BACK-FORMATION IN THE NEWEST LAYER OF ENGLISH VOCABULARY

NADĚŽDA STAŠKOVÁ

1. Introduction

Back-formation (also called back-derivation, retrograde derivation or deaffixation) is often described as one of the minor word-formation processes. It has a special position among the other types of word-formation for several reasons. Firstly, it is a process directionally opposite in its character to the most frequent, and possibly most natural way of forming new words in English – affixation. In back-formation, instead of being added, an affix (or that part of the source word which is supposed to be an affix) is subtracted, which thus results in a shorter or morphologically less complex item of vocabulary. Comparison of the two processes is given in Table 1. The verb *ovate* (1988) represents the most typical and modern result of back-formation – it is a verb formed from an action noun and its meaning is "to give someone an ovation; applaud and cheer enthusiastically".

Table 1: Comparison of affixation and back-formation

	SOURCE WORD > RESULTING WORD
AFFIXATION:	*translate > translation*
BACK-FORMATION:	*ovation > ovate*

Especially because of the opposite direction of creation, back-formation is often regarded as an unusual (or even unnatural) process, and new back-formed words are at their first occurrence frequently felt as weird, humorous or inacceptable. The truth is that some back-formations appear only as nonce words, sometimes deliberately coined by a speaker for humorous, ironic, or otherwise idiosyncratic, purposes and do not have a long life. Others are stylistically or regionally marked. Many belong to technical terminology.

Another specificity of back-formations is the fact that they are hardly recognized by common users of English as such, and there are a number of words among back-formations where even linguists hesitate between two possible ways of describing their origin, e.g. back-formation or analogical compounding. The general tendency of speakers for easiness, transparency and comfort resulting in convenient but unpredictable shortcuts may be a decisive factor which will probably always keep back-formation in the category of less usual and minor word-formation processes.

On the other hand, my research of this process as documented in the 20th and the early 21st centuries has indicated that from the point of quantity the productivity of back-formation has remained on the same level and that it can be considered to be a modern, analysable and productive, even if minor, word-formation process which has considerable potential as a source of new words.

The present research of the newest back-formations is partly based on a typology the grounds of which were laid by Esko V. Pennanen in his *Contributions to the study of back-formation in English* (1966). The author focused his attention on the whole history of this phenomenon, starting in the 13th century and following the development until the early 1960s. Biermeier (2008) mentions Pennanen's classic study as the main authority in the field of back-formation and the only comprehensive study on this topic so far. Since the process of back-formation still continues producing new items of vocabulary at present, it must be seen as productive and so deserving greater attention. The fact that the comprehensive investigation of this process practically ended in the 1960s and has not been followed by any author to the same extent since then was the main reason for my subsequent research and analysis intended as a continuation of Pennanen's work. It is to be expected that, as a result of the constant flux of language, some words, for example, could not be identified as back-formations in the first half of the 20th century yet they may have existed in everyday spoken communication and were only not recorded in any text or dictionary at that time. Many potential back-formed words from existing sources only "waited" for their opportunity in language and were introduced in communication much later than their respective source words – in the second half of the 20th century. In addition, new words came into being as neologisms reflecting thus progress in social life, sciences and technology. Many of these neologisms are again potential sources of new back-formations which may be recorded in the future.

The aim of the present study which is based on my previous investigation of back-formation (Stašková, 2011) in the whole 20th and the early 21st century is to focus on the latest period, i.e. from the 1980s till now, and to survey the most recent words formed through back-formation in a comprehensive way: to present the grammatical, semantic and stylistic structure of this latest vocabulary, find out which of the established types of back-formation have been recorded recently and which have not at all, comment on some of their special features, and thus offer the reader a complete picture of the present situation regarding this word-formation process. Furthermore, based on additional research into neologisms that were viewed as possible source words for potential new words amenable to being back-formed from them in the future (and some of them indeed were subsequently confirmed in contemporary Internet communication), the paper aims at confirming the applicability of the back-formation-typology to any following study of the phenomenon as well as displaying some of the regular tendencies that make the process to a certain extent predictable.

2. Typology of back-formations

The methodological point of departure for my research of back-formation in the period since 1900 was Pennanen's original typology (Types I–VI), which I extended by

three more types (VII–IX) appearing in my data. All the categories distinguish back-formations according to the part of speech of the source word and the resulting word, according to their morphological structure (compounds, non-compounds, monomorphemic words and derivatives) and (in the case of Types VII and VIII) according to the sort of morpheme subtracted.

The nine types are as follows:

Type I.	Verb from agent / instrument noun
Type II.	Verb from action noun
Type III.	Verb from adjective
Type IV.	Noun from adjective
Type V.	Adjective from noun
Type VI.	Noun from another noun which is believed to be its derivative
Type VII.	Prefixal back-formations
Type VIII.	Inflectional back-formations
Type IX.	Adjective from agent noun

As far as the prefixal back-formations and inflectional back-formations are concerned, Pennanen refused to include these as being irrelevant because, in his opinion, the change that occurs here does not involve the internal form of the word: in the case of words formed by subtraction of the prefix he speaks of mere shortening as the resulting word is on the same level as the source word (as in *disconcerting*, adj. > *concerting*, adj., 2003; informal, jocular; "suitable, comforting, satisfying ['a concerting telephone conversation']"); in the case of inflectional back-formations he says that only one element (number) of the internal form is affected, while the semantic structure remains intact (as in *gladiola*, noun, from *gladiolus* taken as a plural; 1926; "a plant"). In the present research, however, both these types have been included in the material and added to the original typology as Types VII and VIII. They are generally referred to as examples of back-formation in the literature by various authors (e.g. Bauer, 1983; Katamba, 2006) and they certainly represent two specific types of this word-formation process regardless of how extensive the change of the source word is.

In addition, Pennanen's typology has been extended by one more type of back-formations, namely adjectives from agent / instrument nouns. Relevant items are found in the material of the second half of the 20th century and share some common features as a class, mainly grammatical and stylistic. There is certain regularity in the character of words within this newly established category: the source word is an agent / instrument noun, the resulting one is an adjective and none of the words is stylistically neutral. *Carburetted* ("equipped with a carburettor") is a technical term in chemistry, *do-good* ("of or befitting a do-gooder, a well-intentioned but naive and often ineffectual social or political reformer") is of American origin and has a tinge of slightly disparaging sense, *teenybop* ("of, pertaining to, or consisting of teeny-boppers, girls in their teens or younger, esp. ones who are fans of pop music and follow the latest fashions") is colloquial.

Also, another example of this type has been generated as one of the potential back-formations coined from neologisms, and subsequently confirmed as existing in informal conversation, and so added to the sample of confirmed hypothetical formations (*cruciver-*

bal < *cruciverbalist* "related to crosswords"; 2011). As a result, this category is recognized here a separate class and is referred to as Type IX.

As mentioned above, the present work focuses on the very last part of the investigated period and introduces the newest words cropping up during the last three decades. The material is analyzed and described synchronically from morphological, semantic and stylistic points of view. As far as the quantity is concerned, there is a decreasing tendency toward the end of this period (i.e., the present), which is logical as the older vocabulary is much more firmly established and new words come into the lexicon gradually and very slowly. In weighing the pros and cons of strict reliance on dictionary evidence the decisive argument was the consensus among the professional lexicographers not only as to what is a back-formation but also which of them are likely to survive. So the latest decades are much "poorer" than those at the beginning of the period. The typological categories are marked by various degrees of productivity, which may be even reflected in the fact that some of them are empty at the moment as the relevant words have not been recorded yet; such categories wait to be filled with items which may already exist, but have not been sufficiently verified to date.

3. Back-formations from the 1980s until the early 21st century

The present chapter provides a description and analysis of back-formations attested for or identified in the last three decades, i.e. from the 1980s till now. It is based on a sample of 68 back-formations excerpted from dictionaries claiming to have been substantially updated, the oldest in 1995, the latest in 2009 (see References). In addition, some more recent words have been found in *The Longman Register of New Words* (Ayto, 1990), and in monographs by contemporary authors. For each back-formation Type the material is ordered alphabetically and presented together with the date of the first occurrence of the back-formed words, their source words, their meaning and, where relevant, with their stylistic or regional connotation.

TYPE I: verb from agent / instrument noun (10 items)

The material
1. **blush** (1988) < *blusher*; to apply blusher to
2. **comede** (1989) < *comedian*; informal, jocular; to tell jokes to an audience; be a comedian
3. **deal** (1988) < *dealer*; to be dealer in something, sell
4. **jackroll** (1990) < *jackroller*; to act as a jackroller (i.e. one who robs a drunken or sleeping person; South African – a member of a criminal gang in Soweto)
5. **skirt-chase** (1981) < *skirt-chaser*; slang; to pursue women with amorous attentions
6. **Tase** (1991) < *Taser*; orig. U.S., also with lower case initial; to use a Taser (a weapon which fires barbs attached by wires to batteries, and causes temporary paralysis) on (a person)
7. **topline** (1988) < *topliner*; to appear as the principal performer

8. **turbocharge** (1981) < *turbocharger*; engineering: to equip with a turbocharger
9. **vocode** (1981) < *vocoder*; to transform by means of a vocoder (a blend of *voice encoder*; any of various devices or systems for analysing speech or other sounds)
10. **volumize** (1991) < *volumizer*; to add volume to by means of volumizer (a cosmetic substance applied to the hair to increase its volume); to enhance the thickness or body of

The group comprises the same number of source nouns referring to persons and those referring to inanimate objects or phenomena. *Taser, turbocharger* and *vocoder* describe instruments; *volumizer* and *blusher* denote a substance. The other source words are agent nouns. As regards the complexity of the resulting back-formations, there are four compounds, one blend (*vocoder*), four monomorphemic words (*blush, comede, deal, Tase*) and one derivative (*volumize*). The suffix *-er* is the most frequent one subtracted in this process. There is only one different suffix: *-ian* (in *comedian*).

