	Y	Y*(1)	X	T	X	A/P	
colt 'run wild'	X	X	X	X	/	/	/	
comb	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P	
comfort	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P	
commission	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P	
concrete	Y	Y	Y	X	T	Y	A/P	
contact	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P	
copenhagen	X	X	X	X	/	/	/	Y
copper	X	Y*	Y*	X	T	X	A	
copy	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P	
corner	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P	
cornwallis	X	X	X	X	/	/	/	Y
corral	Y	Y	Y	X	T	X	A/P	
cosset	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P	Y
cost	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P	
counsel	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P	
count	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P	
counterweight	X	X	X	X	/	/	/	
cradle	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P	
crane	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P	
cream	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P	
crease	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P	
cripple	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P	
crusade	Y	Y	Y	X	T*(1)/I	X	A	
crutch	X	X	X	X	/	/	/	
cub	X	X	X	X	/	/	/	
cuckold	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P	
curry	X	X	X	X	/	/	/	
curse	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P	

curtsy	Y	Y	Y	X	I	X	A
cushion	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P
dart	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P
date	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P
diamond	Y	X	X	X	T*(1)	X	A
discipline	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P
ditch	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P
dock	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y*	A/P
doctor	Y	Y	Y	X	T	X	A/P
document	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P
dog	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P
doubt	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P
drum	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P
duel	Y	Y	Y	X	I	X	A
dust	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P
dwarf	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P
dynamite	Y	X	X	X	T	X	A
earmark	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P
ease	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P
ebb	Y	Y	Y	Y	I	X	A
echo	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P
elbow	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y*(1)	A/P
enamel	X	Y	X	X	T/I	X	A/P
end	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P
evidence	X	X	X	X	/	/	/
experience	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P
experiment	Y	Y	Y	Y	I	X	A
eye	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P
face	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P
fan 'winnow'	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P
fancy	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P
farm	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P
father	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P
fathom	Y	Y	Y*(1)	X	T	X	A/P
fawn	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A
feature	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P
fence	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P
ferret (out)	Y	Y	Y	X	T/I	X	A/P*(1)
fiddle	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A
field (ball)	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P
file	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P
filter	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y*	A/P
fin	X	Y*(1)	X	X	I*(1)	X	A
finance	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P
fine 'put a fine on'	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P
finger	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P
fire	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P
fish	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P
fissure	X	X	X	X	/	/	/
fist 'fight'	Y	Y	Y*(3)	X	T	X	A

flavour	Y	Y	Y	X	T	X	A/P
fleece	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P
flock	Y	Y	Y	X	T/I	X	A
flood	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y*(1)	A/P
floor	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P
flower	Y	Y	Y	Y	I	X	A
flute	X	Y* (3)	Y*(1)	X	T/I	X	A
foal	Y	Y	X	X	T/I	X	A/P
foam	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A
fodder	X	X	X	X	/	/	/
fold 'make sheepfolds'	Y* (1)	Y* (2)	X	X	T	X	A/P
fool	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P
fork	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P
form	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P
fowl	X	X	X	X	/	/	/
fox	Y	Y	X	Y	T	X	A/P
fraction	X	X	X	X	/	/	/
frill	X	X	Y*	X	T	X	A
frolic	Y	Y	Y	X	I	X	A
froth	Y	Y	Y	Y	I	X	A
fuel	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P
fume	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A
gangrene	X	Y* (1)	X	X	I	X	A
garden	Y	Y	Y	Y	T*(1)/I	X	A/P*(1)
garner	Y	Y	Y	X	T	X	A/P
gas	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P
gesture	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A
ghost (writer)	X	X	Y*(1)	X	I	X	A
gill	X	X	X	X	/	/	/
ginger	Y	Y	Y	X	T	X	A
gipsy	X	X	X	X	/	/	/
girdle	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P
glove	X	Y	Y*(2)	X	T	X	A/P
golf	X	Y*	Y*	X	T*/I	X	A
grade	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P
grass	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P
gravel 'ships'	X	X	X	X	/	/	/
grease	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P
grimace	Y	Y	Y	Y	I	X	A
ground	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P
group	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P
guarantee	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P
guillotine	Y* (2)	Y	Y*(1)	X	T	X	A/P
guitar	X	X	X	X	/	/	/
gull	Y	Y	X	X	T	X	A/P
gun	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P
gut	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P

