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Chris Chris A. Smith. Where do new words like "boobage, flamage, ownage come from?" Tracking the history of "-age" words from 1100 to 2000 in the "OED3". *Lexis. Journal in English Lexicology*, 2017, Lexical and Semantic Neology in English, 12, [29 p.]. 10.4000/lexis.2167 . hal-02144382

HAL Id: hal-02144382

<https://hal.science/hal-02144382v1>

Submitted on 30 May 2019

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**Electronic version**

URL: <http://journals.openedition.org/lexis/2167>

DOI: [10.4000/lexis.2167](https://doi.org/10.4000/lexis.2167)

ISSN: 1951-6215

Publisher

Université Jean Moulin - Lyon 3

Electronic reference

Chris A. Smith, « Where do new words like *boobage*, *flamage*, *ownage* come from? Tracking the history of *-age* words from 1100 to 2000 in the *OED3* », *Lexis* [Online], 12 | 2018, Online since 14 December 2018, connection on 03 May 2019. URL : <http://journals.openedition.org/lexis/2167> ; DOI : [10.4000/lexis.2167](https://doi.org/10.4000/lexis.2167)

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Where do new words like *boobage*, *flamage*, *ownage* come from? Tracking the history of *-age* words from 1100 to 2000 in the *OED3*

Chris A. Smith

Introduction

- 1 This study aims to trace the evolution of nominal *-age* formation in the *OED3*, from its origins as a product of borrowing from Latin or French from 1100, to its status as an innovative internal derivation process. The suffix *-age* continues today to coin newly- or non-lexicalized forms such as *ownage*, *boobage*, *brushage*, suggestive of the continued productivity of a long-standing century-old suffix. This remarkable success appears to distinguish *-age* from similar Latinate suffixes such as *-ment* and *-ity* (see Gadde [1910]) and raises the question of the reasons behind this adaptability. The suffix *-age* has motivated a monograph study from Fleishman [1977], which takes a lexicographic socio-cultural or “integrated” approach to word formation and also later a corpus study by Palmer [2009]. The question of how suffixes found in loanwords become productive remains of consequence despite existing research into the question, such as: how and when does a suffix become productive? What criteria can be used to establish this (nonexistent base word in English, versus base word, i.e. transparency or analyzability of the derivative, phonological accommodation i.e. remodelling of the loan word)? More recently, corpus studies have flourished with the increased availability of diachronic corpora, evolving methods of diachronic analysis which embrace micro and macro evidence (Nevalainen & Traugott [2012]). In terms of methodology and statistical analysis, the issues of periodization and reliability of data have been shown to be instrumental in providing consistent verifiable data and analysis (Gries & Hilpert [2008], Allan [2012]).

- 2 Tracing the influence of Romance languages (Miller [1997]) and other contact languages on the English language has produced much research, both historically (in the 1900s) and today still (see Trudgill [2010] for a sociohistorical perspective, Durkin [2014] for a lexicographic overview). This continued interest shows that issues of language contact such as the process of external influences on English (Miller [2012a, 2012b]) is far from firmly understood and straightforward. This can be partly explained by shifting theoretical viewpoints on language change, and its processes, which shed new light on interpretations of historical data. The history of English has been studied from multiple perspectives: socio-cultural, bilingualism and code-switching, language contact (Nevalainen & Traugott [2012]). Recent methodologies tend to favour data-driven, corpus-based approaches, rather than anecdotal histories, although the focus of language change research tends to lie with macrostructures and word orders, centering on grammaticalization and subjectification, rather than morphology. Morphology and historical morphology (Gadde [1910], Dalton-Puffer [1994], Miller [1997], Anderson [2000], Lloyd [2005], Palmer [2009]) has also been challenged by the availability of wide-ranging data, thus paving the way for new methods and thinking influenced by language processing research, and probabilistic and statistical approaches, such as Baayen's [2003] probabilistic morphology.
- 3 This data-driven lexicographic study focuses on collecting diachronic evidence regarding nominal *-age* derivatives in the *OED3* to test prior results obtained by Fleishman [1977] and Palmer [2009]. The question at the heart of this paper is whether the continued trajectory of *-age* derivation evolves predictably based on historical patterns, in other words whether patterns of behavior are regular, or irregular.
- 4 To this purpose, this paper is organized as follows. Section 1 describes the corpus, and method for labelling and analyzing *-age* forms. It details the objective of the *OED3* corpus analysis, and the factors used for assessing the morphosemantic structure of the 921 *-age* nouns generated. The data provide historical growth patterns, ratio of loans to non-loans, and comparison of N-*age* versus V-*age* productivity between 1150 and 2000. Mental productivity is arguably partially represented in the error forms and alterations which provide some clues regarding historical language processing. Section 2 provides a semantic classification of *-age* output based on key words relying on the analyzability of the senses provided by the *OED3*. The resulting semantic behaviour of *-age* forms displays considerable regularity and general absence of polysemy, coinciding with the knowledge that historical *-age* forms tend to be context-specific. This absence of semantic change is discussed, in contrast with two exceptions to this behaviour: polysemous ossified *-age* words, and outliers resulting from reanalysis. It is argued that exceptions provide anecdotal, yet crucial, insight into language processing and natural analogical change, otherwise absent in a historical corpus. Section 3 then focuses on the small output of lexicalized *-age* words in the 20th century, and then proceeds to discuss the productivity of non-lexicalized *-age* forms and their semantic behaviour using a contemporary corpus of English, English Web 2013, which is part of the TenTen family of large text corpora.

1. Data and method: the diachronic morpho-semantic analysis of *-age* nominal derivatives

1.1. Morphological productivity: innovation and analyzability

- 5 How does a loan suffix separate from the foreign non-transparent bases of loan words to become a productive suffix? In other words, how does a productive process emerge from the borrowed forms entering a language? The accepted answer (from language change, and language acquisitions studies) is frequency of usage, which brings about ability to recognize a pattern, i.e. cohesion within a paradigm (Miller [2010]) and extend or regularize that pattern to non-Latinate, or native bases. This form of innovation which relies on the analyzability of the loan words allows for reanalysis to be made. That means that the suffix *-age* emerges as a morpheme with a predictable effect on the base: it allows for extension of the model to bases of different kinds, particularly to native English, Norse and Germanic bases. For Palmer [2009, 2014], analyzability correlates directly with productivity. It is viewed as a pre-condition for productivity to occur (spontaneous new innovations).
- 6 However, to test this assumption, access to the mental lexicon of speakers in the past would be required, which is of course not realistic, especially as data are essentially limited to written data, and specific registers and genres¹. The unavailability of spontaneous oral data is a well-documented limitation of diachronic studies (see Allan [2012]).
- 7 Early signs of this innovation (see Bauer [2001]) are twofold. On the one hand, the existence of hybrids (Miller [1997]) constitutes a symptom of the increasing transparency, and therefore a precursor to the emergence of the morpheme. Secondly, the existence of error-forms can be interpreted as attempts to equate form with meaning in a context and so to reanalyze for increased iconicity or correspondence between form and meaning. Miller [1997] underlines that the application of Latinate suffixes to non-Latinate roots started earlier than previously thought: he counts at least 100 hybrid derivatives before 1450 in a literary corpus. Miller argues that colloquial ME allowed for a considerable amount of hybridity, which then made its way into literary texts by means of convergence.

1.2. Generating the corpus: exclusions and difficulties

- 8 This paper sets out to explore how a loan formation such as *-age* nouns becomes an internal pattern of neology by tracking their evolution over time. Using the *OED3* to generate a corpus of 1233 *-age* words, a manual sorting of the forms carrying the *-age* nominal suffix filters over 200 homonyms and false positives. I excluded *-age* words which are verifiably transmission errors: *smellage* 1846 given as an alteration of *smallage* 1300 <small+ache>; *lovage* 1300 n1 given as being from the French *lovesh*, *graffage* 1798 deformation of *graff-hedge*². Also excluded are compounds of the noun *age*, words carrying the combining form *-phage*, as well as many remodelled forms such as the noun *besage* 1526 referring to a pair of saddle bags (from French *besace*, from *bis+ sac*), the noun *cabbage* 1391 from French *caboche*. In addition, transparent derivatives of pre-existing *-age* nouns as in *marriage* > *re-marriage* > *mismarriage*, etc. are also removed. On the other

hand, homonyms of existing *-age* words were kept if verifiably of a different base word. From the remaining 958 *-age* nominal derivatives, this empirical corpus-based study sets out to determine the diachronic behaviour of the target forms through a morpho-semantic lexicographic study.

- 9 A second filtering of 958 *-age* derivatives occurred during the classification phase: 921 *-age* output forms remain, excluding variants, errors and alterations, which will nonetheless be considered in the discussion of productivity and language change.

1.3. Classifying *-age* words in the *OED3*

- 10 The following subsection deals with the morpho-semantic labelling and classification of the filtered *-age* forms retrieved from the *OED3*.