This type includes a relatively high number of stylistically unmarked words – half of the set. There are fewer technical terms than usual here – only two (*turbocharge* – engineering; *vocode* – acoustics). *Comede*, a fairly young item, is an informal word with jocular connotation, which is not unusual with neologisms. *Jackroll* has a general meaning "to rob a drunken or sleeping person", but comes from South African slang, where *jackroller* refers to "a member of a criminal gang in Soweto". *Tase* is, by its origin, an American trademark / proprietary name, generally also used with lower case initial letters. There are two slang words: in addition to *jackroll* the verb *skirt-chase*.

The verb *blush* (1988) belongs to those dictionary-attested neologisms which seem to be the result of genuine back-formation although they are not labelled as such in the dictionaries. Here the definition of meaning ("to apply a blusher to") clearly indicates the order of appearance. The verb has several earlier meanings; this one is new. The date of appearance of the source noun (with the meaning a "cosmetic used to give an artificial colour to the face") is 1965. From the semantic point of view, it is the same type as another item in the category which is a confirmed back-formation, namely *volumize < volumizer* ("to apply a volumizer to hair to increase its volume").

Tase is interesting from the point of view of its origin. It derives from an acronym: *Taser* ("Tom Swift's electric rifle" – fictitious weapon, after *laser*, 1962). Therefore, the ending *-er* is not originally a genuine agent suffix, but, on the other hand, it is highly probable that the creators of the acronym shaped the noun deliberately to have a form identical with that of an instrument noun. Then, the resulting verb is a logical outcome of the back-formation process here.

TYPE II: verb from action noun (33 items)

The material
1. **accreditate** (1989) < *accreditation*; of a school, course, etc.: to certify a school as meeting standards set by external assessors or regulators
2. **age-date** (1984) < *age–dating*; geology: to establish the age of geological deposits, archaeological remains, etc., by means of scientific examination of samples of them
3. **back-calculate** (1988) < *back-calculation*; to perform back-calculation (resolving a problem backwards form the result to the start)

4. **break-dance** (1982) < *break-dancing*; (originally U.S.: dancing in which solo dancers perform acrobatics that involve touching various parts of the body to the ground); to dance in that way
5. **carjack** (1991) < *car-jacking*; to steal or commandeer an occupied car by threatening the driver with violence (*car-jacking*, 1991: *car* + hi*jack* + *-ing*)
6. **computer-generate** (the 1990s) < *computer-generating*; computing: to create sounds or visuals (images, music, etc.) with the aid of computer software
7. **demerge** (1980) < *demerger*; to dissolve a merger between business concerns; to separate one or more firms or trading companies from a large group
8. **disinform** (1980) < *disinformation*; to give or supply disinformation to
9. **divizionalize** (1982) American trademark / proprietary name *divisionalization*; to organize (a company, etc.) on a divisional basis
10. **dollarize** (1982) < *dollarization*; economics: to adopt the U. S. dollar as a country's official national currency
11. **drop-ship** (1999) < *drop-shipment*; to ship (goods) from a manufacturer or wholesaler directly to a customer instead of to the retailer who took the order
12. **drownproof** (1980) < *drownproofing*; to teach (a person) the technique of drownproofing (a survival technique, for swimmers or nonswimmers, in which the body is allowed to float vertically in the water, with the head submerged, the lungs filled with air, and the arms and legs relaxed, the head being raised to breathe every ten seconds or so)
13. **eco-renovate** (2006) < *eco-renovation*; to renovate (especially a home) in an environmentally and budget-friendly way, regarding, e.g., energy efficiency
14. **exfiltrate** (1980) < *exfiltration*; military (orig. U.S.): to withdraw (troops, spies, etc.) from a dangerous position, usually surreptitiously
15. **finger-pick** (1983) < *finger-picking*; music: to play the guitar or a similar instrument by plucking the strings with the fingernails or with picks attached to the fingertips
16. **fly-tip** (1985) < *fly-tipping*; to dump (rubbish) by fly-tipping (the unauthorized dumping of building rubble, household refuse, or other waste, esp. while in the process of transporting it)
17. **forthold** (1989) < *fort-holding* (a nominalization of the idiom *hold the fort*); to cope with problems in the absence of someone; hold the fort
18. **gay-bash** (1989) < *gay-bashing*; slang (orig. and chiefly U.S.); attack homosexuals
19. **gazunder** (1988) < *gazundering/gazunderer*; (of a house-buyer) to reduce the price offered to (a seller) for a property, esp. shortly before exchange of contracts, threatening to withdraw if the new offer is not accepted; also, to swindle in this way; inspired by *gazumping* ("practice of swindle")
20. **grice** (1984) < *gricing* (train-spotting); colloquial: to watch locomotives, to act as a gricer
21. **hydrofracture** (1983) < *hydrofracturing* (the process of fracturing subterranean rock by the injection of water into existing fissures at high pressure, usu. In order to facilitate the passage of some fluid (esp. oil or water) through an otherwise impermeable barrier); to fracture (rock) by this process; to subject (a fissure) to hydrofracturing
22. **job-share** (1981) < *job sharing* (a working arrangement in which two or more people are employed on a part-time basis to perform a job which would otherwise have

been available only to a person able to work full-time); to be employed under such an arrangement

23. **microcode** (1985) < *microcoding* n. (microprogramming); computing: to employ microcode
24. **ovate** (1988) < *ovation*; to give someone an ovation; applaud and cheer enthusiastically
25. **proact** (1980) < *proaction*; to take proactive measures; to act in advance, to anticipate
26. **rate-cap** (1985) < *rate-capping*; to impose upper limits on the amount of money which a local authority can spend, intended as a disincentive to excessive spending on local services, etc.
27. **sandsurf** (2007) < *sandsurfing*; to use a snowboard and ride down a dune in a desert
28. **snowboard** (1985) < *snowboarding*; to ride a snowboard, to participate in snowboarding
29. **sulphonylate** (1980) < *sulphonylation*; chemistry: to convert into a sulphonyl compound
30. **telemarket** (1983) < *telemarketing*; (orig. U.S.), to market goods, services, etc., by means of (freq. unsolicited) telephone calls to prospective customers
31. **valet-park** (1983) < *valet parking*; to provide the service of valet-parking (N. American: a service provided at a restaurant, etc., in which an attendant – *valet* – parks patrons' motor vehicles)
32. **word-process** (1985) < *word processing*; computing: to edit, produce, etc. by electronic means, using a word processor (*process*, v. 1884: "to treat or prepare by some particular process")
33. **yuppify** (1984) < *yuppification*; to subject to yuppification (colloquial, usually disparaging, orig. U.S.: the action or process by which an area, building, clothing, etc., becomes or is rendered characteristic of or suitable for *yuppies*, 1982, acronym from "young urban professional")

This traditionally numerous type is represented by items found almost exclusively in the 1980s (28). The process producing this type still continues, which is evidenced in the occurrence of five newest words in the 1990s (*computer-generate*, *carjack* and *drop-ship*) and in the first decade of the 21st (*eco-renovate* and *sandsurf*).

Typically, the verbs formed within this type are generally definable as "to do the action denoted by the action noun", e.g. *valet-park* "to provide the service of valet-parking"; in other words, all the source nouns here refer to an action. In the previous period, some verbs came from source nouns denoting a state or result of a process rather than an action (e.g. *concord* < *concordance* "an alphabetical arrangement of the principal words contained in a book, with citations of the passages in which they occur", 1969). It cannot be excluded that similar meanings will become the sources of other verbs in the future.

Out of the 33 items, 21 are compounds. Both compounds and non-compounds include at least two types of structure: examples of compounds made of free forms are *drop-ship* and *drownproof*, compounds with combining forms (neoclassical) are, e.g., *hydrofracture* and *telemarket*. The other items include monomorphemic verbs (e.g. *grice*, *ovate*) and derivatives (e.g. *disinform*, *exfiltrate*). Compounds prevail, especially due to the high proportion of verbs back-formed from compound verbal nouns such as *fly-tip* < *fly-tipping*, or *snowboard* < *snowboarding*).

The most frequent suffixes in this group are -ing (20) and -ion/-ation (11). The suffix -ing typically occurs in verbal action nouns, which are the richest source of back-formed verbs. In this material it absolutely prevails. The other suffixes are sporadic: in comparison with the material of the previous period, there are two suffixes which have not appeared yet within this type: -er and -ment.

Similarly as with the material from the earlier periods, there are many words which are presented in dictionaries as stylistically unmarked. However, it is necessary to add that some of them are fairly limited in use to a specific field of human activities. Thus hydrofracture, for example, is used in geology, divizionalize is a term closely connected with the organization of companies, drop-ship and telemarket are involved in trade and services, etc. Furthermore, there are some verbs in the group which are not marked as learned, but their foreign origin (mainly Latin/Greek), level of formality, and also their occurrence in scientific texts suggest them to be part of learned vocabulary. Examples are disinform or proact. Technical terms in the material frequently come from natural sciences, namely geology (age-date) and chemistry (sulphonylate); the area of computing has been increasingly involved in the process as well (microcode, word-process, computer-generate). Other special source areas are army, music, economy, business, politics, or skiing.