gypsum	X	X	X	X	/	/	/	
halter	X	Y* (2)	X	X	T	X	P	
hammer	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P	
hand	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P	
handcuff	Y	Y	Y*(2)	X	T	Y	A/P	
harangue	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P	
harm	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P	
harp	Y	Y	Y	Y	I	X	A	
harvest	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P	
hasp	X	X	X	X	/	/	/	
haste	Y* (4)	X	X	X	T	X	A	
hay	X	X	X	X	/	/	/	
head (as in expedition)	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P	
head 'take off'	X	X	X	X	/	/	/	
heap	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P	
heat	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P	
hedge	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P	
helm orig 'cover with helm'	Y	Y	Y	X	T	X	A/P	
hinge	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P	
hire	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P	
hoard	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P	
hog	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A	
hole (up in)	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P	
holiday	Y	Y	Y	Y	I	X	A	
honeycomb	X	Y	X	X	T	X	A/P	
honeymoon	Y	Y	Y	X	I	X	A	
hoof	Y	Y	Y	X	T	X	A	
hook 'bend'	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P	
hook 'catch with'	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P	
hop	Y	Y	Y	Y	I	X	A	
hop 'drink'	Y*	X	Y*	X	T	X	A	
horn	X	Y* (1)	X	X	I*(1)	X	A	
horse	Y	Y* (1)	Y	X	I	X	A	
house	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P	
hue 'form' later 'colour'	X	X	X	X	/	/	/	
hulk	X	Y*	X	X	T	X	A	
hull 'remove'	X	X	X	X	/	/	/	
hunger	Y	Y	Y	Y	I	X	A	
husk	Y* (2)	X	Y*(3)	X	T	X	A	

hut	X	X	X	X	/	/	/	
inconvenience	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P	
ink	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P	
inn	X	X	X	X	/	/	/	
jack-knife	Y	Y	X	Y	T/I	X	A	
jewel	X	X	X	X	/	/	/	
joke	Y	Y	Y	Y	I	X	A	
journey	Y	Y	Y	X	I	X	A	
kennel	X	Y*(3)	X	X	T	X	P	
kite	X	X	Y*(2)	X	I	X	A	
kitten	X	Y*(1)	X	X	I	X	A	
knife	Y	Y	Y	X	T/I	X	A/P	
knight	Y	Y	Y*(1)	Y	T	Y	A/P	
knob	X	X	X	X	/	/	/	
knot	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P	
knuckle	Y	Y	Y	X	T/I	X	A	
label	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P	
labour	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P	
lacquer	Y	Y	Y*(1)	X	T	X	A/P	
ladle	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P	
lamb	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P	
lampoon	Y	Y	Y	X	T	X	A/P	
land	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P	
landscape	Y	Y	Y	X	T	X	A/P	
lantern	X	X	X	X	/	/	/	
lash	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P	
latch	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P	
lather	Y	Y	Y*(1)	Y	T/I	Y	A	
laundry	Y	Y	Y	X	T	X	A/P	
laurel	X	X	X	X	/	/	/	
leaf	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A	
leaven	Y	Y	Y	X	T	X	A/P	
lecture	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P	
leech 'heal - 1-ed, rest met)	Y	Y	Y	X	T	X	A/P	
leg	Y	Y	Y	Y	T*(1)/I	X	A	
libel	Y	Y	X	Y	T	X	A/P	
lid 'put one on'	X	X	X	X	/	/	/	
lighter 'transport with'	X	X	X	X	/	/	/	Y
lime	X	Y	X	X	T	X	P	
lip	X	Y	Y	X	T/I*(1)	X	A/P	
list	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A	
litter	Y	Y	Y	X	T	X	A/P	
loaf 'form a loaf'	X	X	X	X	/	/	/	
loan	Y	Y	Y	X	T	X	A/P	