1.3.1. The specificity of a data-driven lexicographic approach

- 11 As mentioned earlier, research into the history of loan suffixes from Latin and French is not novel (Gadde [1910] studies the history of *-ery*, *-age* and *-ment*, Fleishman [1977] focuses on the history of the suffix *-age*, Dalton-Puffer [1994] and Miller [1997] study the influence of French on ME morphology). Most recently, Durkin [2014] traces the history of loanwords. Most of the recent studies use diachronic corpus data such as the Helsinki corpus to study loans over certain key periods (Middle English, Early Modern English). While this approach has many benefits as underlined in Palmer [2009, 2014] including the availability of contextual elements, and the authenticity of usage, there are also some drawbacks, namely the lack of genre- or register-specific data.
- 12 The use of lexicographic material to trace word histories has also greatly improved, especially the use of the *OED* for tracking historical evolution. Despite the lack of available data for certain periods, Allan [2012] underlines the invaluable opportunity represented in the *OED3* in terms of access to semantic, morphological, etymological data, and attestation dates (also see Smith [2016]). Allan [2012: 37] points out that the *OED3* structures the senses of lexemes in order of attestation, although this cannot be taken to represent the development of senses, and that proper historical development must be reconstituted by the reader or researcher. In terms of methodology of tracking the histories of words, Allan [2012: 37] advises correlating data from derivationally related lexemes and etymologically related lexemes. Durkin [2012: 103-104] also strongly recommends paying close attention to detail and considering how individual word histories interact, reminding us “of the complex interplay of factors involved in any instance of lexical change”. Given the scale of the corpus, the methodology used here will be first a quantity-based analysis, and then will include a quality-based analysis of several individual word histories. Durkin [2014] extensively tracks the history of loanwords in English with data-driven analyses. Challenging corpus studies with lexicographic data now makes a lot of sense, as attestation dates (albeit approximative) do give some insight into macrolevel diachronic evolution.
- 13 The dates of attestation are those of the initial emergence of *-age* words. There are naturally limitations to the dates provided in the *OED3*, which are approximate and cannot be construed as definitive (see Allan [2012] on the question of attestation dates and chronology), although they provide acceptable data on a large time-frame scale. The *OED3* also provides some indication of restriction of usage with terms such as *rare*, *archaic*,

obsolete except historical, feudal law, which provide some contextual clues to the usage of the term. Unfortunately, the frequency band provided only serves as a current frequency indicator rather than a diachronic indicator, and so cannot provide patterns of usage over time³. However, the indications of register are not systematic, or systematized. For instance, how is *archaic* different from *obsolete*, or from *obsolete except historical*? As Durkin [2012] himself underlines in his experience and capacity as an *OED* lexicographer, there remain many issues of methodology in terms of labelling, selection and classification of senses, as well as selection of context.

- 14 A fair proportion of more recent *-age* forms from the 20th century labelled in the *OED3* as loans from French is specific to certain usages and contexts (such as *massage* and *winery*). This coincides with general knowledge regarding the motivation of recent loans, such as described in Ayto's [1999] dictionary of new words of the 20th century for instance.

1.3.2. The structure and origin of *-age* words

- 15 Labelling the structure of the *-age* words requires analyzing or parsing the structure of the derivative by identifying the nature of the base word, even when the structure is a loan from Latin or French. Identifying the structure of native words is far easier when the derivative is transparent, however determining the initial structure within the donor language may help provide information on language processing at the time. The data in the *OED3* allowed me to provide the following classification based on morphological decomposition of the *OED3* entry words.

(1) **LOAN**: this is the term used in the *OED3*, although not systematically. I have used this whenever the *-age* form is directly retrievable from a donor language (usually Latin or French). For example: *coinage* 1380 <*coignage* French>, *carriage* 1386, *pontage* 1325 “payment for use of a bridge” are historical loans from Old French or Anglo-Norman; *rapportage* 1903, *sondage* 1914, *meritage* 1989 are more recent loans from French.

(2) **LOAN / BLEND**: this is a term I have added to label hybrid forms that are neither loans nor derivatives but associate both (usually a sign of analogical formation, and the beginning of independent formation). For example: *clientelage* 1660, *verdage* 1782, *floriage* 1775.

(3) **V-age**: this is used when the *-age* form is verifiably deverbal based on the analysis of the attestation sense. For example: *warpage* 1863 <*warp* v.+ *-age*>, and *graftage* 1895 <*graft* v. + *-age*>.

(4) **N-age**: this is used when the *-age* form is verifiably denominal. For example: *floodage* 1862 in the sense “flooded state, inundation”, *hulkage* 1869 in the sense “hulks collectively”.

(5) **V-age or N-age**: this is used when the word analysis allows for both denominal or deverbal derivation. For instance; *taskage* 1830 given as a nonce-word, i.e. a hapax, either has the sense collective tasks or tasking; *buoyage* 1855 can also be used in the sense “collective N” or “act of V”, or *tankage* 1866 can also have the sense “collective N” or “process of V”.

(6) **BLEND**: this is used generally for later *-age* forms when they are analyzed as a combination of a prior *-age* word with another form. For example; *scavenage* 1878 <*scavenge*+*-age*> in the sense action of “scavenging”, or later *haylage* 1960 <*hay*+*silage*>.

(7) **Unknown**: this is used when the *OED3* offers no plausible origin hypothesis. These are usually rare or obsolete words with no context and uncertain meaning, such as *average* n3 1537 in the sense “breaking of corn fields”, *breneage* 1535 in the proposed sense

“burning”, and *flobbage* 1535 a rare Scottish usage for “phlegm”.

(8) **Obscure:** this follows *OED3* labelling, and tends to be used when the *OED3* offers several etymological pathways, with no clear preference. Examples are *village* 1386, *garbage* 1430, *soutage* 1532.

- 16 The following analysis will attempt to measure the proportion of *V-age* to *N-age* over time to detect if a change in patterns occurs in favour of one or other form. The question of semantic behaviour will also be considered. Is it possible to propose a relevant semantic classification of *-age* output forms, and what of the semantic specialization often cited in relation to *-age* forms?

1.3.3. Semantic categories using key features

- 17 Semantic typologies of *-age* words have been provided at length (Fleishman [1977]), including in the *OED3* entry for the suffix *-age*, which provides historical information of its beginnings. A key word search in the entry definitions for each *-age* word provided key features, which were then classified according to larger conceptual categories, correlating with the nature of the base word of the derivative.
- 18 (1) ACT OF V, ACTION OF V, PROCESS OF V. This sense can be in competition with *-ing* nouns, as found in *seasoning* 1400 vs obsolete *seasonage* 1716. Note that metonymical extension can lead to the sense PLACE OF WORK, as in *standage* <V+*-age*> 1777 “a space for standing”. This sense also appears in denominal *-age* forms like *cooperage* <N+*-age*> 1714 “the place where a cooper’s trade is carried out”.
- 19 (2) COLLECTIVE N, AMOUNT OF N, QUANTITY OF, MEASURE OF (*stealage* 1769 “losses due to stealing”, *wastage* 1756 “loss by leaking, etc.”, *roofage* 1829 “roof-like covering, or the area covered”, *wordage* 1829 “words collectively”, *plottage* 1910 “land in the form of plots; the area or value of such land”).
- 20 (3) STATUS OF N, CONDITION OF N, BEHAVIOUR OF N. This usage of *-age* can be in direct competition with *-ery* and *-hood* derivatives: the *OED3* often gives these as synonyms, for instance *coltage* / *colthood*, *adulstage* / *adulthood*, etc. Note that some rare forms such as *havage* 1799 in the sense “lineage, ancestry” do not have equivalent *-hood* derivatives.
- 21 (4) PAYMENT, TOLL, FEE, TAX, DUTY, RIGHTS. This historical usage has no derivational alternative but appears extremely frequent historically: *riverage* 1701 has the sense “toll for travelling on a river”, *greenage* 1763 has the sense “fee for using a bowling green”.
- 22 The methodological choice of using a feature analysis will be discussed in the section on the distribution of senses of *-age* forms.

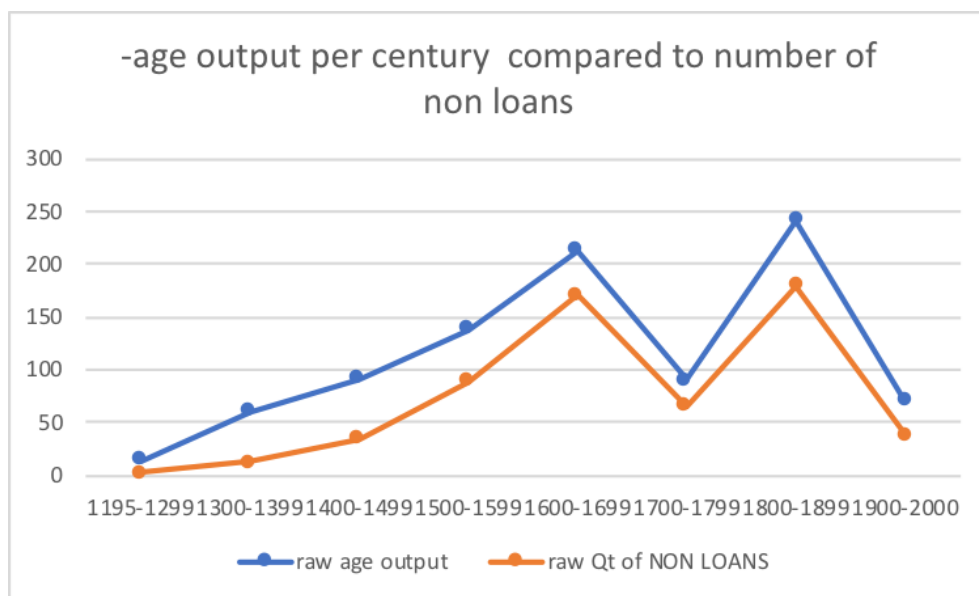
1.4. Results and morphological observations

- 23 Using the classifiers listed above (i.e. decomposition and semantic features) in addition to the dates of attestation, this subsection aims to provide a quantitative analysis of *-age* words to detect patterns, as well as to verify pre-existing knowledge of a well-documented suffix. The overriding questions are: when does *-age* derivation become an internal process, and can preferential patterns be identified over periods of time?

1.4.1. Diachronic patterns of growth of *-age* output

- 24 The data confirm the patterns provided by previous research regarding historical lexical growth in the English language. The rate of *-age* output in terms of historical periods coincides with general patterns of growth (Durkin [2014], Nevalainen & Traugott [2012]), suggesting there is nothing atypical about the growth patterns. Figure 1 shows the raw output number per century: period 1 represents 1100-1200, period 2 represents 1200-1300, period 3 represents 1300-1400, and so on until period 8 representing 1900-2000.
- 25 The graph shows highs and lows of raw output per century, which means that these increases and decreases must be offset by the available data for each period. Nonetheless, the significance of the highs and lows can be compared with overall knowledge surrounding word production at different times in the history of English. There is a steady increase overall, with a dip in *-age* output for period 6, which corresponds to 1700-1800. This can be accounted for by the prescriptivist movement calling for regulation and reform in late Middle English (Swift [1712] aiming to correct and improve the chaotic English language).