Some of the items in the material have specific features which deserve attention. The source noun gay-bashing is described in the Oxford English Dictionary (2009, version 4.0; hereafter referred to as OED4) as a synonym of queer-bashing ("attacking homosexuals"). The nouns have the same meaning, but the latter has not been followed by the institutionalized back-formed verb in dictionaries yet. However, there are already some occurrences in informal discussions, etc., on the Internet (Google, Urban Dictionary), which indicate the same line of development as in the case of gay-bashing > gay-bash.

The verb snowboard (as well as skateboard in the previous period) is not explicitly presented as back-formed, but the conclusion that both verbs are back-formations is based on several facts. Firstly, the nouns snowboarding and skateboarding, actually the names of sports, were formed by derivation from the nouns snowboard and skateboard (both referring to a specific type of board). Secondly, the verbs were recorded slightly later than the respective action -ing nouns in both cases: snowboard one year later and skateboard four years later (OED4). So, the sequence of the members of each "family" is likely to have been: (instrument) noun – (suffixed action) noun – (back-formed) verb.

One of the rare colloquial verbs in the material, yuppify, back-formed from the action noun yuppification, has an interesting history. It is based on the noun Yuppie formed originally as a jocular term for a member of a socio-economic group comprising young professional people working in cities. The noun originates from the initial letters of young urban professional, now also frequently interpreted as young upwardly mobile professional, yumpie (OED4). The word was felt as an insult by 1985.

Some of the verbs of the second half of the 20th century come from fairly "old" nouns, so there is a rather long time gap between the source and the resulting item. This means that the nouns already existed in the time of Pennanen's research, but they were only "dormant" and ready to yield a back-formation. The process was finished in the second half of the century. Examples are (OED4): microinjection (1921) > microinject (1974), predation (1932) > predate (1974), red-cooking (1956) > red-cook (1972), panic buying

(1942) > *panic-buy* (1974). An example of such a verb in the present material is *demerger* (1948) > *demerge* (1980).

Ovate belongs to the youngest back-formations and it is listed in Ayto's *The Longman Register of New Words* (1990: 234). The author comments on this item in the following way: "This intransitive use is a new development, but the word is actually recorded a couple of times in the mid-19th century with an object." The noun *ovation* was first recorded in 1831; the back-formed intransitive verb *ovate* (1988) is presented as arising in 1988. Before this new item appeared, the converted verb *ovation* had also existed, namely since 1894.

On the other hand, there are verbs in this category which were formed in the process of back-formation very soon after the first occurrence of their source noun. We can thus take both members of such pairs for neologisms. These are, for example (OED4): *job-sharing* (1972) – *job-share* (1982), *proaction* (1986) > *proact* (1986), *car-jacking* (1991) > *carjack* (1991).

There are four items within this type which have been identified as back-formations in the research although they are not labelled as such in the dictionaries: *dollarize*, *eco-renovate*, *gazunder* and *sandsurf*. The conclusion that *dollarize* is a back-formed verb is based on the fact that the source noun appears in most of the consulted dictionaries (e.g. OED4) without the verb being there at all; or the verb is part of the entry as a derived form, not as a separate entry, as in *Merriam Webster's 11th Collegiate Dictionary* (2003, hereafter referred to as MW's 11th CD). A similar example found among back-formations from the second half of the 20th century is, e.g. *decriminalize* < *decriminalization* ("to reclassify an activity so that it is no longer considered criminal in law", 1963). The source noun of the verb *eco-renovate* occurs on many website pages in connection with the "green" way of life, e.g. *Ecorenovation* (*Oxfordshire Climate Exchange*), while the verb was only found in the *Birmingham University Project on neologisms* (2008), and in the given citation it was introduced in quotation marks indicating thus the feeling that the item is unusual, new, not established yet. A similar example found in the material from the second half of the 20th century is, e.g. *photoduplicate* < *photoduplication* ("to duplicate documentary material using a photocopier"Z, 1961). In the case of *gazunder*, both the source noun(s) and the resulting verb appeared in the same year (the verb a month later). Ayto (1990: 150) implies priority of the noun: "It is mainly encountered as a verbal noun, but there is also some evidence of the use of the word as a finite verb" and illustrates this by an extract dating from December 1988. An identical order of appearance is also given in OED4 and the words are classified as colloquial. The word is used in house-selling. The closest example found in the material from the second half of the 20th century is *downwell* < *downwelling* (of seawater or other fluid: "to sink in a downward current", 1967). *Sandsurfing* is a recently invented sport. As well as in the case of *eco-renovation*, this source noun occurs in texts on the Internet more frequently than the verb. In addition, the verb is introduced as a very recent neologism (2007) by Birmingham University. A comparable item from the second half of the 20th century is *snowboard* < *snowboarding* ("to participate in snowboarding", 1968).

TYPE III: verb from adjective (5 items)

The material
1. **auto-destruct** (1980) < *auto-destructive*; self-destruct
2. **hard-wire** (1983) < *hard-wired*; computing: to provide with, or make as, a permanent electric connection

3. ***silicone*** (1980) < *siliconed*; chemistry: to coat, impregnate, fill, or otherwise treat with silicone or silicone-based material (*silicone* = a polymer containing *silicon*, the word is a blend of *silicon* and *ketone*)
4. ***skeeve***[1] (1986) < *skeevy*; U.S. slang: to disgust (someone), to repel; to make uncomfortable
5. ***skeeve***[2] (1991) < *skeevy*; U.S. slang: to loathe (a person or thing); to dislike intensely

This type is marked by a considerably lower number of items than the previous types. In the "competition" of sources of new verbs in English back-formation, this source is thus not very productive and it is clear that English back-formed verbs generally tend to result mainly from action nouns. Within the second half of the 20th century, the decade of the 1970s was the most productive in the formation of this type, the newest material here comes mainly from the 1980s.

Two of the source adjectives have the meaning of "result", which logically corresponds with their form – they are past-participial adjectives ending in *-ed*. Such a form directly invites the formation of a verb and generally is among the most frequent source forms of this category. As for the other meanings, "feature/quality" occurs with two items, actually two meanings of the same form (*skeevy*); the meaning of *auto-destructive* is connected with "relation to an action".

Involvement of compounds (*auto-destruct*, *hard-wire*) is not very surprising, as the compound past-participial adjective is one of traditional sources of compound verbs, where reanalysis takes place (see Adams, 2001). *Auto-destruct* is an example of a neo-classical compound, *silicone* comes from an adjective formed from a noun blend (*silicon + ketone*) and *skeeve* is a monomorphemic verb.

The suffixes of the source words are in perfect agreement with their meanings: *-ed* for the most frequent result, *-y* for the quality, and *-ive* for the action.

Though small, the group is not stylistically homogenous: there is one relatively neutral item (*auto-destruct*) and two technical terms (e.g. *hard-wire*, computing; *silicone,* chemistry); the verb *skeeve* is a slang word in both its meanings. In addition, it is geographically marked (Americanism).

As far as specific features are concerned, *auto-destruct* and *skeeve* deserve attention. The intransitive verb *auto-destruct*, which appeared in the 1980s, is a synonym to the older back-formation, *self-destruct* (1969). The latter is traditionally interpreted as a back-formation from the action noun *self-destruction* (e.g. Aronoff, 1976: 28; Huddleston, Pullum, 2002: 1638). On the other hand, *auto-destruct* is presented in OED4 as a back-formation from the adjective *auto-destructive*. Taking into consideration the order of the first occurrence of the two verbs, we cannot exclude the idea of simply analogical formation of the more recent verb (*auto-destruct*) according to the older one (*self-destruct*).

Skeeve has undergone a gradual development. It is a verb presented in OED4 with two meanings, of which the first ("to disgust (someone), to repel; to make uncomfortable") appeared for the first time in the 1980s, and the other ("to loathe a person or thing; to dislike intensely") was recorded later – at the beginning of the 1990s.

TYPE IV: noun from adjective (12 items)

The material

1. **bilat** (1989) < *bilateral*; bilateral meeting, probably informal
2. **cat** (1989) < *catalytic*; catalytic converter
3. **decaf** (1988) < *decaffeinated*; informal: decaffeinated coffee
4. **ditz** (1980) < *ditzy*; slang: a scatterbrained or eccentric person
5. **flash** (1989) < *flashy*; informal; the quality of being flashy (glittering)
6. **shonk** (1981) < *shonky*; Australian slang: one engaged in irregular or illegal business activities; a 'shark'
7. **skeeve** (1990) < *skeevy*; U.S. slang: an obnoxious or contemptible person; a person regarded as disgusting, unpleasant, etc.
8. **supramolecule** (1989) < *supramolecular*; an artificially created cluster of molecules
9. **synesthete** (1985) < *synesthetic*; a person affected with synesthesia (a concomitant sensation; especially: a subjective sensation or image of a sense (as of colour) other than the one (as of sound) being stimulated)
10. **tack** (1986) < *tacky*; colloquial: that which is 'tacky' or cheap and shabby; shoddy or gaudy material; rubbish, junk
11. **transgene** (1985) < *transgenic*; biology: a gene which is introduced into the genome of another organism
12. **un-hero** (1989) < *un-heroic*; a character who is not the hero of a story

Type IV is the most numerous of the "non-verb" categories, but quantitatively slightly outnumbers the first type (verbs from agent / instrument nouns) in this latest period, which is rather a different situation than earlier – Type IV used to be significantly lower in number than Type I. This confirms one of the features of the development of back-formation, namely the decrease of Type I in productivity.