lock	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P
lodge	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P
loot	Y	Y	X	X	T/I	X	A/P
lord	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P
lump	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P
lust	Y	Y	Y	X	I	X	A
machin gun	Y*	Y	Y	X	T	X	A/P
mail	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P
major	X	X	X	X	/	/	/
malt	X	Y* (1)	X	X	T(1)	X	P*(1)
man	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P
manufac ture	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y*(1)	A/P
mark	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P
market	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P
marshal	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P
martyr	Y	Y	Y*(1)	X	T	Y	A/P
mask	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P
masquer ade	Y	Y	Y	Y	I	X	A
mast	X	X	X	X	/	/	/
master	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P
mate	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P
message	X	Y* (1)	X	X	I*(1)	X	A*(1)
metal	X	Y*	X	X	T	X	P
milk	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P
mill	Y	Y	Y	X	T/I	X	A/P
mimic	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P
mire 'plunge into'	Y	Y	Y*(2)	X	T/I	X	A/P
mirror	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P
mob	Y	Y	Y	X	T	X	A/P
model (as in clay)	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P
monkey	Y	Y* (1)	Y	X	I	X	A
moon	Y	Y	Y	Y	I	X	A
mop	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P
moss	X	X	X	X	/	/	/
mother	Y	Y	Y	X	T	X	A/P
motion	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A
mould 'bread'	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P
mouse 'catch'	X	X	X	X	/	/	/
mouth	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P
mushroom	Y	Y	Y	Y	I	X	A
muzzle	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P
nail	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P

name	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P
needle	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P*
neighbour	X	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A
nerve	Y	Y	Y	X	T	Y ³	A
nest	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P
nickel	X	X	X	X	/	/	/
nickname	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P
night	X	X	X	X	/	/	/
nose	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P
nurse	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P
nut	Y	Y	Y	X	T	X	A
oar	X	X	X	X	/	/	/
oil	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P
onion	X	X	X	X	/	/	/
ooze	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A
orbit	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P
order	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P
orphan	Y	Y	X	X	T	Y	A/P
outlaw	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P
outline	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P
package	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P
padlock	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P
page	Y*	X	Y*	X	I	X	A
palaver	X	X	X	X	/	/	/
panic	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P
parachute	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P
parade	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P
paraffin	X	X	X	X	/	/	/
parcel	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P
park	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P
parley	Y	Y*	Y*	X	T/I*	X	A
parody	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P
parrot	Y	Y	Y	X	T	X	A
partition	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P
patch	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y*(1)	A/P
pattern	Y	Y	Y	X	T/I	X	A/P
paw	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P
pawn	Y	Y	Y	X	T	Y*(1)	A/P
pearl	X	Y*	Y*	X	I	X	A
people	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P
pepper	Y	Y	Y	X	T	X	A/P
pestle	X	X	X	X	/	/	/
pet	Y	Y	Y	X	T	X	A/P
photograph	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P
phrase	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P
picket	Y	Y	Y	X	T/I	X	A
picture	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P
piece	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P
pig	Y	Y	Y	X	T/I	X	A
pig (it)	Y	Y	Y	X	T/I	X	A
pile	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P

³ verbs usu. refl.