Figure 1: *-age* output per century 1150-2000



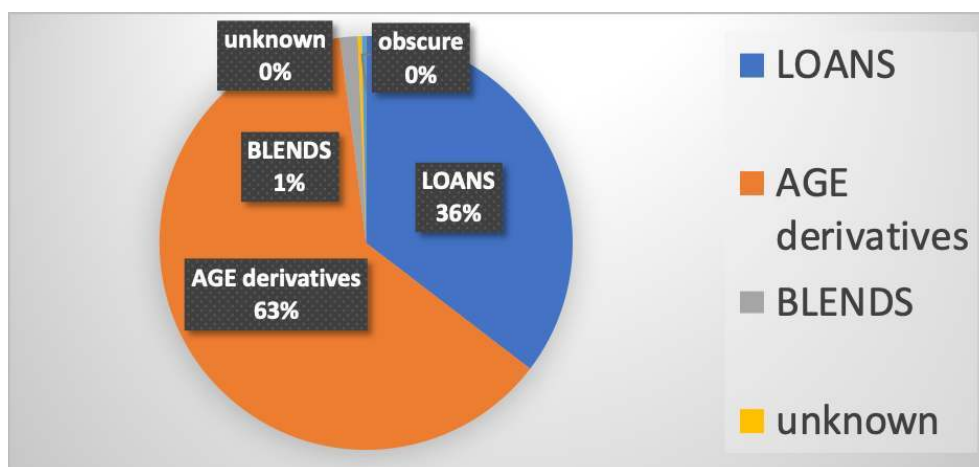
- 26 Graph 1 also shows the proportion of non-loans for each period. The number of non-loans per period increases slightly more than the total output, from 1300 onward, with the gap between the two lines increasing between 1300 and 1500, reaching a maximum around 1350. This suggests that internal formation began to outperform loans in that period. The lines then tend to run parallel, indicating a levelling of the output form. Then, a reduction in the gap between *-age* output and loan output occurs for the period 1600-1700, suggesting a renewed tendency to import loans from French or Latin. The data for the most recent period are less accurate as the total output falls considerably for the period 1900-2000, rendering any interpretation of the gap between loan output and non-loan output questionable. In addition, further observation suggests that *-age* formation does in fact continue today, contrary to the appearances based on the number of

lexicalized *-age* words in the *OED3* for 1900-2000. This matter will be discussed in section 3.

1.4.2. Ratio of loan words to non-loans: early signs of morphological productivity

- 27 The proportion of loans to the non-loan words overall regardless of period shows that the number of derivatives by far outweighs the total number of loans. Out of 921 *-age* nouns, the total number of loans is 331. In addition, the total number of *-age* componential forms (i.e. derivatives) is 585. The total number of what I have termed blend words is 13: these blend words can be analyzed as the combination and clipping of two retrievable base words or, occasionally, a hybrid of a base word and the *-age* suffix. Historical forms such as the obsolete *verdage* 1775 referring to “green herbage” [*verd-* (as in *verdure*) + *-age* suffix; introduced by Marshall], and obsolete *floriage*⁴ 1782 [< Latin *flōr-*, *flōs* flower, after *foliage*] are analyzed as hybrid analogical forms in so far as they blend a Latinate loan with a native base word. Sense 2 of *rummage* referring to a loud noise 1575 is analyzed as a combination of the [French loan *arrimage* + Scottish *rummish*]. On the other hand, blends such as *haylage* 1960 [*hay+silage*], *ecotage* [*ecological+sabotage*], *backage* 1887 [*back+frontage*], *septage* 1977 [*septic+sewage*] combine two base words. Finally, the total number of unknown or obscure words is 6. The *OED3* gives *soutage*, *village*, *garbage* as obscure, in that no indisputable etymological path can be determined. This typology provides evidence that *-age* words display the ability to form transparent derivatives from a base word rather than merely resulting from borrowed word forms, in other words, they display morphological productivity.

Figure 2: Proportion of LOANS to *-age* derivatives overall



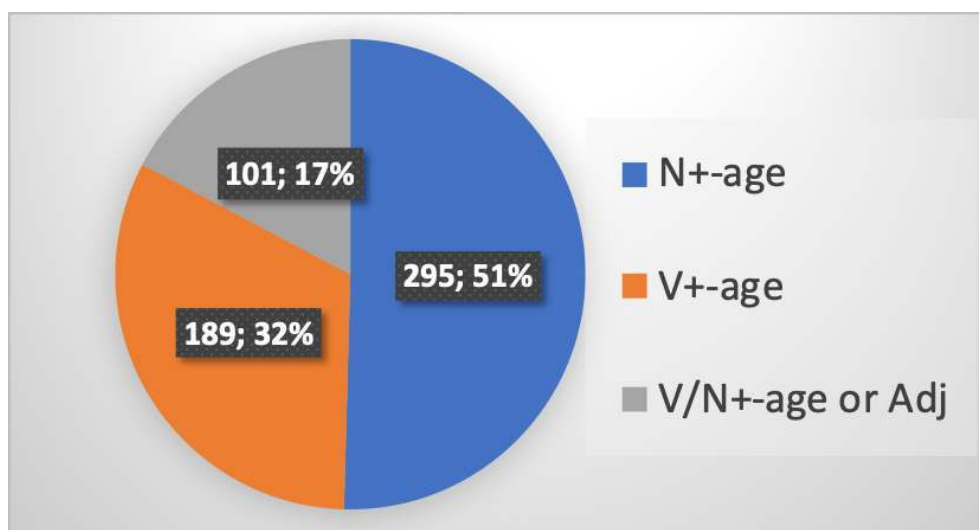
- 28 The proportion of loans to *-age* forms over the period 1150-2000 favours transparent structure. However, the period 1150-1400 has quasi 100% loan output, except for potential transparent structures such as *hidage* 1195 <*hide+age*> in the sense PAYMENT FOR N, *baronage* 1300 <*baron+age*> in the sense STATUS OF N, *hermitage* 1290 <*hermit+age*> in the sense PLACE OF N. The first supposed blend loan (or analogical form) occurs around 1300; *costage* 1325 <*costage* Anglo-Norman> COLLECTIVE N, *rummage* 1406, *clientelage* 1660 <loan or blend *clientele* / *clientela+age*>. By 1500, the proportion of transparent derivatives starts to climb, which will be quantified in the following section devoted to the trajectories of N-*age* and V-*age* output.

- 29 This evidence coincides with findings concerning the historical evolution of English, as the production of internal derivatives is thought to be dated from 1400 (Palmer [2009], Durkin [2014]). What remains to be seen is whether the structure of the forms is stable, or if there is a change in morphosemantic pattern over time. This will be tackled in the following subsection.

1.4.3. Proportion of V-age to N-age over time

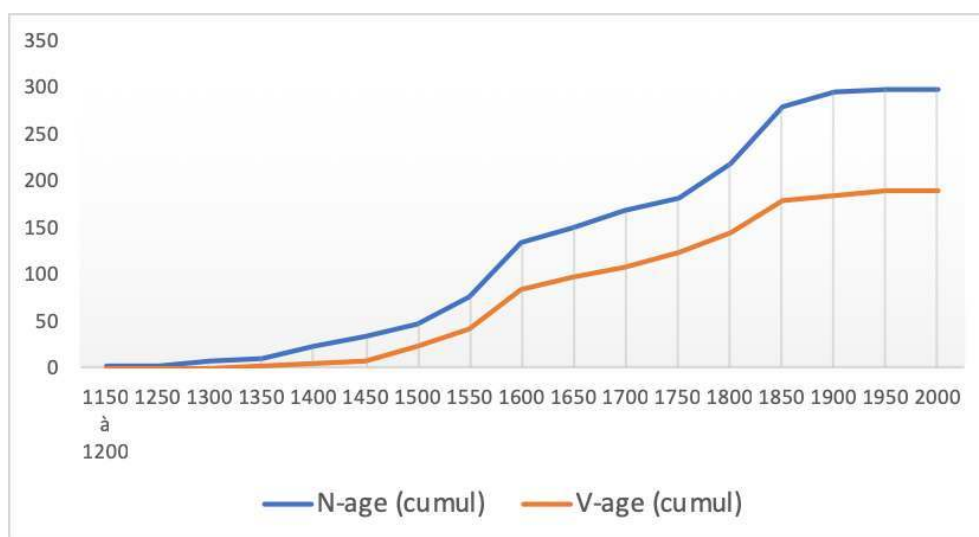
- 30 Out of the 585 *-age* forms, 295 are labelled as denominal N-age; 189 are deverbal V-age. In addition, no fewer than 101 are either deverbal or denominal, or a combination of both, depending on the sense. The proportion of non-N or non-V bases is very small, although not insignificant, mostly composed of lexicalized *-age* words such as Adj-age *shortage* 1868, *savage* 1250, and Adv-age *outage* 1851. Figure 3 shows the disproportionate percentage of N-age, which represent 50% of total output.

Figure 3: Proportion of V, N or V / N / Adj-age derivatives



- 31 The progression of V-age vs N-age forms is shown below in Figure 4; the first potential perceived derivative *hidage* is attested in 1195. The graph represents the accrued number of N-age and V-age output over time, using 50-year time slices. The progression lines are very similar, with N-age outperforming V-age consistently, as visible in the parallel growth trajectories. This suggests that the productivity of V-age and N-age remains relatively constant, with N-age outperforming V-age at the same rate. Although V-age is attested earliest, N-age has a constantly larger output than V-age. Two peaks evidencing periods of increased growth appear roughly around the same period for both V-age and N-age. First around 1500 and then again 1600 for N-age, whereas V-age forms peak slightly earlier 1450 but do not reach the levels of output of N-age which increases at a steadier growth. The highest period of increase for N-age is 1650-1750, which accounts for the greater discrepancy in the following period between N-age output and V-age output. The graph shows no sudden or distinctive change of pattern of output, which can be interpreted as an indicator of morphological stability.