Most of the source adjectives in the group express "feature/quality", e.g. *shonky*, or *tacky*. *Transgenic* refers to a "result of the previous action". As for the resulting nouns, names of persons and things / abstract entities are represented by an almost equal number of items. Examples of persons are *ditz, skeeve*, or *synesthete*; things / abstract entities are, e.g., *flash, supramolecule*, or *tack*.

The group is characterized by a fairly high number of monomorphemic words, e.g. *ditz*, *flash*, *shonk*, etc. An interesting fact is that the slang, colloquial or informal words in the group are at mostly monomorphemic, which is keeping with the general tendency of English lexis. This is probably because of the spoken medium, in which such slang words come into being and are thus an evidence of speakers' general tendency to make the least effort in the production of speech. There is only one compound in this class: *supramolecule* (neoclassical). *Synesthete*, *transgene* and *un-hero* are derivatives.

While in the material of the first half of the 20th century, the suffix *-ic* formed more than 50% and *-y* about 18%, the situation in the second half, and especially in the latest material, is different: the suffix *-y* has become the most numerous, while *-ic* has decreased a little in occurrence. Another suffix involved is *-ar* (*supramolecular*).

The group contains two regionally marked words, one Americanism (*skeeve*), but also one Australian slang word (*shonk*). There are surprisingly more colloquial, slang or informal items than usual in this category and one third are technical terms. The words pre-

sented as "unmarked" might be considered to be very close to technical terms because of their specific meaning and foreign origin: e.g. *supramolecule*. *Synesthete* is not described in the dictionaries as a technical term, but it could be so classified according to its records in psychological texts quoted in OED4.

Flash belongs to the latest neologisms collected by Ayto (1990: 135). Its introduction there is commented on in the following way: "This sense of *flash* was quite common in the 18th and 19th centuries, but it appears to have died out, and this modern use is probably a new back-formation on *flashy*, or a conversion of the adjective *flash*."

Skeeve is a word that has appeared before in the present analysis and even in two meanings – in Type III (verb from adjective). This means that the adjective *skeevy* has produced two different back-formations, a verb and a noun. All the meanings are related.

Un-hero is an interesting item, commented on by Ayto: "It is hard to tell whether the meaning is intended to differ from that of *antihero* (OED4: 'one who is the opposite or reverse of a hero; esp. a chief character in a poem, play, or story who is totally unlike a conventional hero'), which has been established for almost a century" (1990: 334).

Three items in the group are structurally a little different than the rest and have been added to the material despite the fact that they are not explicitly introduced in the dictionaries as back-formations: *bilat*, *cat* and *decaf*. These words are a special example of reduction. All of them are used as informal equivalents of a neutral phrase or compound, being the result of two processes: ellipsis of the second constituent of the expression (noun), and further shortening of the premodifier (adjective). The latter process can be viewed as back-formation, since the resulting word is a different part of speech than the reduced adjective. On the other hand, a mere shortening of the whole compound is also admissible because the boundary line between the individual historical morphemes in the source adjective is in a different place: *bilater/al* vs. *bilat/eral*, *cata/lytic* vs. *cat/alytic* and *de/caffeinated* vs. *decaf/feinated*. In addition, the resulting noun is a variant realization of the source compound noun. This process is reminiscent of a similar process in Czech – univerbization without further resuffixation (e.g. *čtyřdvéř* < *čtyřdvéřový* automobil). The items *bilat*, *cat* and *decaf* are partly comparable with some explicitly attested back-formations, e.g., *methanogen* < *methanogenic* ("methanogenic organism", 1977) or *somatotroph* < *somatotrophic* ("somatotrophic cell", 1968), namely semantically, as the resulting noun is a shorter variant of (and having the same meaning as) a longer premodified noun phrase. On the other hand, formal comparison is not so fortunate, since what is subtracted in the source adjective in both cases is a real suffix, *-ic*.

TYPE V: adjective from noun (3 items)

The material
1. **capitated** (1983) < *capitation*; of, relating to, participating in, or being a health-care system in which a medical provider is given a set fee per patient regardless of treatment required
2. **desertified** (1980) < *desertification*; transformed onto desert
3. **genethic** (1988) < *genethics*; relating to ethical issues which arise from the human manipulation of genetic material (e.g. by genetic engineering)

This type forms one of the smallest groups in the whole second half of the 20th century. This also applies to the latest period since the 1980s. There is no item found in the most recent decades.

In the previous development, most of the source words of this type referred to an abstract entity (e.g. *fluidics < fluidic*, 1965). In the latest material presented here there is only one such source noun (*genethics*). The other two refer to an action.

There are no real compounds; in addition, there are no monomorphemic items as all the resulting adjectives are composed of more than one morpheme. One of the items is morphologically more interesting than the others: the source noun *genethics* was apparently formed as a blend of *genetics* and *ethics* (Ayto, 1990).

The suffix *-s*, which was expected to be typical of this category, based on the analysis of the previous period, is involved here only once; on the other hand, the suffix *-ation* occurs in two source nouns.

Stylistically, the situation in this class has been the same since the beginning of the 20th century: there are neither colloquial or slang words nor any regionally marked ones. Most of them are, however, derived from the name of a special area or system and thus they are partially limited in use to that specific sphere: health-care (*capitated*), genetic engineering (*genethic*).

TYPE VI: noun from another noun which is believed to be its derivative (2 items)

The material
1. **eco-label** (1989) < *eco-labelling*; a label that confirms that the product to which it is attached was made with no harm on the environment
2. **fact-find** (1989) < *fact-finding*; an instance of fact-finding

This type did not belong to the smallest groups in the previous development; in the newest vocabulary, however, as far as I could ascertain it is represented only by two items from the end of the 1980s. Both the source nouns refer to an action; in the previous decades, another frequent meaning of the source noun was "an abstract entity" / "state of mind" (e.g. *hyponymy > hyponym*, 1960; *computer-phobia > computer-phobe*, 1974). Both the resulting back-formations refer to a thing / abstract entity, which can be understood as a "result of an action".

Words of this category are generally often morphologically complex. In addition, the type is normally characterized by a high share of neoclassical compounds, containing combining forms (e.g. *homo-*, *idio-*, *-graph*, or *-phobe*). These latest ones, however, are both compounds composed of monomorphemic bases.

As for the subtracted suffixes, the situation is opposite to that of the first half of the 20th century: the most frequent suffix here (*-ing*) was marginal then; here it is present in both source nouns.

None of the resulting nouns is stylistically marked. This is, again, a little different situation in comparison with the situation in the previous development where technical terms slightly prevailed.

The noun *fact-find* is among the latest back-formations (1989), while its source noun (*fact-finding*) dates back to the first decade of the 20th century (Ayto, 1990). However,

this source word produced also a verb (1953) belonging to Type II, which is one of the items in Pennanen's sample of back-formations from the first half of the 20th century.

TYPE VII: prefixal back-formations (3 items)

The material
1. *concerting* (adj., 2003) < *disconcerting* (adj.); informal, jocular; suitable, comforting, satisfying ('a concerting telephone conversation')
2. *ilch* (adj./noun, 2003) < *zilch* (adj./noun); slang, Americanism: total, all-encompassing
3. *plore* (noun, 1989) < *explore* (verb); a museum exhibit which demonstrates some scientific principle in action

The fact that the group contains a relatively fair number of items for this latest period (and it is another 13 since the beginning of the 20th century) proves that this type is still moderately productive.

As usual, the most frequent meaning of the subtracted prefix is negation, so antonymy is the most common relation between the source and the resulting word (*disconcerting* "dissatisfying" > *concerting* "satisfying"; *zilch* "zero" > *ilch* "total"). The relation between *plore* and *explore* is an interesting and unusual case of a noun resulting from a verb in this category. Based on the meaning of the two items, the possible semantic relation can be that of a process and its result. However, this does not fully cover the fact that a *plore* is not a static exhibit to be looked at in the museum but active demonstration of the process of exploring. Ayto (1990: 247) explains the meaning of *plore* in the following manner: "They (*plores*) don't just sit there waiting to be looked at, like conventional museum exhibits. They actually work, and in many cases the visitors can, and are encouraged to, operate them."

Similarly as in the previous decades, none of the prefixes occurs more than once. The part of the source word that is dropped in *zilch* (*z-*) is apparently considered to be semantically a negation prefix, similarly as, e.g., *a-* in *atheist*. There are no compounds; monomorphemic words prevail: *ilch* and *plore*. Typically, these are marked in various ways.

From the point of stylistic value, the group is traditionally diverse: one word comes from American slang (*ilch*), one is jocular and informal (*concerting*), one has been introduced deliberately by a scholar and is close to a learned word (*plore*).

In the case of *concerting*, the resulting back-formed word is an adjective. The noun *concerting* exists (deverbal noun from the verb *to concert*), but means "singing or playing in concert". *Plore* is one of the rare items about which we know the person who coined it. Ayto (1990: 247) adds: "*Plore* is a term introduced by Professor Richard Gregory to describe the exhibits in his Exploratory, an innovative museum of science opened in Bristol in 1987."

Two items in the sample (*concerting* and *ilch*) come from the research implemented by an undergraduate linguistic class at Rice University, Houston, Texas, USA, during the fall of 2003, led by a professor Suzanne Kemmer (see References).