pillory	Y	Y	X	Y	T	X	A/P
pilot	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P
pimp	Y*	X	X	X	I	X	A
pinion	X	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P
pinnacle	X	X	X	X	/	/	/
pioneer	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P
pipe	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P
pirate	Y	Y	Y	X	T	X	A/P
pirouette	Y	X	X	Y	I	X	A
pit 'cart into pit'	X	X	X	X	/	/	/
pitch (tar)	X	Y*	X	X	T	X	P
pity	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P
placard	X	Y* (2)	Y*(1)	X	T	X	A*(1)/P
place	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P
plague	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P
plane (tool)	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P
plant	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P
plaster	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P
plow/plough	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P
pocket	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P
poison	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P
pole	Y	Y	Y	X	T/I	X	A/P
police	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I*(1)	Y	A/P
pool	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P
portage	Y	Y* (2)	X	X	T/I	X	A/P*(1)
portion	X	Y* (1)	Y	X	T	X	A/P
powder	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P
prawn	X	X	X	X	/	/	/
pressure	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P
priest	X	Y	X	X	T	X	P
process	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P
procession	X	X	X	X	/	/	/
pulley	X	X	X	X	/	/	/
pulp	Y	Y	Y	X	T	X	A/P
puncture	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P
pup	Y*	Y	X	X	I	X	A
puppy	X	X	X	X	/	/	/
purse (lips)	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P
putty	X	Y* (1)	X	X	I*(1)	X	A
queen (it)	Y* (1)	Y* (1)	Y*(2)	X	T	X	A
queue	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P
quilt	X	Y* (3)	X	X	T	X	P
rabbit	Y	Y	Y	Y	I	X	A
race	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P
raft	X	Y	X	X	T	X	P

rafter	X	X	X	X	/	/	/	
rage	Y	Y	Y	Y	I	X	A	
rain	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y*(1)	A/P	
ransom	Y	Y	Y	X	T	X	A/P	
ration	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P	
referee	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P	
register	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P	
reign	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P	
resin	X	X	X	X	/	/	/	
riddle (speak in)	Y	X	X	Y	T	X	A	
riddle 'corn'	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P	
ridge	X	X	X	X	/	/	/	
rime	X	X	X	X	/	/	/	
ring (circle)	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P	
rival	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P	
rivet	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P	
robe	X	Y	Y	X	T/I	Y	A/P	
rocket	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P	
room	Y	Y	Y	X	I	X	A	
roost	Y	Y	Y	Y	I	X	A	
root	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P	
rope	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P	
roughcast	X	X	X	X	/	/	/	
rubber	X	X	X	X	/	/	/	
rule	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P	
rust	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P	
sabotage	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P	
sack	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P	
saddle	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P	
safeguard	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P	
sail	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P	
salt	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P	
salve	Y	Y	Y*(1)	Y	T	X	A/P	
sample	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y*(1)	A/P	
sandpaper	Y	Y	Y	X	T	X	A/P	
sandwich	Y	Y	Y	X	T/I	X	A/P	
sauce 'season'	X	Y	Y	X	T	X	A/P	
saw 'cut with'	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P	
scabbard	X	X	X	X	/	/	/	
scale	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P	
scale 'fish'	Y*(1)	X	X	Y	T	X	A	
scalp	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P	
scar	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P	
scent	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P	
schedule	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P	
scheme	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A	
school	Y	Y	Y	X	T	Y	A/P	

scrap	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P	
screen	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P	
screw	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P	
scythe	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P	
seal	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P	
seed	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P	
segment	Y	Y	Y	X	T	X	A/P	
serenade	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P	
service	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y*(1)	A/P	
shadow	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P	
shaft	X	X	X	X	/	/	/	
shame	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P	
shanghai	X	X	X	X	/	/	/	Y
shark	X	Y*	X	X	T/I	X	A	
sheaf	X	Y*(1)	X	X	T*(1)	X	A	
shell	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P	
shell 'hit with'	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P	
shelter	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P	
shepherd	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I*(1)	X	A/P	
shield	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P	
shin	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A	
ship	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P	
shoe* cf. shod	Y	Y	Y	X	T	X	A/P	
shop	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A	
shoulder	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P	
shovel	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P	
shower	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P	
shrimp	Y*	X	Y*	X	I	X	A	
shrine	X	X	X	X	/	/	/	
shroud	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P	
side	Y	Y	Y	Y	I	X	A	
signal	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P	
silhouette	Y	Y	Y	X	T/I	X	A/P	
silt (up)	Y	Y	Y	X	T/I	X	A/P	
silver	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P	
skate	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P	
ski	Y	Y	Y	Y	I	X	A	
skin	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P	
skirt	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P	
skunk	X	X	X	X	/	/	/	
skyrocket	Y	Y	Y	X	I	X	A	
slave	Y	Y	Y	Y	T ⁴ /I	X	A	
sled	X	X	X	X	/	/	/	
sledge	Y	Y*	Y	X	I	X	A	
slug	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P	
smear	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P	
smoke	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P	
snake	Y	Y	Y	Y	I	X	A	