Figure 4: Accrued progression of V-age and N-age output 1150-2000



- 32 The decision to label *-age* output as *V-age* or *N-age* can be a complex task, as in some cases both analyses are possible. However, there may be a predictable correlation between type of base and semantic behaviour. In the *V-age* category, verbs of action are often used in a specific sense to form technical *-age* nouns. Take *runnage* 1742 ACT OF V which has the specific sense of “smuggling”. The noun *havage* 1799 is limited to the sense of ancestry: it is a synonym of *lineage*, *ancestry*. As for *breakage* 1775, the noun refers to the ACT / PROCESS initially, then the sense shifts in 1848 to the PRODUCT / RESULT OF V, in other words the effected object of the verb. With this sense PRODUCT / RESULT, *breakage* can in fact be used in different registers such as music or nautical contexts. This suggests *-age* output is dependent on the selected sense of the base word, rather than semantic change of the *-age* noun itself.
- 33 Let us here note that another form exists: the irregular *brockage* 1879 which is given by the *OED3* as the clipped form or past participle *broken* + *-age*. *Brockage* 1879 refers to a specific subtype of *breakage*, that of damage to a coin, suggesting reference to an industrial coinage process. An additional, more general sense appears some 10 years later (i.e. concomitant for all intents and purposes) in a Scots usage to refer to anything broken. This sense dating from 1888 makes it a near-dialectal synonym of *breakage* 1842.
- 34 In the *N-age* category, a similar observation can be made. For instance, *riverage* 1701 (obsolete sense) refers to the toll for using a river, synonym of prior *rivage* 1598 perceived as a Latin loan (*rivagium*), or 1749 a collective sense for any stretch or river where mooring is possible; here a synonym of prior French loan *rivage* 1330.
- 35 In the following section, I aim to provide evidence of the semantic behaviour *-age* forms:
- (1) To what extent do *-age* derivatives follow the pattern established by loan word senses?
 - (2) To what extent do the senses follow from the sense of the base? (3) To what extent do *-age* words show potential for semantic change?
- 36 Let us now turn our attention to hybrid forms which are evidence of remodelling in English.

1.4.4. Hybrids: language internal remodelling within English

- 37 As indicated above out of 921 *-age* nouns 331 are loans, 585 derivatives, 13 blend or hybrid forms and 6 of unknown origin (i.e. unclear or debatable) namely: *village*, *garbage*, *soutage* 1532 in the sense “coarse cloth”, *cabbage* n3, *average* n2, and *flobbage* 1535 in the sense “phlegm”. I should note at this point that I have been conservative with the list of unknowns; when the *OED3* offers an interpretation, the form goes into the reanalysis category. For example, *lovage* is classified as N-*age* although the *OED3* indicates a probable misinterpretation of *louange*. I have also not included *shewage* given as a reanalysis alteration of *scavage* from the base *shew*. However, distinguishing blends from derivatives can be uncertain, and there is some potential overlap. Five *-age* forms combine a Latinate base with the *-age* suffix, without proof of an existing Latin or French base, making them hybrid savant blends (for want of a better word). The following hybrids of a Latinate base and the *-age* suffix all refer to collective nouns: *fructage* 1650 <fruct- + *-age*>, *lactage* 1753 <lact- + *-age*>, *sylvage* 1773 <sylv- + *-age*>, *verdage* 1775 <verd- + *-age*>, *floriage* 1782 <flor- + *-age*>. A potential 6th, *postliminage* 1661 a rare synonym of *postliminy*, is either a blend of Latin *postliminium* + *age* or *postliminy* + *age*, and refers to a legal right in Roman law.
- 38 A further 10 *-age* words appear to involve hybrid influences of native forms, leading to semantic transfer: *rummage* 1486, *scavenage* 1878, *spoilage* 1806 <spoliare + *age*> ACT OF V, *clientelage* 1660 <clientele + *age*>, *brockage* 1887 <broke + *age*> RESULT OF V, *backage* 1887 <back + *frontage*>, *proprietary* 1827 <proprietor + *age*> COLLECTIVE N, *haylage* 1960 <hay + *silage*>, *septage* 1977 <septic + *sewage*>, *ecotage* 1971 <eco / ecological + *sabotage*>. Of this list, the recent blend *ecotage* is no longer recognizable as an *-age* form, which suggests that it can be disregarded as a direct *-age* form. As most recent blends, it reads transparently as a blend of the French loan *sabotage* 1910 <*saboter* + *age*> with the adjective *ecological*. The phonological structure of the ending sets it apart from the regular phonological assimilation⁵ of *-age* ending from a calque of the French /ɑ:ʒ/ to weak /ɪdʒ/. Evidence of phonological confusion is visible in the semantic change of *rummage*. The noun *rummage* 1486 is a loan from the French *arrimage* as exhibited in sense 1: “The arranging or rearranging of cargo (esp. casks, etc.), in the hold of a ship”. However, the influence of the verb *rummish* linked to Scots (north-east) *reemish*, *remish*, *reemage* “to search thoroughly, to poke around and stir things up in searching” transfers to the sense 2 of the noun *rummage* attested in 1575 in the sense “loud noise, commotion”. Interestingly, the verb *rummage* 1544 is viewed as a conversion from the noun *rummage* 1486, thereby coming full circle from the influence of the verbal Scots form *reemish*.
- 39 Some *-age* words of unknown origin are no less intriguing. *Garbage* is a common *-age* noun still in use, and yet its origins appear opaque (as is the primary sense attributed to *garbage* as “offal”). No unequivocal base word is retrievable either from a native base or a Latinate and French base. However, the *OED3* suggests the word is adopted from Anglo-Norman, and related to French *garb* “sheaf”. The sense of *garbage* has evolved from the initial sense of “offal / entrails” (1482) to the more general sense of “refuse” (1582). This semantic extension could suggest some confusion with the noun *garble* (1503) indicated by the *OED3* also in the sense “refuse, extraneous matter”. Of course, this semantic evolution is not incompatible with standard semantic change by extension since *refuse* is what is not desired, in the same way as *offal* represents what is not desired. *Garbage* in the sense first attested in 1592 is a figurative sense of non-material things which have no value such as

“literary garbage”, and *garbage* attested in 1526 has the obsolete sense of *gerbée*, a dialect French term for horse food.

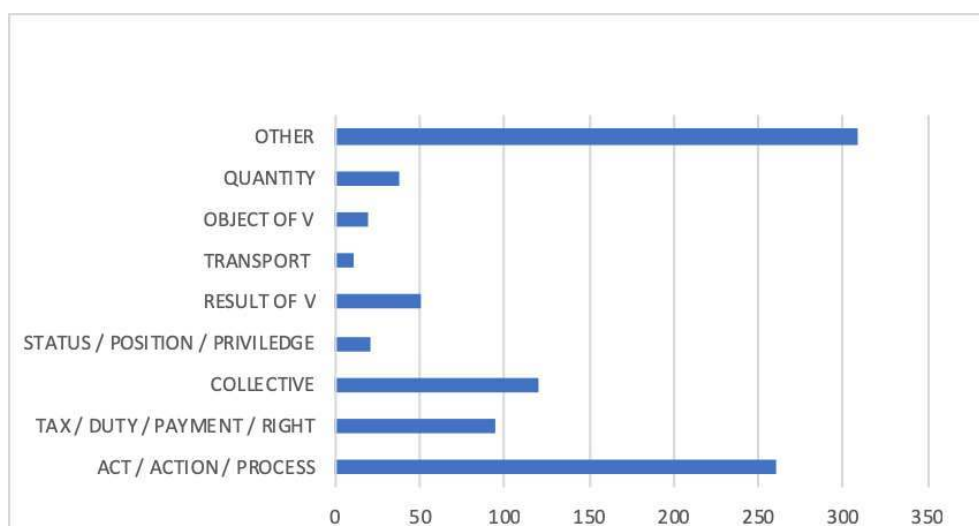
- 40 The following section investigates the semantic evolution of *-age* forms and the impact of such change or lack of change on the status of *-age* output and productivity. I seek to answer the questions posed in the section on historical output: (1) To what extent do the *-age* derivatives follow the pattern established by loan word senses? (2) To what extent do the senses follow from the sense of the base? (3) To what extent do *-age* words show potential for change?

2. Morpho-semantic patterns of *-age* nouns

2.1. The evolution of the semantic features of *-age* nouns

- 41 The semantic typology of *-age* words is provided in 1.3.3. and corresponds to well-known and well-documented studies of *-age* words, including the *OED3*'s own entry for the *-age* suffix which summarizes the history of the form.
- (1) ACT OF V, ACTION OF V, PROCESS OF V; (2) COLLECTIVE N, AMOUNT OF N, QUANTITY OF, MEASURE OF N; (3) STATUS OF N, CONDITION OF N, BEHAVIOUR OF N; (4) PAYMENT, TOLL, FEE, TAX, DUTY, RIGHTS FOR USING N.
- 42 The semantic distribution of *vage* words is difficult to pin down using key words in the *OED3* definitions, although not impossible. Despite the necessary approximations associated with using the key terms listed, an overview of the distribution of senses attributed to the 998 *-age* forms is proposed here. As can be seen, they do coincide to some extent with the categories listed above.

Figure 5: Semantic feature analysis of *-age* words



- 43 Figure 5 shows that reducing *-age* to several categories using repeated key words is more difficult than predicted. Only around a third of *-age* words fit into these categories, while another third (346 words) do not fit into the main categories listed above. There are three plausible explanations for this; first the categories chosen are too restrictive to allow for adequate classification into large types. If this is true, regrouping the outliers (subtypes) into the larger types should solve the issue. Secondly, *OED3* entries can be inconsistent,

since there is no uniformity on a large scale lexicographic corpus that is still in the process of being updated. The third explanation is that *-age* words lack regularity, transparency, and that the remaining third of *-age* words are lexicalized and ossified so that they cannot be decomposed easily.

44 At this stage, some questions can be answered, albeit partially as further study would be required to systematize.

(1) Is there semantic regularity of *-age* output? The multiple categories suggest that semantic regularity is difficult to pin down using a feature analysis.

(2) Is there a correlation between denominal and deverbal structures and a semantic category? Yes, to a certain extent, as long as the base word is not multicategorical, in which case dual interpretation remains plausible.

(3) Is there a change in semantic behaviour over time of persisting *-age* forms? Yes, the disappearance in the 20th century of the PAYMENT / TAX / TOLL sense is the one major distinction. This disappearance may be a remotivation or reanalysis based on socio-cultural factors. The last *-age* word classified as having a PAYMENT sense is *millage* 1891 “The rate of taxation in mills per dollar to which a given area, group, etc., is liable” in US usage.