TYPE VIII: inflectional back-formations

Results of the research on back-formation since the beginning of the 20th century have revealed that this category is probably slowly disappearing as only six items have been

found over the whole 20th century. According to the date of occurrence, the decreasing tendency has been observed. The traditional type, in which the source word was usually of Latin or Greek origin ending in *-s* and thus in English taken wrongly as the plural (e.g. *gladiolus > gladiola*, 1926), is not found at all in the vocabulary of the second half of the 20th century. The only two items collected from that period (*gigaflop* and *megaflop*) are different: the source nouns are neoclassical compounds of a combining form (*giga-*, *mega-*) and an acronym from ***fl**oating-point **op**erations **p**er **s**econd*, where the initial *s* of the last component is understood as a plural ending *-s* and subtracted. Both terms come from 1976; they are used as technical terms in computing and refer to a "unit of computing speed". There have been found no representatives of this class in the latest vocabulary. Computing and other fast-developing modern areas, however, are fields where some other new words of similar structure may occur in the future.

Type IX: adjective from agent noun

For this category, three items have been collected in the second half of the 20th century, coming from the1960s and the 1970s (*carburetted < carburettor*, 1972; *do-good < do-gooder*, 1965; *teenybop < teenybopper*, 1966). This warrants the conclusion that they belong to another type, not included in the original Pennanen's typology. No item has been found in the latest decades, but one item has appeared among potential and later confirmed back-formations formed from neologisms (see below). Therefore this category, though not very numerous, has been included in the typology and is considered as open for the future.

4. Summarizing analysis of the sample from the period of 1980 up to the present

The overall number of back-formed words collected for the investigated period is 68. As far as the chronological distribution of items is concerned, the research has confirmed my expectation that the highest number of back-formed words should be found for the
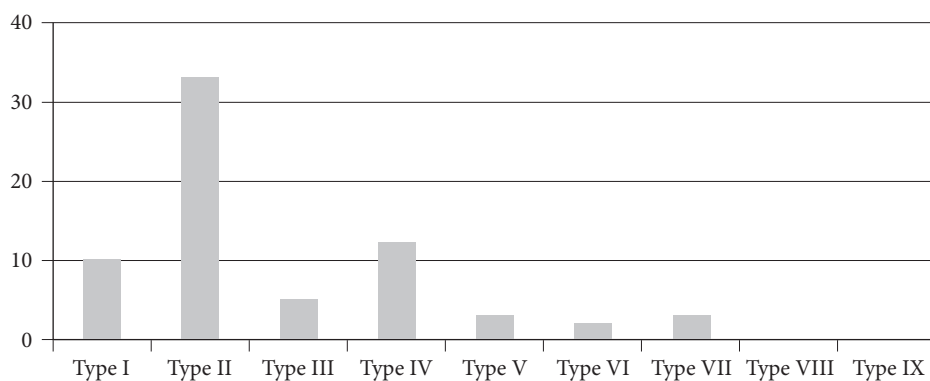
Graph 1: Representation of individual types over the whole period after 1980

first decade (the 1980s). As far as the representation of individual types is concerned, Graph 1 demonstrates the absolute prevalence of Type II (verbs from action nouns).

Type II (33 verbs from action nouns) represents almost half of the whole material for the period under consideration. Of the rest, only Type IV (noun from adjective) and Type I (verb from agent noun) reach a significant number, 12 and 10 respectively. The other types contain fewer items than ten. A similar structure was discovered in the material from the previous period (after 1900), only the gap between Type II and the rest was not so substantial. Also, unlike before, Type IV contains a few more items than Type I. A somewhat surprising finding is the relatively high number of prefixal back-formations (Type VII – 3 items for this latest period out of the total of 16 from 1900 until now).

As far as the morphological structure of back-formations is concerned, the sample of the latest back-formations differs from that for the whole century in which compounds prevail (53%). The ratio of compounds to non-compounds in the newest vocabulary is fairly even (with non-compounds slightly prevalent), and so is the relation of monomorphemic words and derivatives. Compounds (33) and non-compounds (35) represent 49% and 51% respectively; among the non-compound words there are 17 monomorphemic ones and 18 derivatives. These results indicate a tendency different from that found in the material collected for the whole of the 20th and the early 21st century. Table 2 compares the distribution of morphological categories in the sample for the whole period since 1900 with that in the last three decades (from 1980 until present).

Table 2: Comparison of the distribution of compound and non-compound back-formations in the overall period since 1900 and the latest decades

	Compounds	Non-compounds
1900–2011 (overall period)	53%	47%
1980–2011 (latest decades)	49%	51%

There may be at least two reasons for this situation. Firstly, we can suppose that many items that are now being formed have not been recorded in the dictionaries or other written media yet, and only exist in informal spoken communication, waiting for their establishment in the vocabulary. This non-attested material may involve a number of compounds which had been fairly numerous by the 1970s. This conclusion seems plausible, since my previous research indicated that generally speaking, the later the research the more data is available for objective assessment. On the other hand, the high share of simple items, which is the case in the contemporary sample, can indicate the prevailing preference in forming back-formations at the moment – monosyllabic and monomorphemic items (usually at the same time stylistically marked as informal, slang or jocular). This development is natural and is in accordance with what is generally considered to be one of the typical features of neologisms among back-formations. However, only some of these short slang words will survive.

The most frequent suffix subtracted in back-formation of the latest period is -*ing*; the suffix -*ion*/-*ation* comes second. Both these suffixes are typically deleted from action

nouns resulting thus in verbs, which is the most frequent type of back-formation generally. The suffix *-er* is typical of Type I (agent / instrument nouns) and *-y* is most often deleted from adjectives to form nouns (Type IV). Other suffixes (*-al, -ar, -ian, -ics, -ive, -ment*) appear only once each. Table 3 offers a survey of the individual suffixes involved in back-formation in the latest period.

Table 3: Suffixes deleted in back-formation in the latest period from 1980
(Note: other* refers to the following six suffixes occurring only once: *-al, -ar, -ian, -ics, -ive, -ment*)

deleted suffix	-ing	-ion/-ation	-er	-y	-ic	-ed	other*	total
number	22	13	10	7	4	3	6	**65**
per cent	33.8	20.0	15.4	10.8	6.1	4.6	9.2	**100.0**

Most of the words are stylistically unmarked (60%). The number of technical terms is lower than in the previous period (only 16%). Some of the back-formations are regionally coloured (2%), these are mainly Americanisms with two exceptions: one South-African and one Australian word. Technical terms come mostly from natural sciences (especially biology) and computing, exceptionally from humanities or other areas of life, e.g. politics, business, army, music or sports. There are 15 colloquial and slang words (22%). These words are often at the same time regional expressions, e.g. the only South-African word (*jackroll*) is a slang word; so is the only Australian one (*shonk*). Two of the informal words are felt as jocular (*comede*, verb; *concerting*, adj.). Some of the general words are very close to technical terms as their usage is limited to a certain area (e.g. *drownproof*, verb, swimming).

The above analysis focuses on the description of the most recent situation within the sphere of back-formation. It provides information about what is happening now – it only captures one moment in the constant development of lexis and the never-ending process of lexical innovation. This focus on the very last decades has revealed how the results in the present, most dynamic phase can differ from those of a larger period seen from a longer perspective. Therefore it is natural that the research remains open. Only a follow-up study conducted at some distant time will disclose how much of the vocabulary collected now has survived. At the same time such research will be able to turn up new items that are presently in the process of becoming established somewhere in spoken and informal communication but have not officially surfaced yet.

5. An experiment with neologisms

The research so far has concentrated on new words explicitly described in dictionaries and the linguistic literature as back-formations or words which display all the features of back-formed items and so could be identified as such. This section deals with another part of the investigation. The typology and rules used in the previous research are applied to neologisms which are analogically seen as eligible to become the source

words for future back-formations of the existing types. These neologisms are then used as the starting point for assembling a sample of potential back-formations predicted on the basis of the principles derived for this particular word-formation process. In this research, the formal aspect is the most important, and the decisive element is the suffix. In the investigation of neologisms, words with the "suspect" suffixes were selected and classified as likely candidates for one of the nine types within the back-formation classification. For example, Ayto (1990) introduces the noun *Disneyfication* (1989) "trivializing commercialization, involving the transformation of genuine events, places of true historical interest, etc. into quaint pastiches". Based on the suffix of the noun and the existence of confirmed analogical pairs (e.g. *biomagnification > biomagnify*, 1970), it was hypothesized that the word can function as a source word of Type II (action noun > verb) and produce a back-formed verb *to Disneyfy* "to subject to Disneyfication". As a result of this research, a sample of 60 potential back-formed items was created, described and analyzed. The aim of such an analysis was to predict which back-formations could be created in the following time period. If successful, the prediction may contribute to the overall picture of the main tendencies operating in back-formation. Still another aim is to confirm that the adopted back-formation typology has universal validity and usability.

The sample of hypothetical back-formations is likely to contain items which may strike a native speaker as unusual, unnatural, or even bizarre and functionless. On the other hand, it includes items which are not so implausible and it is probably only a matter of time before they come into being and become part of existing vocabulary. Many of the now attested back-formed words started their "life" like this; they were considered unacceptable and sometimes even ridiculous in the beginning, but later they lost their "strangeness" and merged with the general vocabulary. A typical "classical" example of such revaluation described in the literature is the word *burgle < burglar*. The idea of attempting "prediction" of potential back-formations is supported by several examples of back-formed words in my earlier collected material from the 20th century, which Pennanen described as non-existent but highly potential at the time of his research. Since then these words have been introduced in dictionaries as actual back-formations: *job-hunt < job-hunting* (1946), *teleprint < teleprinter* (1971) and *skirt-chase < skirt-chaser* (1981).