⁴ Technical use 'slave the laser to the injected signal frequency'

snow	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y*(1)	A
snowball	Y	X	X	Y	I	X	A
soldier	Y	Y	Y	Y	I	X	A
somersault	Y	Y	Y	Y	I	X	A
spark	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P
spawn	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P
spear	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P
speck	X	X	X	X	/	/	/
speed* cf. sped	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P
spiral	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A
spirit (something away)	Y	Y	Y	X	T/I	X	A/P
sponge	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P
spot	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y*(1)	A/P
squirrel (hoard)	X	Y	Y	X	T	X	A/P
stage	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P
star	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P
steam	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P
stilt	X	Y	X	X	T	X	A/P
stocking	X	X	X	X	/	/	/
stomach 'be offended'	X	X	X	X	/	/	/
stone 'fruit'	Y	Y	Y	X	T	X	A
stone 'hit with'	Y	Y	Y	X	T	X	A/P
story	X	X	X	X	/	/	/
strand	Y* (1)	Y	Y	X	T	Y	A/P
strap 'fasten'	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P
strap 'hit'	X	Y	X	X	T*(1)	X	P
stream	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P
structure	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P
stucco	X	Y	X	X	T	X	P
style	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P
subpoena	Y	Y	X	X	T	X	A/P
sugar	Y	Y	X	X	T	X	A/P
sun	Y	Y	Y	X	T	Y ⁵	A
supper	X	X	X	X	/	/	/
surface	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P
swarm	Y	Y	Y	Y	I	X	A
table	Y	Y	Y	X	T	X	A/P
tag	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P
tail	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P
tailor	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P
tap	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A

⁵ verbs usu. refl

tar	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P
taxi	Y	Y	Y	X	T/I	X	A
team	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P
telescope	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P
tent	X	Y* (2)	X	X	T/I	X	A/P
thieve	Y	Y	Y	X	T/I	X	A
thirst	Y	Y	Y	Y	I	X	A
thong 'fasten'	X	X	Y	X	I*(1)	X	A
thong 'hit'	X	X	X	X	/	/	/
thumb	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P
thunder	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A
timber	X	X	X	X	/	/	/
tin	Y	Y	X	Y	T	X	A/P
tincture	Y	Y* (1)	X	X	T/I	X	A/P
toboggan	Y	X	Y	X	I	X	A
token	X	X	X	X	/	/	/
torpedo	Y	Y	Y*(1)	X	T/I	X	A/P
torture	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P
touch	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P
tour	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P
tower (up over)	Y	Y	Y	Y	I	X	A
treasure	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P
trouble	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P
truck	X	Y	Y*(1)	X	T/I	X	A/P
trumpet	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A
trustee	X	X	X	X	/	/	/
tub	X	Y* (1)	Y*(1)	X	T*(1)/I*(1)	X	A(1)/P(1)
tunnel	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P
tutor	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P
twist	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P
umpire	Y	Y	Y	X	T/I	X	A/P
understudy	Y	Y	Y	X	T/I	X	A
upgrade	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P
usher	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P
vacation	Y	Y* (1)	Y	X	I	X	A
van	X	X	X	X	/	/	/
vapour	X	X	X	X	/	/	/
varnish	Y	Y	Y	X	T	X	A/P
veil	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P
veto	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P
view	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P
vision	X	X	X	X	/	/	/
voice	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P
vow	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A
waitress	Y	Y	Y*	X	I	X	A
waltz	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P
water	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y*	A/P