45 What other factors may account for semantic change or semantic permanence? In order to investigate further, the next subsection focuses on patterns of semantic change in *-age* words.

2.2. Semantic change in *-age* words

2.2.1. Lexical stability and specialization of *-age* words

46 There is little diachronic semantic change observable across the 921 *-age* forms in the corpus. Most words appear remarkably constant with one or two senses and they exhibit little polysemy. This may however be a sign of lexicalization as argued in Lipka [2002], also see Lipka *et al.* [2004]. The absence of multiple lexicalized meanings does not necessarily equate with monosemy. It does suggest that usage tends to be restricted to a context (which has been established elsewhere) and does not favour normal semantic change (Koch [2012]) such as metonymy and metaphor. Only a handful of *-age* forms display subsenses: *rattage* is first attested 1807 and then 1878 (see below); *rummage* is first attested 1486 in a now obsolete sense, and then 1575 in the sense “loud commotion” in Scottish usage, and again 1598 in the sense “rubbish, junk”; *garbage* is first attested in 1430 and later 1582; *ownage* is attested in 1576 in a rare usage in the sense “ownership”, reappearing again in 1998 in the sense “act of defeating”; *damage*, first attested 1300, has the most subsenses including the PAYMENT sense attested in 1430 as a legal term (in the plural) and then in 1755 as a slang term in the sense “cost / expense”; lastly *courage* 1300 also has multiple subsenses. For most of these, the semantic change that is observable seems to stem entirely from the context of usage.

47 Take the term *rattage*, which is given two distinct senses, both directly linked to a difference in base word rather than natural change. *Rattage* is first attested in 1807 as a deverbal V-*age* “nonce-word” in the sense “percentage of people who rat”; the following sense *rattage* attested 1878 is analyzed as N-*age* in the sense “loss, damage caused by rats” in US usage.

- 48 Amongst the *-age* nouns with more than one sense, a small proportion have become long-standing conventionalized *-age* words (although most are labelled as obscure origin words by the *OED3*), which are discussed in the following section (*courage, damage, baggage*).

2.2.2. Tracking some conventionalized *-age* words

- 49 In this section I consider the semantic ossification of some centuries-old *-age* forms still in use today. These appear to be the very antithesis of neologisms. The words remain frequent today and are used in standard discourse, compared to other *-age* forms which tend to be limited to historical practices (feudal law) and technical usage (nautical, industrial, and more recently specific terminology related to massage or wine).
- 50 It can be argued that such early *-age* forms have become conventionalized. Some early forms such as *courage* 1300, *village* 1386, *damage* 1300, *garbage* 1430 are hardly perceivable as *-age* derivatives at all⁶. Note that *garbage* and *village* are given as being of obscure origin in the *OED3*, so their non-analyzability stems from their very emergence in English. Given their longstanding existence and continued usage, tracking their semantic history could give some insight into historical practices and usage.
- 51 Take the noun *village* attested in 1386. Despite multiple senses identified in the *OED3*, all appear stable, with no unpredictable changes of meaning; the definition ranges from historical, to adapt to more modern habitations (Greenwich village, New York), and then extends metonymically to the population. Notably one of the subsenses listed is a derogatory Cambridge University slang term 1864 for “a disreputable suburb of Barnwell”.
- 52 *Courage* 1300, from Anglo-Norman from French <*cor* + *-age*>, refers to N (French noun <*coeur*> as in “heart”) collectively, specifically the heart as the “seat of emotions”, although the transparency of this analysis is debatable. The subsenses are quite numerous, showing semantic change based on the interpretation of emotion (from anger, lust to bravery 1382), but also possibly involving other etymological pathways and natural semantic change such as metonymy and metaphor (see the history of *anger* by Geeraerts *et al.* [2012]). It is notable that one of the senses attested 1545 is metonymically derived with the collective sense of “brave individuals”, triggering the sense COLLECTIVE attributed to the *-age* suffix.
- 53 *Damage* 1300, a loan from Old French *damage* (1100), shows a more straightforward trajectory of change; from the initial sense “loss” (1300), to “trouble / inconvenience” (1398), to “misfortune / regret” (1385), to the legal sense (1430) which has remained in use today. A slang use of the term corresponding to the sense “expense, loss”, in other words monetary loss, i.e. specialization of sense in terms of cost, actually dates back to 1755. This new sense could be motivated by the triggering of the PAYMENT sense often attached to *-age* words, or possibly an alteration of the pre-existing legal sense “loss, damages” attested in 1430. The triggering of this sense is therefore in line with both a context and the potential for meaning of *-age* suffix (as originating in the Latin usage of the suffix).
- 54 Nonetheless, the change evidenced through individual institutionalized forms appears to be dependent on sociocultural norms and changes.

2.3. Outliers: error words, alterations as evidence of cognitive processing

- 55 From the 1233 generated *-age* final syllable words in the *OED3*, 958 were found to be carriers of the *-age* morpheme (either through borrowing or derivation). However, a second filtering based on etymological information identified spelling variants, so called alterations, deformations, or even errors. Many of these word alterations appear to stem from phonological or phonotactic reanalysis, which is significant for the study of productivity. Reanalysis may be considered a symptom of language processing, allowing for reinterpretations based on perceived iconicity. This suggests, as mentioned earlier, that errors can be perceived as clues of the mental processes of historical speakers, therefore giving some insight into the mental lexicon of past time. In so doing this signals a form of productivity, the ability to form spontaneous *-age* words based on analogy.
- 56 *Billage* is attested in 1627 as originating from the noun *bilge* 1522, possibly via phonological assimilation. *Billage* refers to “the bottom of a ship’s hull, or that part on either side of the keel which has more a horizontal than a perpendicular direction, and upon which the ship would rest if aground; also, the lowest internal part of the hull”. *Graffage* is given as dialect word attested in 1798 as a blend of *graff* N “grave” and *hedg* N “Graffage... a wooden frame somewhat like a Stile, placed in a bank, where there is a water-course”. *Careage* attested in 1704 is given as originating from *caruage* 1610 “ploughing” from <Old Northern French *caruage*, in modern French *charruage*>. *Stintage* is labelled in *OED3* as a “spurious” misreading of *stinting* 1642 “a portion of the common meadow set apart for the use of one person” and later 1827 *stint+age* “allotment of stints”. *Cabbage* n2 in the sense “lair, den” is given as probably an analogical alteration based on analogy with *-age* words of the noun *cabin* in the obsolete sense “a natural cave or grotto; the den or hole of a wild beast”. *Curtilage* 1330 is a legal or formal term, given as originating from Anglo-Norman *curtilage*, <Old French *cor-*, *courtillage* (medieval Latin *cor-*, *curtilagium*)> interpreted as a reanalysis court+lodge according to the *OED3* via popular etymology in the 17th century, i.e. through remodelling. *Curtilage* refers to “a small court, yard, garth, or piece of ground attached to a dwelling-house, and forming one enclosure with it, or so regarded by the law; the area attached to and containing a dwelling-house and its out-buildings”. *Eatage* 1842 is labelled as a deverbal *-age* form, of northern dialect usage, from V <eat + *-age*> but appears comparable with the senses of *eddish* OE, with which *eatage* may have been confused according to the *OED3*. The first attestation of *eatage* has the sense “grass available only for grazing; esp. the aftermath, or growth after the hay is cut. Also, with some defining word, as *after-*, *spring*, *winter*”. A further sense attested in 1843 appears to be modelled on Latin *-age* words referring to payment and rights, in this case the right to use such pasture. This signals a reinterpretation based on analogy with other regular *-age* forms. *Eddish* OE is identified as being of obscure etymology in the *OED3*. “Usually identified with Old English *edisc* park or enclosed pasture (glossed *vivarium*)”. The *OED3* also comments on the unpredictable change of meaning from the original sense attested around 700 to the modern sense of *eddish* 1468 “grass which grows again, an aftergrowth after mowing”. In fact, *eatage* appears to share its meaning with the latter sense of *eddish* (a stubble field), signalling a remodelling by analogy.

The entry for *lovage* is labelled as a loan from French *luvash* itself stemming from classical Latin *levisticum* (4th cent.; also as *levisticus*, *libestica*, *libisticum*, *libusticum*, *livisticum*, *lovesticum*, *lubestica*, *luvesticum*, from the 11th cent. in British and German sources), “probably an alteration of classical Latin *ligusticum*, apparently denoting the same plant” according to the *OED3*. The *OED3* also offers the following explanation for the potential remodelling of *nach* into *-age*. “The Anglo-Norman forms in *-ache*, *-asche* probably show folk-etymological alteration after *ache*, *asche*, *ache* n2 referring to plant names. There seems no compelling reason for assuming (as is often done) that the English word itself shows folk-etymological alteration after *love* n1 and *ache* n2, although the ending of the word may show remodelling after words in *-age* suffix”.

Another example in the corpus of interaction with Anglo-Norman and Old French *ache* referring to a variety of parsley can be found in the noun *smallage* <*small* adj. + *ache* n2> attested in 1300 in the sense “Any of several kinds of celery or parsley; *esp.* wild celery, *Apium graveolens*, formerly used medicinally and to flavour food”.

- 57 Following Hay and Baayen [2002] and Bybee [2007] on analogical productivity, I posit that these cases of reanalysis confirm evidence of potential productivity. Historical reanalysis or remodelling via phonological and semantic assimilation can be interpreted as processing changes that occurred in the mental lexicon of speakers at the time. If this theory holds true, they offer insight into potential productivity from a diachronic perspective.