Given that language is in a state of constant flux (as has been mentioned here several times), it seems logical not to restrict the investigation to a mere statement of "what *might* happen", but to try and find out what *is actually happening now* as regards the potential back-formations that have been tentatively generated. So, the final step in the research on neologisms was to consult a living source that is absolutely up to date: the Internet. Using the Google search engine I searched for each of the 60 potential items and discovered that 25 of them were actually used by speakers (or more precisely, writers), mainly in the Internet discussions or articles. Admittedly some of them may have been used ad hoc and need not be used again, but the fact that they have been formed by the language users in the keeping with the established back-formation rules is a good confirmation that the hypothesis was a step in the right direction.

The following lists compiled for each back-formation Type introduce all 60 neologisms suggested as possible sources words together with the potential back-formations and

their meanings. The suggested resulting words are marked by an asterisk. Each potential back-formation is supported by an example of a well-established item with a similar grammatical and semantic structure taken from the material of the 20th century. For the needs of this survey, such an existing unit is described as a "mirror word", since the intention is to present the potential back-formed words as possible new items resembling analogically something the existence of which has been proved in the language for some time. All the source words are taken from Ayto's *The Longman Register of New Words* (1990). Each category is concluded by a list of the confirmed back-formations, i.e. words actually discovered to exist in Internet communication. In addition, with each item there is a reference to the relevant Internet page and the citation of the word in context or its definition found on the page.

Type I: verb from agent / instrument noun
– number of items suggested: 13
– **number of items confirmed in communication on the Internet: 4**

1. *blatter* > ***blat** "to drive on unsurfaced country roads as a hobby". Mirror word: ***spelunk*** < *spelunker* "to explore caves, esp. as a hobby".
2. *boy toyer* > ***boy-toy** "to have a young male lover". Mirror word: *train-spot* < *train-spotter* "to observe trains and record railway locomotive numbers as a hobby".
3. *comper* > ***comp** "to enter competitions regularly". Mirror word: ***spelunk*** < ***spelunker*** "to explore caves, esp. as a hobby".
4. *conducer* > ***conduce** "to act as a consumer and a producer at the same time". Mirror word: *deal* < *dealer* "to be dealer in something, sell".
5. *daytimer* > ***daytime** "to go to daytimers (afternoon discos for young Asians)". Mirror word: *daysail* < ***day sailer*** "to go boating in a day sailer".
6. *doper* > ***dope** "to transport or traffic in illegal drugs". Mirror word: *deal* < *dealer* "to be dealer in something, sell".
7. *fuzzbuster* > ***fuzzbust** "to detect the presence of police radar speed traps by means of a fuzzbuster (an electronic device)". Mirror word: *blow-dry* < *blow-dryer* "To dry and usually style (hair) with a blow-dryer".
8. *green laner* > ***green lane** "to drive on unmetalled country roads and trackways and do so as a hobby". Mirror word: *topline* < *topliner* "to appear as the principal performer".
9. *monkey wrencher* > ***monkey wrench** "to obstruct or spoil sth". Mirror word: *jackroll* < *jackroller* "to act as a jackroller".
10. *pre-lightener* > ***pre-lighten** "to apply the pre-lightener to bleach the hair". Mirror word: *volumize* < *volumizer* "to add volume to, as the hair; to enhance the thickness or body of".
11. *upskier* > ***upski** "to ski uphill (using a small parachute for harnessing the power of the wind to propel them up to the mountainside)". Mirror word: *freeload* < *freeloader* "to take advantage of others for free food, entertainment".
12. *wallpecker* > ***wallpeck** "to chip pieces off the Berlin Wall". Mirror word: *train-spot* < *train-spotter* "to observe trains and record railway locomotive numbers as a hobby".

13. *stonepecker* > ***stonepeck***; synonym to *wallpeck*. Mirror word: *train-spot* < *train-spotter* "to observe trains and record railway locomotive numbers as a hobby."

Items confirmed in communication on the Internet:
blat
www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=blatting; accessed on 28. 3. 2011:
"To blat: to travel (either by car, bike or foot) in a reckless and eratic manner, often at excessive speeds with little care for your own health or safety, due to extreme levels of eccentricity and genius."

green-lane
www.kent4x4offroading.co.uk/green_laning_debate.htm; accessed on 28. 3. 2011:
"I regularly attend track days at various courses around the country, and have been green laning quite a few times in the past years."

monkey-wrench
www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=monkey-wrench&page=4; accessed on 28. 3. 2011:
"A verb meaning that someone/something has totally messed up your plans and/or what you were working on. That is: they threw a monkey wrench into your plans/work. I was planning on working on that new project, but then my boss stopped by and monkey wrenched my afternoon."

pre-lighten
www.funadvice.com/q/do_i_have_to_pre_lighten_my_dyed; accessed on 28. 3. 2011:
"Do I have to pre-lighten my dyed black hair?"

Type II: verb from action noun
– number of items suggested: 30
– **number of items confirmed in communication on the Internet: 13**

1. *backyardism* > ***backyard*** "(of a small country) to be under influence of a large economically powerful country". Mirror word: *one-up* < *one-upmanship* "to keep one jump ahead of a friend or competitor".
2. *casualism* > ***casual*** "to employ casual labour". Mirror word: *one-up* < *one-upmanship* "to keep one jump ahead of a friend or competitor".
3. *cocooning* > ***cocoon*** "to live a safe, unadventurous, home-based life". Mirror word: *upkeep* < *upkeeping* "to keep up, in various senses; esp. to maintain in good order".
4. *cold-faxing* > ***cold-fax*** "to send unsolicited material by fax". Mirror word: *soft-land* < *soft-landing* "to land slowly without serious damage, esp. on another planet or a satellite".
5. *destatization/destatisation* > ***destatize/destatise*** "(of the state) to withdraw from large areas of the economy that were hitherto state-controlled". Mirror word: *Finlandize* < *Finlandization* "to neutralize a country in terms of its allegiance to the superpowers".

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6. *Disneyfication* > *__Disneyfy__* "to implement Disneyfication" (trivializing commercialization, involving the transformation of genuine events, places of true historical interest, etc. into quaint pastiches). Mirror word: *biomagnify* < __biomagnification__ "to undergo biological magnification".

7. *downmarketing* > *__downmarket__* "to conduct advertising strategy aimed at lower socioeconomic groups". Mirror word: *upkeep* < *upkeeping* "to keep up, in various senses; esp. to maintain in good order".

8. *eco-labelling* > *__eco-label__* "to do the eco-labelling (the labelling of products with a certification that they have been produced in a way that does not harm the environment)". Mirror word: *fine-tune* < *fine tuning* "to adjust (an instrument, measurement, etc.) very precisely".

9. *fax-napping* > *__fax-nap__* "to steal someone's Filofax or similar personal organizer in order to demand money for its return". Mirror word: *house-clean* < *house-cleaning* "to clean a house".

10. *filo-napping* > *__filo-nap__*; a synonym to the previous unit. Mirror word: *house-clean* < *house-cleaning* "to clean a house".

11. *flash-forwarding* > *__flash-forward__* "to do the flash-forwarding (the making of brief transitions in a novel, film, etc. to a later event)". Mirror word: *ice-fish* < *ice-fishing* "to fish in winter through holes made in the ice".

12. *gas-flushing* > *__gas-flush__* "to use to method of gas-flushing (a method of food preservation in which the food item is precooked in a vacuum-sealed bag)". Mirror word: *ice-fish* < *ice-fishing* "to fish in winter through holes made in the ice".

13. *goldfishing* > *__goldfish__* "to illustrate a television news commentary on parliamentary proceedings with silent footage of MPs speaking in the chamber". Mirror word: *loud-hail* < *loud-hailing* "to speak or call through a loud-hailer".

14. *green-labelling* > *__green-label__*; a synonym to *eco-label*. Mirror word: *fine-tune* < *fine tuning* "to adjust (an instrument, measurement, etc.) very precisely".

15. *grockling* < *__grockle__* "to visit places of interest as a tourist". Mirror word: *keeper* < *keepering* "to look after as a gamekeeper".

16. *infotainment* > *__infotain__* "to present information in an entertaining way". Mirror word: *drop-ship* < *drop-shipment* "to ship (goods) from a manufacturer or wholesaler directly to a customer instead of to the retailer who took the order".

17. *joy-firing* > *__joy-fire__* "to fire guns to celebrate sth.". Mirror word: *show-jump* < *show-jumping* "to compete in show-jumping".

18. *lightweighting* > *__lightweight__* "to use light materials for packaging". Mirror word: *fine-tune* < *fine tuning* "to adjust (an instrument, measurement, etc.) very precisely".

19. *marketization* > *__marketize__* "to transform an economy into a free-market economy". Mirror word: *divizionalize* < *divisionalization* "to organize (a company, etc.) on a divisional basis".

20. *monoboarding* > *__monoboard__* "to ski downhill on a single large ski". Mirror word: *snowboard* < *snowboarding* "to ride a snowboard".

21. *parapenting* > *__parapent__* "to jump from a high place (e.g. a hilltop) with a special parachute". Mirror word: *safekeep* > *safekeeping* "to keep safe, protect".

22. *slice colouring* > **slice colour** "to apply a thin line of colouring to the tips of the hairs". Mirror word: *fine-tune* < *fine tuning* "to adjust (an instrument, measurement, etc.) very precisely".

23. *snowsurfing* > **snowsurf** "to participate in snowsurfing (the sport of skiing downhill standing sideways on a single large ski, controlling its direction with the feet and with body movements)". Mirror word: *snowboard* < *snowboarding* "to participate in snowboarding".