wax	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P	
wed	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P	Y
weed	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P	
weekend	Y	Y	Y	X	I	X	A	
whale	X	X	Y*(1)	X	I	X	A	
wheel	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P	
whelp	Y	Y	X	Y	T/I	X	A/P	
whip	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P	
widow	Y	Y	X	X	T/I	X	A/P	
winter	Y	Y	Y	Y	I	X	A	
wire 'send with'	Y	Y	X	Y	T	X	A/P	
wisecrack	Y*(1)	Y*(3)	Y*(3)	Y	I	X	A	
witness	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P	
wive	X	X	X	X	/	/	/	
wolf	Y*(2)	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P	
wonder	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P	
word	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	X	A/P	
worm	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P	
wound	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	Y	A/P	
wreck	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P	
wrinkle	Y	Y	Y	Y	T/I	X	A/P	
x-ray	Y	Y	X	Y	T	X	A/P	
yacht	X	X	X	X	/	/	/	
yoke	Y	Y	Y	Y	T	Y	A/P	
zeppelin	X	X	X	X	/	/	/	
zone	Y	Y	X	X	T/I	X	A/P	

cry (v-n, not n-v)	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	
dance (v-n, not n-v)	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	
flounce (not n-v)	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	
sally (not n-v)	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	
snipe (from sniper)	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	
soft-soap (not conv)	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	
tar and feather (not n-v conv)	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	
top and tail (not n-v conv)	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	
whistle (v-n conv)	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	

Appendix 6: Results of contextual clue analysis

Conversion	Pun?	Quotation marks	Gloss	Introductory or following phrases	Repetition of root or base	Exact repetition	Collocation	Semantically similar words or phrases	Lexical signals	Parallelism	Lexical field
A-bombed											
Achilles-heeled								sem-(x3), sem+1, sem+2			
Aciding										par+	
Activited										par-	lexf
Alka-Seltzered								sem-			
Angsted											
Ankletted											
Armageddoned											
Artichoked	Y							sem-, sem+			
Autopiloted											
Bailiffed			gloss+1								
Ball-boying					root-2						lexf
Bampering											lexf
Barbieing					root-1, root+2			sem+1			
Barmitzvahed								sem+			
Beelined											
Beveraging					root-1, root-2			sem-1		par-	
Big-topped											lexf
Blackandedeckering										par-	
Blaired					root+1,			sem+			

					root+2						
Blutacking											
Bobbited									sem+(x2)		lexf
Body-blowed									sem+1		par-
Bongoed											par-
Bookmarking									sem-		lexf
Bottom-lined											lexf
Brockmaned			gloss-1		root-1, root-2						
Bruleed							coll-				lexf
Brylcreem-ed										par-	lexf
Buggied											lexf
Carpet-slipping											
Cheeseing											
Chequed	Y				root+1						
Clienting			gloss-1, gloss+1	Intro							
Clothes-lined											
Coconutted										lexsig	lexf
Cowboy-ing			gloss+1								
Croissanted		qu							sem-2		
CS-sprayed					root+1				sem+2		
Damsoned	Y								sem-1, sem+1		
Dave Smithed					root+2				sem-2, sem-1		
Deed-polled									sem+1		lexf
Delia Smith-ed										par-	
Detoxed					root-1, root-2						lexf