2.4. Preliminary conclusion: need to assess productivity through non-lexicalized forms

- 58 Identifying semantic behaviour based on dictionary senses is not a straightforward task, especially with a considerable number of forms to analyze. Limitations associated with the decision to enter or exclude the forms into the dictionary, and the assessment of meaning via accessible occurrences make it difficult to establish an indisputable semantic pattern. Once lexicalized, forms tend to become conventionalized, and in many instances, although impossible to quantify due to the inconsistency of such tags, they are limited in register (slang, technical) or variety (Scots, Manx); some are obsolete and rare (a large proportion of words in *-age* have not stood the test of time). Many *-age* words are restricted in their usage to the reference to certain practices, such as feudal systems historically, and more recently to wine, massage, technical, nautical uses. There is evidence that *-age* derivatives remain highly analyzable, therefore susceptible to reanalysis based on contextual cues. A range of potential semantic behaviour can be realized depending on the conditions of usage. This is the very definition of productive word forms, i.e. non-institutionalized ossified meaning. To summarize the conclusions of this section, here are the answers to the questions posed at the beginning:

- (1) To what extent do the *-age* derivatives follow the pattern established by loan word senses? Patterns appear to remain stable, there is little semantic change overall, although it is true that many of these *-age* forms are rare or obsolete, which can of course be a major factor in explaining the absence of change.
- (2) To what extent do the senses follow from the sense of the base? There does appear to be a predictable effect between base and derivative, i.e. a pattern that is internalized.
- (3) To what extent do *-age* words show potential for change? The evidence suggests that *-age* words which do remain in usage are adaptable to socio-cultural practices.

59 The following section considers the future predictions of productivity and semantic change in *-age* words, providing a counterpart to purely lexicalized forms and meanings.

3. Predictions of productivity and current *-age* words

3.1. Productivity measures

60 Before describing the predictions of productivity, let us consider a brief overview of the main principles of productivity and the means of assessing it. Bauer [2001] defines productivity as a type of innovation different from creativity in terms of its predictability. However, as underlined by Bauer and others, how productivity is defined can vary significantly, leading to some confusion in approaches. There are different types of productivity, although in this case it is morphological productivity that is intended, i.e. in the case of derivation the ability of a bound morpheme to be added to a base to create a derivative, following a pattern of constraints. However, the complexity surrounding morphological productivity goes beyond the ability to form new words based on a pattern:

61 (1) PRINCIPLE 1: Productivity is scalar, not absolute (Bauer [2001], Baayen [2009]). It is now established that there is no binary system of productive versus non-productive. For instance, there is no such thing as zero productivity, unless it refers to the impossibility of forming a word. Overall, productivity is best measured on a scale of high to low productivity.

(2) PRINCIPLE 2: Following principle 1, it is possible to measure the degree of productivity quantitatively.

(3) PRINCIPLE 3: There are several types of productivity: 1) realized productivity, (i.e. the number of word forms existing and following a pattern), 2) expanding productivity (the number of new words being formed, and 3) potential productivity, i.e. the prediction of creation of new forms – also referred to as category-conditioned productivity measured by calculating the proportion of hapaxes to the total number of tokens containing the affix (Baayen [2009]). This means that productivity can be measured with respect to three different factors. Baayen [1992, 1994] proposes a now well-established quantitative measure of productivity based on frequency ratios of type-token. This method has been perfected by Hay and Baayen [2002, 2003: 14] who argue that the ratio of the frequency of the base compared with the frequency of the derivative is a better indicator of morphological productivity.

(4) PRINCIPLE 4: on a qualitative level, decomposability, or parsing, is directly correlated to rates of productivity, from a cognitive language processing viewpoint (Hay and Baayen [2002]).

(5) PRINCIPLE 5: Productivity is fundamentally motivated in terms of frequency of repetition and pattern-formation via analogical reanalysis. Bybee [2007] explains that the existence of frequent words ending in the same suffix produces a pattern of semantic regularity that the speaker can analyze and apply to new forms. This suggests that productivity is essentially a factor of analogy in the mental lexicon, which translates to the lexicon to a smaller degree (Bybee [2007], Hay and Baayen [2002]). Also see Baayen [2014] for an overview of the benefits of a psycholinguistic experimental approach to derivation). Indeed, lexicalized forms exhibit ossification, and therefore lack analyzability or transparency, which contrasts with productivity.

- 62 No single factor is responsible for productivity. Instead productivity is a multifactorial equation producing probabilistic measures. The following sections consider what data are available to assess productivity from a diachronic perspective when information on users' production and processing is unavailable (i.e. no access to the mental lexicon of historical language users).

3.2. Semantic change in *-age* words: case studies

- 63 The data provide few recent lexicalized *-age* words in the *OED*. However, this does not suggest that productivity is decreasing, given that lexicalization is a historical process. Some interesting semantic features can be observed in 20th century *-age* words such as *flamage* 1983 (computing slang) referring to “Vitriolic argument or ranting, esp. via email or in postings to a newsgroup; the action or practice of sending inflammatory, emotive, or abusive email messages”. This definition would now correspond to the practice of trolling. The sense of *flamage* does not correspond to the usual types of meaning associated with *V-age* or *N-age* as in this case the meaning of the base is to be taken metaphorically, from the verb *flame* [1377] in its 1981 sense, as in “to produce inflammatory reactions”.
- 64 *Ownage* has two distinct attestation dates: 1576 in the (now rare) sense “ownership, the fact of owning”, and 1998 in the sense “act of defeating”. The time lag between the two attestation dates is rather remarkable. Both forms can be parsed as *V-age* although the sense of the verb *own* differs. This calls into question whether the later form has any relationship at all with the initial form, suggesting rather that these are two disconnected derivatives based on different attestations of the verb *own*. Rather than polysemous change deriving from the noun *ownage* 1576, this is the result of two distinct processes of *-age* affixation.
- 65 Similarly, the deverbal noun *stickage* produces two distinct senses which do not appear directly related but rather a product of separate deverbal affixation from two different senses of the verb *stick*. *Stickage* is attested in 1647 in the obsolete rare sense “hesitation, reluctance, delay” and can be directly correlated to the sense *stick* 1535 “stop in perplexity, be unable to progress, find an answer”. On the other hand, *stickage* attested in 1726 in the sense “tendency to jam” can be correlated with the sense of *stick* 1635 “to become lodged, mired, unable to move, jammed”.
- 66 These observations show that multiple derivatives appear to be frequent, resulting from natural semantic change in the base word rather than in the derivative. This confirms that the derivative remains stable, i.e. that the pattern remains retrievable.

3.3. Current development of *-age* formations

- 67 Quantifying and retrieving non-lexicalized forms depends on several factors. The main factor is the source of data, which excludes lexicographic material. A corpus of contemporary recent English will be the most helpful in identifying novel *-age* forms, including rare usage and nonce-words as they signal ability to access and produce (Baayen [2003, 2009], Bauer [2001]). The corpus of choice is a large internet-based corpus, which will provide a sample of natural non-literary language. This type of data is well adapted to finding neologisms (see the NeoCrawler in Kerremans *et al.* [2012]).

- 68 This signals a strong intuitive language internal productivity; for instance, some old *-age* forms, such as *snappage* 1602 (N-*age* based on the noun *snap*, a slang word for *thief*) are used in contemporary English with a different analysis. *Snappage* today, although not listed in the *OED3* possibly because the entry has not been updated, is in use as evidenced by a corpus search. A search in EEBO (*Early English Books Online*) historical corpus for *snappage* generates 6 hits, from two different sources dating 1602 and 1608. In all six contexts, the sense of snapping conforms to *OED3* definitions and dates.
- 69 *Snappage* occurs four times in the OEC (Oxford English Corpus) in the sense ACT OF snapping: in 3 occurrences, specifiers of the snapping are provided within close proximity, as in *handlebar snappage*, *cassette snappage*, *harness snappage*, and one use of metaphorical *snappage* in the sense of inability to deal with a situation. In English Web 2013, 53 hits are found, although some of them are false hits corresponding to the proper name *SnapPage*: they also show *snappage* used in at least three main senses: 1) instance of snapping as in a photograph; 2a) and 2b) instance of snapping (as in wire, ligaments); 3) instance of snapping as in psychological wear and tear.

(1) *to my surprise Rebecca brought out her Polaroid instamatic and started to snap away. She loves Polaroid shots - the gritty, unfinished feel of them - and she assured us that she had tons of film for her retro snappage [...].*

(2a) *I told her, and you won't hear a peep of complaint out of me. But I am not - I repeat NOT - strapping on those slats of death and shame and ligament snappage while I'm there [...].*

(2b) *He slept through most of the night, that I'm aware of, but got me up at four, wanting to go outside. We have been sitting here drinking my coffee, him at my feet, ever since. I did try to manipulate his leg, with a resultant furious squirmage and snappage, and he hurt himself trying to get away from me, so that wasn't a success, in any way [...].*

(3) *And Mrs Loomis is easy enough to explain coming from all of that followed by her son getting killed. A little snappage after all that would be understandable [...].*

- 70 The considerable difference in the results from one corpus to the next demonstrates that context and discourse type are key to accounting for usage and interpretation. This context-dependence is also indicative of a high productivity, in the sense that *snappage* can be used potentially in all the structures of V-*age* or N-*age* as long as the context enables processing. This usage is synonymous with snapping, which could be used in all the contexts, but which would have a different tone or connotation. I would argue that *-ing* nominals continue to bear a strong verbal behaviour (with the exception of highly lexicalized nouns such as *drawing*, *painting*), whereas *-age* nouns behave like fully-fledged members of the noun category. It appears that *-age* nouns behave with a higher degree of "nouniness" as Wierzbicka [1988] might say. Deverbal *-age* nouns take on a quality that *-ing* deverbals do not: they become particularly susceptible to quantification. In context 3) for example, the use of *squirmage* and *snappage* instead of *squirming* and *snapping* gives the reference an atemporal and agentless sense, referring merely to the resulting state rather than the event. The subject of *squirming* and *snapping* is not inherent as it is with *-ing* forms that are viewed as nominalizations of events. This creates a discrepancy between the event and its quantifiable results, possibly interpreted with comical effect. Further study would be required to investigate the effects of deverbal nominal derivation using *-ing* and *-age* morphemes.

The pragmatics of *-age* words would be worth investigating to determine the versatility of usage depending on context (reminiscent of the semantic behavior of

substantivized adjectives, which also adapt to contexts, creating a strong sense of pragmatic adaptability, see Smith [2005]).