24. *spasing* > **spas** "to sell goods door-to-door pretending to have a speech defect or other disability in order to gain the customers' sympathy". Mirror word: *pend* < *pending* "to postpone deciding or attending to, defer".

25. *step-parenting* > **step-parent** "to look after a child in the capacity of a step-parent". Mirror word: *scapegoat* < *scapegoating* "to make a scapegoat of (someone)".

26. *tariffication* > **tariffy** "to convert (e.g. EC import restrictions) into a tariff". Mirror word: *biomagnify* < **biomagnification** "to undergo biological magnification".

27. *taxing* > **tax** "to mug a person in order to steal his or her fashionable footwear". Mirror word: *pend* < *pending* "to postpone deciding or attending to, defer".

28. *videoswiping* > **videoswipe** "to extract images from films and videotapes and use them to compose a hologram". Mirror word: *fine-tune* < *fine tuning* "to adjust (an instrument, measurement, etc.) very precisely".

29. *Voguing/Vogueing* > **Vogue** "to dance in a style of Voguing (a style of dancing to house music which incorporates movements and gestures of models displaying clothes)". Mirror word: *politick* < *politicking* "to engage in often partisan political discussion or activity".

30. *water-walking* > **water-walk** "to walk in water in terms of water aerobics". Mirror word: *snowboard* < *snowboarding* "to participate in snowboarding".

Items confirmed in communication on the Internet:

cold-fax

http://answers.yahoo.com/question/index?qid=20071221045821AARqw1Q; accessed on 28. 3. 2011:

"*It is illegal to cold fax to any phone number …*"

cross-own

http://www.grant-thornton.co.uk/thinking/elevate/index.php/elevate_templates/article/the_north_goes_mad_for_decentralised_media/; accessed on 29. 3. 2011:

"*The North-East is also where the government itself is focusing its English experiment on TV news (in which we're one bidding company, among many) and there is another in Scotland. Meanwhile, the Tories are looking at city stations, as well as 'big bang' deregulation to empower firms to cross-own radio, TV, print and online.*"

Disneyfy

http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/magazine/6559197.stm; accessed on 28. 3. 2011:

"*A Charles Dickens theme park opens in Kent soon, promising an authentic taste of the novelist's Victorian world. But is it wrong to 'Disney-fy' the nation's greatest author?*"

downmarket

http://usj.sagepub.com/content/43/7/1025.abstract; accessed on 29. 3. 2011:

These findings underscore the urgent need to improve savings instruments for slum-dwellers and to downmarket housing finance to reach the poorest residents of rapidly growing cities in developing countries.

eco-label

http://www.skyscanner.net/news/articles/2008/02/000147-ecolabelling-debate -divides-aviation-industry.html; accessed on 28. 3. 2011:

Regional carrier Flybe has already chosen to eco-label its flights, informing passengers of the CO_2 impact of their journey, but despite parliamentary backing for the scheme, concerns have been raised in several quarters.

gas-flush

http://www.cherryvalley.co.uk/3rd-party-manufacturers/3rd-party-manufacturers -products; accessed on 28. 3. 2011:

"*We are also able to gas-flush fresh product to extend the total life of the product, if required.*"

infotain

http://itbriefing.net/modules.php?op=modload&name=News&file=article &sid=146223; accessed on 28. 3. 2011:

"*We created the platform to infotain local audiences and the businesses that service them. Our partnership with Transit TV provides us with a great opportunity to serve a unique local audience.*"

marketize

http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayAbstract;jsessionid=FAA6A4503A07565 AD031D1E7BDEB71F3.tomcat1?fromPage=online&aid=3567556; accessed on 28. 3. 2011:

"*Most analysts would agree that the non-grain agricultural and consumer goods sectors have been fully marketized, and quite successfully so, but that the economic reform of the state industrial sector has lagged far behind.*"

parapent

http://www.snowfinders.co.uk/resort-details.aspx?productid=169698; accessed on 28. 3. 2011:

"*There is bowling in Belle Plagne, a swimming pool in Bellecote and the ice grotto up at the glacier is well worth a visit. For the more adventurous there is the chance to **parapent** off the mountains or even try the Olympic bob-sleigh run.*"

snowsurf

http://www.988.com/node/books/outdoors-and-nature/snowboarding/45745 _2.html; accessed on 29. 3. 2011:

"*This book is going to make an incredible movie! 'Snowboarding to Nirvana' traces the athletic feats, romantic encounters and magical Buddhist experiences of a young American*

as he travels to the Himalayas with a backpack and two snowboards to snowsurf the highest and most majestic mountains in the world."

tariffy

http://www.neerajkalra.com/iitrade/kmarticle.asp?id=69; accessed on 29. 3. 2011:

"Countries could elect to tariffy or to declare a general ceiling for tariffs across all their imports –but not both. It was mainly developed countries that tariffied and thereby gained the right to use the SSG."

Vogue

http://www.forteantimes.com/forum/viewtopic.php?p=579678&sid=8fa6c274f1091ac 020a1af2164d06a6b; accessed on 29. 3. 2011:

"He has dreadlocks too and swings them around as he vogues. Yes, he actually vogues all day long. Everyone has seen him and he sometimes dances down the main shopping street here in mid-winter, topless as usual even though it can be as low as -20 degrees celcius."

water-walk

http://www.diagolo.com/swimming-pools/water-aerobics-routines; accessed on 29. 3. 2011:

"There are fitness centers that offer classes that are soley water walking. These are great for people that need an exercise that is easy on the joints. Many people that have arthritis water walk as their way of keeping physically fit."

Type III: verb from adjective

– number of items suggested: 4
– **number of items confirmed in communication on the Internet: 0**

1. *bladdered* > ***bladder** "to get drunk". Mirror word: *sozzle* < *sozzled* "to imbibe intoxicating drink".
2. *expensed* > ***expense** "to pay all expenses for someone (e.g. an employee)". Mirror word: *cairn* < *cairned* "to mark with a cairn".
3. *man-trained* > ***man-train** "to train a dog to attack a human being when commanded to do so". Mirror word: *obedience-train* < *obedience-trained* "to train a dog to be obedient".
4. *Ponting* > ***Pont** "to leak secrets from a government department to the press". Mirror word: *gangle* > *gangling* "to walk or move with or as if with a loose-jointed gait".

Type IV: noun from adjective

– number of items suggested: 0
– **number of items confirmed in communication on the Internet: 0**

<div align="center">**Type V: adjective from noun**</div>

– number of items suggested: 2
– **number of items confirmed in communication on the Internet:**

1. *biodiversity* > *__biodiverse__* "(of an area) to contain a large number of distinct biological species, to be marked by biodiversity". Mirror word: *superconductive* < *superconductivity* "possessing no electrical resistivity".
2. *disfluency/dysfluency* > *__disfluent/dysfluent__* "characterized by a lack of fluency in speech". Mirror word: *complicit* < *complicity*; having complicity.

Items confirmed in the Internet communication:
   Biodiverse
   http://www.kentlandscapestudio.co.uk/garden-design-kent/biodiverse-planting/; accessed on 29. 3. 2011:
   "*Biodiverse planting basically means increasing the varieties of insects, birds and animals in a particular area by choosing the right plants.*"

   disfluent/dysfluent
   /http://www.mendeley.com/research/how-listeners-infer-the-causes-of-disfluent -speech/; accessed on 29. 3. 2011:
   They were told that one speaker had a speech problem to investigate whether this affected their ratings. Disfluent answers were judged as less confident and less likely to be correct than definite answers.

<div align="center">**Type VI: noun from another noun which
is believed to be its derivative**</div>

– number of items suggested: 6
– **number of items confirmed in communication on the Internet: 3**

1. *collectomania* > *__collectomane__* "a person who cannot resist collecting or accumulating things". Mirror word: *mythomane* < *mythomania* "a person with a strong or irresistible propensity for fantasizing, lying, or exaggerating".
2. *cross-ownership* > *__cross-owner__* "a person who owns a controlling interest in a newspaper and a broadcasting station". Mirror word: *grantsman* < *grantsmanship*; a specialist in grantsmanship (skill in securing grants, as for research, from federal agencies, foundations, or the like)".
3. *girocracy* > *__girocrat__* "a person who is dependent on social-security payments". Mirror word: *telepath* < *telepathy* "one who believes in telepathy".¨
4. *Gorbymania* > *__Gorbymane__* "a person who is extremely enthusiastic about President Mikhail Gorbachev of the USSR". Mirror word: *mythomane* < *mythomania* "a person with a strong or irresistible propensity for fantasizing, lying, or exaggerating".
5. *radiophobia* > *__radiophobe__* "a person who suffers from irrational fear of radioactivity". Mirror word: *claustrophobe* < *claustrophobia* "one having claustrophobia".

6. *videocracy* > **videocrat* "a member of a government that operates mainly or characteristically via television". Mirror word: *telepath* < *telepathy* "one who believes in telepathy".