DHLed								sem-			
Disneying			gloss-		root-						
Doglegged											lexf
Dolly-cloned											
Doughnuttled											lexf
Electric- chaired								sem+			
Eurostarred											
Feng-Shuing											
Finalled			gloss-1		root-1						
Fine-pointing										par+	
Fireworked								sem-1, sem- sem+1			
First-gearing											lexf
Flagshipped											
Flamencoed											
Forklifting											
Foxy-ladying											
Francophiled										lexsig	
Frisbeed											
FX-ed											
Gouting										par+	lexf
Greecing	Y				root-1, root+1, root+2						
Hammer- drilling											lexf
Handspringin g											
H-bombed											
Heroned			gloss-4		root-2						

Hollywooded												
Hoopla-ed												
Hop-scotched												
House-husbanding								sem-2				
HRT-ed												
Isobarred	Y							sem-				
Jack Russelled												
Jack Spratted			gloss-, gloss+									
Jayed					root-				lexsig			
Jesusing								sem+		par-		
Jonesing												
Keaning	Y				root-1			sem+(x2), sem+1				
Kerouaced												
Keyworded											lexf	
Knee-jerked										par-1		
Lamabada-ed												
Latexed										par+	lexf	
Lemminged												
Letter-boxing								sem-1, sem+1		par+		
Liam-ing											lexf	
Librariied								sem+1(x2)				
Limoed												
Lomued										par+1	lexf	
Long-legging												
Magimixed												
Mail-shotting			gloss+1		partial root-,							

					partial root+1						
Marriaging											
Mars-barred	Y										
Matadoring											
Mathewsed			gloss+		root-1, root+1(x2)						
Medicalled											
Metamorphos ising			gloss+1								
Micklesoned					root+1						lexf
Mommed								sem-			
Monkeeing					root-1. root+2, root+3						lexf
Montyed					root+1						lexf
MOTed									par- par+		lexf
Motocrossed									par- par+		lexf
MRI-scanned											lexf
Name- tagging					root-2, root+2						
Nayim-ed											lexf
Nicky Clarked			gloss- gloss+2		root+1, root+3						
Nitroglycerin ed											
Novembering											
Octobered		qu	gloss+								lexf
Ofsteded				Intro	root-1						

Old-manned											
Oranging										par-	lexf
PA-ing			gloss+2					sem+1			
Pen-knifing											
PEPed											lexf
Pixied			gloss-1	Intro							
Pixie-dusted		qu		Foll							
Placedmented									lex+		
Polaroiding											
Powerhousin g											
Power-suiting										par-2, par-1	
Prammed											
Pretzeling											
Raunched										par+	
Real- worlding											
Red-stickered								sem+1	lexsig		
Ribbeting							coll-			par-	
Rickshawed											
Robocopping											
Ruttered								sem-, sem+		par-	lexf
Sailored							coll	sem-(x2)			
Satellite TV- ing										part, par-	
Schecked			gloss+1		root+2						
Schumachere d								sem-1			
Sensored					root-2						
Sicklisted								sem+, sem- 1			

Sir Humphreyed											
Souffleing			gloss-							par+	
Spammed											lexf
Spliffed											
Sproggling											
Stanleyed			gloss-1		root-1				sem+1		
Starbucked										par-, par+	
Stephanie-ing											lexf
Straw-pollled											
Street-partied									sem-1, sem+1		
Summer-camped											
Summiting			gloss+2		root-2						
Synopsising											
Tamagotchi-ed			gloss-2		root-						
Teletubbied			gloss-1		root-1				sem+		
Televisioned										par-	
Terrined					root-						lexf
Text-messaging									sem-1, sem-2	par+	
TGV-ed									sem-	par-	
Tissued											
Torrented								coll			
Trapezed											
Trevved	qu		gloss+		root-1						
Turked											
Usheretting					root-2						
Vasectomied									sem-,		lexf

								sem+1			
Vibing					root-4			sem-2			
Virgin Megastored										par-	
Vogued											
Walleting										par-	
White- carding			gloss-								
Whitelisted			gloss+					sem+1			
Whoming								sem-, sem+			
Womanning								sem-			
Word- searched								sem+			
Yellow- carding								sem-1			lexf
Yellow- stickered											