3.4. Using web corpora to track innovations in non-formal discourse

- 71 As suggested by Kerresmans *et al.* [2012], tracking neologisms is best achieved by using a web crawler, which enables the authors to devise a tool to track neologisms, called NeoCrawler. The use of a web crawler is more suited to finding neologisms due to two main factors; first, it will be a reflection of contemporary Internet usage, and secondly, it will be large enough to reflect small changes, and new usages. This makes a web crawler a far more efficient tool than more limited corpora such as the BNC, which reflects a comparably small sample of usage from 1980s and 1990s.
- 72 A search in English Web 2013 for instance, which counts 19 billion words, is more likely to provide an accurate portrait of contemporary usage. To test this, a search for *hourage* in the BNC provides no results, whereas English Web 2013 offers six occurrences. Although six hits in a corpus of several billion words is a needle in a haystack, these uses can be perceived as innovations. Usage in (4) is explicitly questioned as being innovative via the use of an insert, and the usage of *hourage* in (5) is analogical and modelled explicitly on *mileage*. Neither of the occurrences is technical or semantically ambiguous.

(4) *Okay, I felt good. Most mornings (at least in recent years) when I wake up it is not by choice, and I am a little short of the full **hourage** (is that a word? well if not, it's 9 words now! ha!) that I require to function with reasonable amounts of grace and a positive outlook on life [...].*

(5) *The problem is that treadmills don't work so well for distance targets - you picks yer speed, and off you go. So I'll have to build up a ton of **hourage**, rather than mileage [...].*

- 73 A query for the noun *flamage*, which is listed in the *OED3* as computer slang, shows no fewer than 67 hits, which is considerably more than *hourage*, but the frequency remains minute compared to the overall size of the corpus. Perhaps it is not entirely unpredictable that there is a use for a term referring to online overreactions. A collocate search for the significant co-collocates show the specialization of *flamage* for this practice in (6); *spam*, *bashing*, *chatter* and *profanity* all apply to online behaviour. The results also show the occurrence of another sense, that of flames considered collectively. In (7b) the use of quotation marks indicates a specialized use for flames in firefighter speak, whereas in (7a) the use of *flamage* seems to be motivated by hyperbole. In (6) the sense is compatible with an analysis of *flamage* as V-age, whereas in (7) *flamage* is compatible with N-age.

(6) *Although there's powerful moderation (Forum owners can withdraw messages and even eject members), it's rarely used: because usernames are fixed and messages traceable, people are generally very responsible, and there's no spam and very little **flamage** [...].*

(7a) *The carpenter came by and cleaned up the box for the stove and I've got the gas line hooked up and have **flamage!** I'm looking forward to cooking something hot for breakfast, it's been too long without one [...].*

(7b) *Example 1. At about 9:45PM EST a 911 call was made from "Short Stop" on highway 11 (behind Seymour Johnson Air Force Base) that the Hard Ware store adjacent to them was demonstrating "**flamage**" [...].*

(8a) *Lately, I'm getting a lesson in not getting attached to things. Maybe I'm gradually becoming more clumsy in my old age, or maybe it's just a season, but my*

ownage to breakage ratio is getting worse all the time. After months of research and wedding gift cards burning holes in our marital pockets, we purchased a French press [...].

(8b) a tenkeyless mechanical keyboard in a simple, elegant form factor, perfect for portability and total ownage at tournaments. Stripped of its numpad, the Razer BlackWidow Tournament layout is light and highly compact making it perfect for gamers with limited desk space [...].

- 74 *Ownage* finds the most hits in English Web 2013, with 244 tokens. In (8a) *ownage* analyzed as *V-age* refers to the total amount of things owned (OBJECT OF V) but in most cases *ownage* refers to a metaphorical sense of the verb *own*, i.e. to win (ACT OF V) (8b) refers specifically to the practice of competitive video game battles.

3.5. Competition with *-ing* nominal forms: specificity of *-age* derivatives

- 75 Competition between *V-ing* and *V-age* is mentioned explicitly in *OED3* entries for several word forms, such as *streetage* / *streeting* used as a synonym for the layout of streets, *ramblage* 1883 as a more specific type of *rambling* (particular to Manx law), *sinkage* 1883 and *sinking*. Some alternations of *V-ing* and *V-age* exhibit potentially humorous differences in processing. Take for instance the noun *screwage* attested in 1865 and labelled as rare in the *OED3* and compare with *screwing*. The *OED3* gives *screwage* in the sense “act of applying political pressure” as *N-age* rather than *V-age* ACT OF V. The noun *screw* 1404 is attested before the verb, but both predate the derivative *screwage* 1865. This means that there is opportunity for semantic transfer to *screwage*, especially since the verb *screw* is particularly rich in metaphorical extensions of meaning, each based on a particular feature, manner or aim of the act of using a screw. The sense “compress, exert pressure” of the verb *screw* is attested 1617, well before the derivative *screwage*, suggesting that this analysis is not impossible.
- 76 A search in English Web 2013 for the noun *screwage* provides 60 results, providing evidence that the word is by no means obsolete in contemporary English. However, the sense of *screwage* is variable, and some occurrences show *screwage* is used as the name of a game⁷ as in (9a). This usage seems to rely on the sense of *be screwed* meaning “to lose badly”. In some occurrences (9b), *screwage*⁸ refers to the fee paid at a restaurant for bringing a bottle of wine and having to use a cork screw to open the bottle. This usage is highly metonymical in that the reference to *screw* is closely indexed to the situation or the FRAME.

(9a) So we can have games that involve direct conflict but are not wargames per se. Sometimes that direct conflict involves violence (as in the MMO), sometimes not (as in the economic or business game). Sometimes these are what I call “screwage games”. These games for from three to many players are usually directly competitive but do not require a lot of reasoning for success, games that involve a strong dose of chance as well as skill [...].

(9b) Typically, we will order a bottle of white or bubbly to start an evening, and ask the somm/waitperson to cork our bottle. Often, the screwage fee is waived if we buy the first bottle [...].

- 77 In comparison with *screwage*, the noun *screwing* appears to be more straightforward as referring to an ACT OF V based on some of the commonly used senses of the verb: messing up and having sex with.
- 78 The parallelism or potential synonymy between V-*ing* and V-*age* can be quite explicit as in the use of both *flamage* and *flaming* in (7c). One of the main differences in usage is the measurability of the notion described by *flamage* in contrast with *flaming* which is limited to the description of an event.

(7c) **Flaming** is universal, but different systems handle it in different ways. Both the technology and cultural norms matter. On Usenet, for instance, most news reader applications support a feature known as a “killfile,” which allows an individual to screen out postings by a particular user or on a particular subject. It is also sometimes referred to as “the bozo filter.” This spares the user who is sufficiently sophisticated from further **flamage** [...].

- 79 From the above contrasts (*screwage* / *screwing*, *flamage* / *flaming*), it appears that V-*age* forms and N-*age* forms contain a strong concrete semantic potential of adaptability to context. They appear to be heavily context-dependent, or context-limited. -*age* deverbial and denominal derivation is particularly intriguing as the base can often be multicategorical, like *flame*, leading to dual and contextual interpretation and analysis of the -*age* noun. The deverbial derivative in particular has strong event nominalization features, by reference to the event or via metonymical contiguity to its participants, including effected objects, i.e. “that is which is Ved / The quantity of Ved”. This distinguishes -*age* nouns from -*ing* forms which appear to remain more notional (compare *flaming* ACTION OF V versus *flamage* RESULTS OR PHYSICAL, TANGIBLE EFFECTS OF V). It can be argued there is a far higher degree of embodied meaning in -*age* derivatives than in -*ing* nominals. Of course, further systematic comparative study would be required to test this theory, as indicated above in the analysis of *snappage* and *snapping*. Rather than becoming lexicalized and ossified, -*age* derivatives tend to remain grounded in usage and practices, making them more pliable to semantic adaptation based on the context of usage, and specifically register.
- 80 Take the noun *rakeage* (1851) given as obsolete rare with the sense “that which is raked together”, i.e the object of raking, or the total amount of leaves raked. The context given by the OED3 is the following single occurrence taken from H. Mayhew, *London Labour* II, where both *scrapeage* and *rakeage* occur in a coordinated structure as objects of the verb *remove*.

(10) engaged in removing the **scrapeage** and **rakeage...** from the surface of the streets.

- 81 A search in English Web 2013 for *rakeage* returns one false hit, however *scrapeage* returns two hits, of which one context is fully comprehensible. In (10b), the term refers to poor guitar playing, producing a scraping sound. The verb *rake* is far less widespread than the verb *scrape*, which can explain the discrepancy in usage of V-*age* derivatives.

(10b) That’s good for just having started playing. I was expecting all manner of **scrapeage**, but I was pleasantly surprised [...].

- 82 *Scrapage*, without the letter <e> from the base, can also be found in OEC in (10c), although only one result is found. In the occurrence below, taken from a 2008 personal blog,

scrapage refers to the practice of scraping a drawing using preprinted self-adhesive patterns called screentones.

(10c) *I love letratone! Look at this unremarkable drawing and how a bit of letratone with clever **scrapage** really makes it into a nice, proper illustration [...].*

- 83 These two examples show that some *-age* words labelled as obsolete in the *OED3* may not actually be obsolete at all. Even though the frequency of usage is rare, the occurrence of *scrapage* is by no means unclear or difficult to comprehend in either occurrence given the context. In fact, it is arguably quite the opposite, the sense is easily retrievable and accessible, leading to contextual interpretation. This is arguably one of the most convincing signs there is of the productivity of *-age* forms that allows for mental processing and adaptable usage of *-age* nouns (following Principle 5).