Items confirmed in communication on the Internet:
girocrat
http://www.arrse.co.uk/current-affairs-news-analysis/134230-amalgamated-post
-election-thread-20.html; accessed on 29. 3. 2011:
"*Exactly Toynbee's point – and if you are in the Girocracy, or employed by the Bureaucracy, your self-interest will drive you to the soft Left left rather than (any variety of) Right: on Thurs that meant the Girocrats/Bureaucrats unhappy with Broon voted not for Cameron, but for Clegg.*"

radiophobe
http://www.spectator.co.uk/rodliddle/6776253/nuclear-alert.thtml; accessed on 29. 3. 2011:
"*I think this gives the lie to the idea I am a radiophobe. The point is that if a tsunami or terrorist were to disrupt a cold fusion process, there would be no release of radioactivity.*"

videocrat
http://newleftreview.org/?view=2676; accessed on 29. 3. 2011:
"*Inside each of us there lies a calligraphic East, a printed Europe, a widescreen America; and the continents negotiate within us without losing their respective place. Each one of us is, simultaneously, God, Reason and Emotion; theocrat, ideocrat, videocrat; saint, hero and star. We dream of ourselves as standing outside time; we think about our century; we wonder what to do with our evening.*"

Type VII: prefixal back-formations
– number of items suggested: 2
– **number of items confirmed in communication on the Internet: 1**

1. *un-customed* adj. > **customed* adj. "(of goods) having had the customs duty paid". Mirror word: *flappable* "easily upset or confused, esp. under stress" < *unflappable* "not easily upset or confused, esp. in a crisis".
2. *unscoopy* adj. > **scoopy* adj. "(of mass media) rich in exclusive news stories". Mirror word: *flappable* < *unflappable* (see previous).

Items confirmed in communication on the Internet:
customed
http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=70711; accessed on 29. 3. 2011:
The Trotts acquiesced and seemed convinced of their error, but underhand sent to several parts of the West Indies to seize all vessels not cleared by Samuel Trott, whether customed goods were on board or not.

Type VIII: inflectional back-formations

- number of items suggested: 2
- **number of items confirmed in communication on the Internet: 1**

1. *politricks* > ***politrick*** n. "an individual action within the practice of politricks (political sharp practice, intimidation, especially during an election campaign)". Mirror word: *bicep* < *biceps* "a muscle of the front of the upper arm having two heads".
2. *sweats* > ***sweat*** n. "an individual item of a tracksuit, part of a tracksuit". Mirror word: *bicep* < *biceps* (see previous).

Items confirmed in communication on the Internet:

politrick

http://www.urban75.net/vbulletin/archive/index.php/t-199668.html; accessed on 29. 3. 2011:

"*About three weeks later the invasion happened and there was another demonstration and it was virtually impossible to find any politicians willing to speak. They were all coming out with the rap, 'oh, I'd really love to speak, but I have so much constituency work to do, maybe another time'. Do we suspect a politrick? Fortunately, we did have Llantwit on hand to preach the duty of civil disobedience.*"

Type IX: adjective from agent noun

- number of items suggested: 1
- **number of items confirmed in communication on the Internet: 1**

1. *cruciverbalist* > ***cruciverbal*** "related to crosswords, e.g. cruciverbal arrangement, style". Mirror word: *do-good* < *do-gooder* "of or befitting a do-gooder (a naive and often ineffectual social or political reformer)".

Items confirmed in communication on the Internet:

cruciverbal

http://myweb.tiscali.co.uk/polymetis/puzzles/xwords_index.html; accessed on 29. 3. 2011:

Also, some have a few answers that comprise several words and yet that are not actually well-known phrases, which makes them both non-standard in cruciverbal terms, and a bit harder to solve. I try not to do that anymore, in puzzles that I set nowadays; still, you should be able to work out the answers from the clues with a bit of thought.

Traditionally, verbs from action nouns (Type II) constitute the largest number of back-formations. Another interesting fact is that in the smallest classes (Type V, adjectives from abstract and action nouns, and Type IX, adjectives from agent nouns) everything that was suggested has been confirmed, even if these classes comprise low numbers of items. Also in other minor classes (Types VI–VIII, nouns from other nouns, prefixal back-formations and inflectional back-formations) at least a few items have been con-

firmed. The only class for which we have not found any of the potential words as being actually used is Type III (verbs from adjectives). Type IV was not covered in this part of research at all as no potential items were found. Based on the morphological structure of the confirmed back-formed items (18 compounds out of 25 words), it is possible to say that compounds are generally very popular as a means of condensed expression in informal communication.

This final step in the study of neologisms contributing to the process of back-formation forcibly illustrates the cycle of back-formation in language: from the nonce use of a word (ad hoc, tentative, jocular or ironic use for humorous purposes, presented in inverted commas in the quotations in dictionaries), its acceptance and re-use by more than one speaker in informal contexts (public informal conversation, e.g. on the Internet), up to its institutionalization – the acceptance of the word into the norm of the language and its inclusion in a dictionary (i.e., incorporating the back-formation in a dictionary as entry word or subentry and thus presenting it as a unit of vocabulary of the given language).

The results of testing the hypothesis about potential new back-formed words arising from neologisms may have been influenced by certain circumstances, e.g. the limited extent of sources of neologisms or a lack of neologisms of specific (e.g. scientific) meaning. On the other hand, the high proportion of the proposed back-formations being attested in actual communication (42%) is large enough to confirm that the typological system and comparative method used in the prediction of new items work well and are applicable to any kind of relevant material. The discovered back-formations have not yet been listed in dictionaries of neologisms, which is the reason why they are not introduced in standard dictionaries; however, since they occur on various Internet pages and are actively used by various speakers, it would be unreasonable to ignore them completely. Time will verify whether these words will be widely accepted and then included in general dictionaries. At this moment, if anything they are of theoretical interest as being predicable, and knowing that they exist we may follow their progress as they are indeed a little further on their way to institutionalization than purely hypothetical items.

6. Conclusion

The aim of the paper is to describe and analyze the operation of back-formation in neologisms over the last three decades. Analysis of the sample of 68 of the latest back-formations has indicated that some of the long-lasting tendencies continue even in this most dynamic period, e.g. the prevalence of verbs created by back-formation from action nouns, gradual decrease of adjectives back-formed from nouns, the disappearance of inflectional back-formations or the production of stylistically neutral items rather than marked ones. On the other hand, some of the results prove that the new layer of vocabulary is characterized by certain features which correspond to its "young age", namely the diversity of structures. Compared to the overall tendency of back-formation in the total period (since 1900) to produce an increasing proportion of compounds, the most recent sample of items attested in dictionaries contains more non-compounds and a higher number of monomorphemic words. On the other hand, compounds are fairly numerous within the category of back-formed verbs itself and in addition, the research has revealed

a higher number of compound back-formations in lively informal communication on the Internet which have not been officially attested yet. Also, the creation of nouns from adjectives (Type IV) seems to be fairly active, at the moment more active than forming verbs from agent / instrument nouns (Type I). Prefixal back-formations (Type VII) appear to be still comparatively productive too, even if they are generally regarded as a marginal type. As far as stylistic value is concerned, it is worth mentioning that we can observe a growing quantity of terms or other expressions related to the areas of IT and business at the moment. These features, in contrast to the long-established ones, can be seen as evidence of the continual movement in the language and the slow, gradual settlement of new words in the lexicon.

The research among neologisms as possible source words for further back-formations has generated yet another sample of 25 back-formed items – those which were suggested as potential and subsequently confirmed as existing (but not entered in dictionaries yet) in Internet communication. After the addition of these newest ones and the attested back-formations from the last three decades, the investigation covered 93 back-formation-neologisms in all. In the total of back-formations collected for the period since 1900 until present (733 items), this latest sample represents 13%. However, this number is only relative since not all possible sources have been examined. The approximate number of back-formations formed at this period will be known only after a sufficient lapse of time when another retrospective study is made. More importantly, the fact that new back-formations of various types continue to be created in informal communication and are still being recorded in dictionaries is evidence that this process of word formation is indeed productive and has potential for the future.

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ZPĚTNÉ TVOŘENÍ V NEJNOVĚJŠÍ VRSTVĚ ANGLICKÉ SLOVNÍ ZÁSOBY

Resumé

Předmětem studie je popis a rozbor procesu zpětného tvoření v angličtině za poslední tři desetiletí, tj. od 80. let 20. století do současnosti. Zkoumání vzorku 68 nejnovějších zpětně utvořených slov nalezených v současných anglických slovnících a odborných monografiích se opírá o typologii vytvořenou Esko V. Pennanenem, k níž byly přidány další tři kategorie. Výzkum ukázal, že některé dlouhodobé tendence přetrvávají i v současné, tedy nejdynamičtější fázi zkoumaného období, např. převaha sloves tvořených z dějových substantiv, snižování podílu adjektiv tvořených ze substantiv, zanikání flektivních zpětných derivátů a vznik většího počtu slov stylisticky neutrálních než slov zabarvených. Oproti převažující dlouhodobé tendenci (od začátku 20. století), pro niž je charakteristický rostoucí podíl složenin, však vzorek nových slov obsahuje více slov nesložených i slov monomorfematických. Tvoření substantiv z adjektiv je aktivnější než tvoření sloves z konatelských substantiv. Tvoření slov odtržením předpony je stále poměrně produktivní, přestože je obecně považováno za okrajový typ. Ze stylistického hlediska lze říci, že v současné době roste počet zpětně utvořených slov v oblasti informačních technologií a obchodu. Druhá fáze výzkumu je zaměřena na neologismy jako potenciální zdroj zpětných derivátů: na základě typologie a pravidel použitých v předchozí fázi bylo navrženo 60 slov, která by mohla být utvořena zpětnou derivací z neologismů v budoucnosti. V následném kroku bylo 25 z těchto potenciálních jednotek potvrzeno jako již skutečně existujících v neformální internetové komunikaci. Tím se nejen zvýšil celkový počet zpětně utvořených neologismů za období mezi 1980 a 2011 popsaných a analyzovaných v této práci na 93, ale hlavně se prokázala adekvátnost použité typologie a vyvozených pravidel tvoření slov tímto způsobem.