Summary and concluding comments

- 84 This data-focused study analyzed morphosemantic patterns of 921 *-age* nouns in the *OED3* over a period ranging from 1150 to 2000. The objective was to establish a better understanding of the productivity of a loan suffix which has stood the test of time from medieval Latin to current contemporary English, and which has been studied previously essentially from a corpus perspective as in Palmer [2009]. The continuing productivity of *-age* formation begs the question; how does a loan suffix become an internal suffix, by what language processes (are they different to standard processes of change?), and how does the suffix behave over a large scale diachronic timeline? The questions of morphological stability or change, the question of semantic restriction, of the possibility of normal lexical change or the absence of polysemy have been the guiding objectives of this study.
- 85 I set out to answer these questions using the data collected from the *OED3*:
- (1) Do novel *-age* forms correspond to a continued pattern or do they exhibit new behaviour?
 - (2) Does the suffix *-age* hold a special place amongst borrowed Latinate or French suffixes?
- 86 The methodology selected provided some answers which coincide with generally established studies of loans and derivatives, as well as diachronic periods of the English language. Loan output outperforms derivatives only until 1500, from this period onwards, *V-age* and *N-age* derivatives account for proportionally more new *-age* words than others (blends and loans). *N-age* takes precedence over *V-age* consistently over the period from 1500-2000. Over the course of one thousand years, there is considerable stability, shown through steady growth of *-age* output. Two periods of more intense growth coincide with already established periods of increased neologism: 1450-1600 and 1750-1800.
- 87 On a semantic level, the senses attributed to *-age* output remain stable, which sets them apart from forms which are more liable to general language change such as metonymy and metaphor. Rather than undergoing semantic change, *-age* forms tend to be very dependent on the senses of the base word, which in turn account for new sense of *-age* output. It can therefore be argued that new senses do not derive from senses of existing *-age* nouns but instead derive from semantic changes pertaining to the base. This in turn is evidence of the continued stability and transparency of *-age* output. The continued

transparency itself is a symptom of continued productivity; the ability to analyze and model is the basis for the creation of new forms. The semantic specificity of *-age* words does not make them good candidates for semantic change, however multiple derivatives based on different senses of the base appear common, thereby suggesting that *-age* forms tend to remain transparent rather than becoming conventionalized, ossified or institutionalized.

- 88 Current neologisms generated from a corpus of contemporary Internet English confirm that despite the high frequency of a small number of conventionalized *-age* words, the usage of rarer types continues, restricted to certain usages, registers and contexts. Affixation with *-age* appears to have a strong internalized capacity for production based on the practices and uses specific to certain populations at certain times (for instance *hourage* and *minutage* are used for specific circumstances where the measure of time in hours or minutes is relevant to a practice or process). This can be interpreted as high compatibility with an embodied perspective, much like the use of adjectives as nouns such as *whites*, *greens* (which can refer to a range of objects, such as respectively people, clothes, laundry, outfits, parts of an egg, and dollars, vegetables, army or nurse uniforms, etc.). It seems neologisms may be more finely indexed to usage and practices than conventional labels, and novel *-age* words seem to correlate with this behaviour, making them more adaptable. Contrary to *-ity* and *-ment*, the form seems to have increased hybridity / adaptation, making it less recognizable as a foreign or French import. Phonological change may have played a crucial role in the adaptation and success of *-age* derivation in English.

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NOTES

1. The genres that compose diachronic data (such as the *EEBO* and *The Penn Parse Historical Corpora*) are mostly semi-oral discourse in the form of plays, and correspondence, as well as historical records and to a lesser extent fiction.
 2. This *-age / hedge* remodelling notably brought further reinterpretation of the loan word *curtilage* 1292 originally from Anglo-Norman *curtilage*, but later reanalysed by speakers in the 17th century as *court-ledge* or *court-lodge*.
 3. This is a matter for future research, using a historical corpus such as the Penn Historical Corpus. Tracking the usage of some *-age* words over time in a large-scale historical corpus would provide invaluable information of frequency of usage, including the usage of rare *-age* forms.
 4. The *OED3* actually uses the term *badly* to assess the non-standard structure.
 5. There is anecdotal evidence in the data that the assimilation of *-age* to /ɪdʒ/ can lead to a resemblance, and occasionally a confusion with other words of similar meaning and carrying a phonetically similar ending, such as *-ish*. This type of remodelling is well-known and could in part account for the success of the *-age* ending.
 6. Many thanks to one of the reviewers who suggested that the question of *-age* forms could be tested by analysing the etymology of the combined root morpheme. Etymological pathways could explain semantic developments.
 7. Possibly formed via analogy with the preexisting noun *cribbage* 1641, referring to a game of cards.
 8. Compare with the preexisting *corkage* 1838 referring to the charge applied by waiters or staff to uncork a bottle not supplied by themselves.
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ABSTRACTS

This diachronic lexicographic study aims to analyze the morpho-semantic behaviour of *-age* forms in the *OED3*. The objective is to provide evidence of the diachronic processes which enabled a loan form to become an independent productive pattern of derivation in English. Using the *OED3* as a corpus, a list of all the words ending in *-age* were generated and then filtered to exclude all those that did not undoubtedly carry the *-age* ending. This filtering removed many false results, such as compounds carrying the noun *age* and the combining form *-phage*, as well as a multitude of derivatives of existing *-age* nouns, leaving a total of 921 definitive *-age* nominal derivatives. A classification of these forms from a morpho-semantic perspective was then carried out with a view to determining the patterns of formation. The classification is based on historical attestation date, on word origin or base word analysis (LOAN, LOAN BLEND, DEVERBAL OR DENOMINAL DERIVATIVE, BLEND, or UNKNOWN) and finally on semantic features (ACTION / RESULT, PAYMENT, QUANTITY, COLLECTIVE). The distribution of these factors over time then allowed me to attempt to answer the following questions. When do language internal derivatives begin? Are the *-age* forms stable over time or do they evolve, and if so in which direction? The findings of this initial morpho-semantic analysis showed that the pattern of *-age* derivation

has remained remarkably stable since its beginnings around 1200 until today, with a slight preference for denominal *-age* nouns over deverbal *-age* nouns. While these results tend to confirm pre-existing findings in historical lexical morphology, the following step involved assessing the productivity of *-age* words over time. The novel part of this study was twofold; first focusing on whether *-age* forms are susceptible to semantic change, and secondly focusing on error forms and transmission errors which enabled me to consider the evidence of historical productivity. In the final section these productivity concerns were extended to contemporary English via a Web Crawler corpus so as to investigate whether *-age* forms continue to exhibit similar behaviour or whether new patterns can be determined. Three major findings stand out.

- 1) So-called obsolete *vage* forms in the *OED3* are not obsolete after all, showing the remarkable productivity and adaptability of *-age* forms over the centuries;
- 2) *-age* words follow a reliable semantic pattern, fitting into four main categories of ACTION / RESULT, TAX / RIGHTS / PAYMENT, STATUS / POSITION, COLLECTIVE / QUANTITY. There is a predictable relation between base word and derivative, which may explain the continued success of *-age* forms, in that they can be used in slang, technical usage, etc. Their remarkable adaptability allows for a sense to be directly dependent on a context, as exemplified by the usage of *ownage*, or *rakeage* in English Web 2013;
- 3) *-age* forms are not very polysemous, they remain transparent in their relation to the base word. They also appear to be less likely to be lexicalized given this transparency. This low rate of lexicalization is a sign of high productivity and may also explain the high rates of obsolescence of historical *-age* words in the *OED3*.

Cette étude diachronique lexicographique vise à étudier le comportement morphosémantique des mots en *-age* du lexique de l'anglais. L'objectif est de mieux comprendre les mécanismes historiques qui ont permis le passage d'une forme empruntée au latin et au français pour devenir un mécanisme de dérivation productif de l'anglais. À partir du dictionnaire *OED* en ligne, l'ensemble des mots se terminant en *-age* ont été relevés, pour ensuite trier et supprimer ceux qui ne sont pas porteurs du morphème lié *-age* (tels que toutes les lexies contenant le morphème libre nominal *-age*) ainsi que toutes les formes qui sont dérivées de formes en *-age*. Ces exclusions permettent de réduire le nombre de lexies à l'étude de plus de 1200 à un peu plus de 900 lexies. Plusieurs étapes motivent le travail de classement et d'observation des lexies : un classement diachronique par année d'attestation, un classement morphologique selon la forme de la lexie (emprunt, forme hybride modelée sur le français ou le latin, dérivé, ou encore amalgame), un classement sémantique des formes selon des grands types sémantiques récurrents : ACTION, RESULTAT, COLLECTIF, QUANTITÉ, STATUT.

À partir de ces données, une analyse diachronique de la répartition des lexies en *-age* à travers le temps devient possible. Les questions posées sont les suivantes : les lexies en *-age* ont-elles suivi une courbe stable au fil du temps, ou bien y a-t-il des périodes de changement ? La répartition des lexies déverbales et dénominales est-elle stable ? À quel moment la dérivation a-t-elle pris le dessus sur l'emprunt ? Quelle est la productivité actuelle des lexies en *-age* et que nous apprennent les nombreuses formes obsolètes du corpus ?

Cette étude permet de montrer la remarquable stabilité de production des lexies en *-age* au fil du temps, avec une prépondérance de lexies dénominales sur les lexies déverbales. Les courbes de croissance des lexies déverbales et nominales s'avèrent relativement stables et parallèles, sans grand bouleversement des tendances. Plusieurs périodes fastes de création de lexies en *-age* sont confirmées par les données. Alors que ces résultats tendent à confirmer les études existantes sur la question des emprunts et des dérivés, la dernière partie de ce travail sur la productivité actuelle des lexies en *-age* de l'anglais, ainsi que la confrontation entre dérivés en *-ing* et dérivés en *-age* permet d'observer des caractéristiques fondamentales.

- 1) Les lexies obsolètes en *-age* du dictionnaire ne le sont pas ou plus véritablement, ce qui montre

la capacité d'adaptation remarquable de ces formes (ce qui les différencie des dérivés en *-ity* et *-ment* en particulier ;

2) Les lexies en *-age* ont un comportement sémantique cohérent qui correspond aux quatre types sémantiques définis (ACTION / RESULT, TAXE / DROIT / PAIEMENT, STATUT / DROIT, COLLECTIF / QUANTITÉ). Le sens du dérivé reste prévisible à partir du sens de la base, ce qui explique en partie leur remarquable succès, en particulier dans des registres variés allant de l'argot aux registres techniques. On note aussi une adaptation exceptionnelle, rendant le sens motivé par son contexte socioculturel (comme le montrent les emplois des lexies *ownage*, ou encore *rakeage* dans le corpus contemporain English Web 2013) ;

3) Les dérivés en *-age* ne sont pas polysémiques : c'est le sens de la base qui explique le sens du dérivé. Ils restent peu lexicalisés, preuve de leur productivité continue.

INDEX

Keywords: neology, productivity, loan words, diachronic lexicography, OED3, corpus analysis, lexical cognitive semantics, Sketch Engine

Mots-clés: néologie, productivité, emprunts, OED3, analyse de corpus, diachronie, lexicographie, sémantique lexicale cognitive, Sketch Engine

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